

This Is Not A Circular But A Personal Message To You.

HEREIN WE GLADLY PAY TRIBUTE TO THE BRAVE AND FAITHFUL
COUNTRY CHRISTIANS, NOT LEAST THOSE CONNECTED WITH
THE MARTYRDOM OF OUR BETTY AND JOHN.

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Tsinan Station Letter October—December 1934.

TSINANFU, (EAST SUBURB) SHANTUNG, N. CHINA
c/o American Presbyterian Mission.

Dear and Mrs R-E Speer;

Dear Friends:—

China is famed among the nations for its many and great cities. It has some 1800 ancient walled county seats. But the vast bulk of its teeming population—despite the many trades and occupations—are farmer folk, some 6/7ths. of the total. Such a great people, 1/4 of the world's population, can hardly be thrust off into a corner in the affairs of the world.

But what is of special interest to us as Mission workers, and to the Home Constituency as well. is the fact that church statistics show that about 9/10ths. of all the church members live in the country, and represent this sturdy farmer folk, who, in China, as in all other countries, are the back bone of the nation; and on whose laborious toil, closest to Nature, the welfare of all other classes depends. And, as political economists say of this class: "There can be no solid and permanent prosperity to other classes, unless the farmers prosper; so we can say, of *this* vast group; there can be no general spiritual prosperity in the nation if this group be unreached by the Gospel, be unsaved to Christ and for His holy service.

And in our own Station field the proportions are much as stated above. Certainly 9/10ths. of our Christians are farmers; and, with the growing years of mingling with them and living among them in their villages, nestled in the midst of their usually pitifully small land holdings—many of them not even one of our English acres—our respect for them increases, our love for them deepens—simple and sturdy, hard-working and intelligent—far above the average of many races (so sociologists and anthropologists and experienced travellers affirm)—they endure and survive, by fitness so to do.

And now something intimately connected with these humble folk has happened—a certain event that transpired the 8th of December, 1934, on Eagle Hill, outside Miao Sheo, in An Hwei Province. That sad event has blessed us as a Station—knitting our hearts together as never before, in the bonds of Christian understanding, sympathy and love; bonds born of a common sorrow, sanctified and hallowed by the comforting presence sought and obtained of our glorified Lord. But more; it has given us a new appreciation of our Chinese brethren. The infinite possibilities of Christlikeness in them has, as never before, been so reverently and poignantly, so suddenly and dramatically, brought home to our hearts, as a Station.

It is one thing for us to read of the bravery for God of the Chinese Martyrs of the Boxer cataclysm of 1900—far away from us, and from our own circle untouched of death in cruel callousness. But it is quite another thing—a different and personal revelation to us of the deeps of Christian character, as inspired by and guided of the Holy Spirit—to see humble Chinese Christians, with no thought of fame and in utter selflessness, faithful to their friends in the face of death, and giving themselves to fearful forms of torture for one of the daughters of our own Station—our Elizabeth Alden Scott, oldest child of Rev. and Mrs. Charles Ernest Scott, and her husband, The Rev. John Cornelius Stam.

With some of these trusty ones we have talked at Wu Hu; and we have seen, in our Consulate General at Nanking (through the courtesy of our friend, Consul General Willys R. Peck), the sworn-to deposi-

tions of such humble Christian actors and witnesses, in this drama of the last earthly hours of our children Betty and her husband, John. These testimonies, made at Wuhu and carefully checked and translated by missionary friends present at the depositions, friends who were intimately associated with Betty and John in their work and who knew the local setting, with the conditions that obtained—were made officially before Chinese Government Officials, and representatives of our Legation, there assembled for the purpose.

This heart sad but soul glad episode in the history of China Missions has brought sharply to our attention several basic spiritual facts. We would prayerfully call the attention of the Home Church to them in the hope that its members, as we, may be profited thereby; and that the Kingdom of God may accordingly be much advanced.

First—This event has brought a new revelation of the power of prayer to undergird weak Christians with Spiritual Strength in the face of personal peril. So remarkable were the courage and selflessness of Evangelist Lo, and Mr. Chang, that it is hard to believe that, only a few days earlier, both were rather uncertain in duty doing; Evangelist Lo was timid and fearful, and Mr. Chang rather unwilling to witness for the true and living God. But Betty and John had last fall sent out prayer requests for these "little ones in Christ", and those prayers were wondrously answered in a Christ-like unselfishness and fervor of Spirit and magnificent daring on the part of these two men that have thrilled the world. Truly the experience of the Psalmist was verified in them.

Ps. 34:4, "I sought the Lord, and he heard me, and delivered me from all my fears."

Ps. 34: 15, "The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and His ears are open unto their cry." They illustrated Paul's grand aphorism: "God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and of love and of a sound mind" (2 Tim. 1.7.)

It is one thing, in the snug safety of our comfortable homes, to talk of Christian courage; and quite another, like these men and those

so nobly associated with them, and so worthily witnessing beside them, to count not their lives dear unto themselves, for Christ's sake.

In all this is a message to our own Hearts of the Station and to the Home Church, in the words of Samuel: "God forbid that I should sin against God, in ceasing to pray for *thee*". Let us by practice, reiterate our conviction of the duty and privilege of prayer for our friends in China and world-wide, especially for those whom we know to be weak in the faith, for those needing heart comfort and assurance in Christ, and for those in sickness of the body, or in peril of life from evil men. Prayer makes the weak, strong; the cowardly, bold; the faithless, faithful; Real Prayer actually, objectively, changes things.

Another Lesson of this episode is a new revelation of the tenderness of heart of the Chinese. We who think we know them have sometimes remarked that they are hard of heart, and calloused to human suffering; and, if they have feelings, concealing them, masking both love and hate. How often have we seen them, smilingly and in casualness, announce the passing of some close relative apparently unmoved. Yet now we see the strange spectacle of the people in this isolated, unreachd unprivileged, mountain district, to whom Betty and John went, gathered outside their town, on a bloody hill; and, while Mr. Lo, preaches Christ over the cold and as yet uncared for forms of his murdered friends, they weep piteously and call upon the true and living God, the rightful Lord of Heaven and earth, to have mercy on them, and to give them the love and the hope of the future life possessed by their foreign friends.

In Suan Cheng is a large church organization, where Betty and John all last year had ministered. Here we see the Church building filled with Christians in a solemn memorial meeting; we see them get down on their knees to Almighty God; hear them pray for Him to forgive them for lukewarmness of love, for indifference to the lost souls around them, for the sin of omitting to bear the testimony that they should; also bitterly weeping, meanwhile vowing to God, in the spirit of their martyred Pastor and Wife, to live hereafter only for Christ and His glory.

Accounts from Central China and from various Yangtze Valley

Christian centers, as well as from far corners of the land of Sinim, reported both by Chinese and foreign evangelists, tell the same story of the strange tenderness of the hearts of Chinese Christians stirred by the Holy Spirit of God through this searching episode of affection and faith enacted by members of the household of God.

Indeed, right here, in our own Presbytery, in annual session while this December event filled all our minds, its members were mightily stirred unto "the warm heart for Jesus"; and went back to those whom they represented with a deeper love to their empowering Lord, newly recognized by many as rightful Master even of the inner motive.

We will not soon forget the noble and moving sermon, with rightful emphasis, and ringing true to God, in its dignified and impressive presentation, by the Moderator of the Presbytery, Rev. Lu Ting Tsao, on the martyr text: Whosoever shall lose his life for My sake and the Gospel's, the same shall save it." (Mk. 8;35)

Still a third lesson, forced anew to the attention of us all, is that Holy Ghost Power is not dependent upon generations of Christian privilege or upon high cultural training. In this Miao Sheo tragedy we have seen humble servants and obscure Christian friends, because dominated by the Holy Spirit, performing valiantly for Him—acting selflessly; displaying sound judgment; and being honored of Almighty God to inspire multitudes at home and abroad unto godly living and faithful service of Christ,—shining marks for the whole earth. Truly our God in His mysterious graciousness and in His to us unthinkable fairness unto the humble of heart and the meek of spirit, "hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things to overcome the mighty; and the despised, to bring to nought the things that are; in order that no flesh should glory in His presence." (1 Cor. 27-29).

Dr. W. M. Hayes, our venerable friend, and senior colleague of our Mission, has, in the sister Station of Teng Hsien (where he works), made a pronouncement anent this case, that we missionaries and the Home Constituency may well ponder. Dr. Hayes, one of the ablest, best trained, and most consecrated missionaries who ever came to China—noted for his

have found Jesus Christ a great Saviour. I urge you to accept Him as yours too."!

We have commendable records of the courage of our country Christians in the terror of bandit raids; of their trust in God; of their prayer power; of their marvellous deliverances through laying hold on the promises, in humble faith.

And we have faithful Christians who, when they saw there was no apparent delivery, from deadly peril, yet said, in the spirit of Daniel's three friends: "Our God, whom we serve is able to deliver us from the fiery, burning furnace; but, if not, be it known unto thee, oh King, that we will not serve thy gods nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up." Only last Easter, in a little village of which the world has never heard, we remembered a woman equally unknown, who, years ago, was, by wicked and brutal men, dragged out to a temple of demons, and given the option of bowing to them or being beheaded; and who without hesitation chose decapitation rather than deny her Lord.

Many a Chinese Christian, under the quite unspectacular circumstances of Tsing Teh and Miao Sheo, has risked all for his missionary friend—and done it naturally. I have talked and preached and slept with men who, as a matter of course, imperilled their own and the lives of their families to save the life of Dr. Hunter Corbett. Without any parade or boasting they talked of it, as we ate together on the Kang, of a cold winter night in the mountains, and the tears of gratitude and devotion coursed down their bronzed and wrinkled faces as they told of his love for them.

Let no man, in ignorance and harshness judge these farmer Christians hastily. Repeatedly, in a strange place, I have, from a sense of duty, called upon an old farmer elder to lead in prayer; I, fearful, from his appearance, lest he might hold the office, without the unction thereof: only to find that, as he talked to God, he knew his Bible, and he believed in his Divine Christ; and he lifted us up into the heavenlies, in an amazing revelation of his Christian experience and maturity of life hid with Christ in God.

Indeed, at our annual Meeting of Presbytery, this very December, after the wise and learned leaders had finished talking of the discouragements, among them, the shortage of funds hoped for from the New York Foreign Board, an old elder, seedy looking, arose, and electrified the Presbytery, by a speech, so Spirit guided, that it caused us to look away unto the everlasting source of our strength, even the nourishing God, full Supplier of the needs of those in Christ. As he reached his thrilling climax in the ringing question: "Do we not still have Jesus Christ?", we felt as if we were in the presence of a bold and holy prophet in Israel, heartening us all.

Let us on the field and at the home end, re-orientate ourselves as to real soul values; and as to what efforts are truly worth while; remembering that God is no respecter of persons; and out of every tribe and kindred and tongue, not least many from the Land of Sinim, He hath chosen His own, to glorify His Name; and cause men everywhere to rejoice in the Gospel received into the heart of the faithful, as the dynamite of God, unto salvation to everyone that believeth.

As families and as a Station we wish to bear testimony before the Chinese and before the Home Church and before the world, that our faith in God has been strengthened, our love to our Saviour deepened, and our concern for the lost all about us intensified; and that we together go forward with the work in the blessed realization that, while Jesus Christ calls upon all who would be truly His to deny himself and to take up his own Cross and follow Him, yet the Cross that He fits to our shoulders is joyously endurable in view of the Comfort of His sustaining grace. We would word this truth, and our mature conviction relative to it, in the words of Ballington Booth "The cross that He gave may be heavy."

The Cross is Not Greater

1. The cross that He gave may be heavy,
But it ne'er outweighs His grace;
The storm that I feared might surround me,
Has never excluded His face.

Chorus :

The cross is not greater than His grace,
The storm cannot hide His blessed face;
I am satisfied to know That with Jesus here below,
I can conquer ev'ry foe.

2. The thorns in my path are not sharper
Than composed His crown for me;
The cup that I drink not more bitter
Than He drank in Gethsemane.
3. The light of His love shineth brighter,
As it falls on paths of woe;
The toil of my work groweth lighter,
As I stoop to raise the low.
4. His will I have joy in fulfilling,
As I'm walking in His sight;
My all to the blood I am bringing,
It alone can keep me right.

Respectfully submitted, for the Tsinan Station

CHARLES ERNEST SCOTT

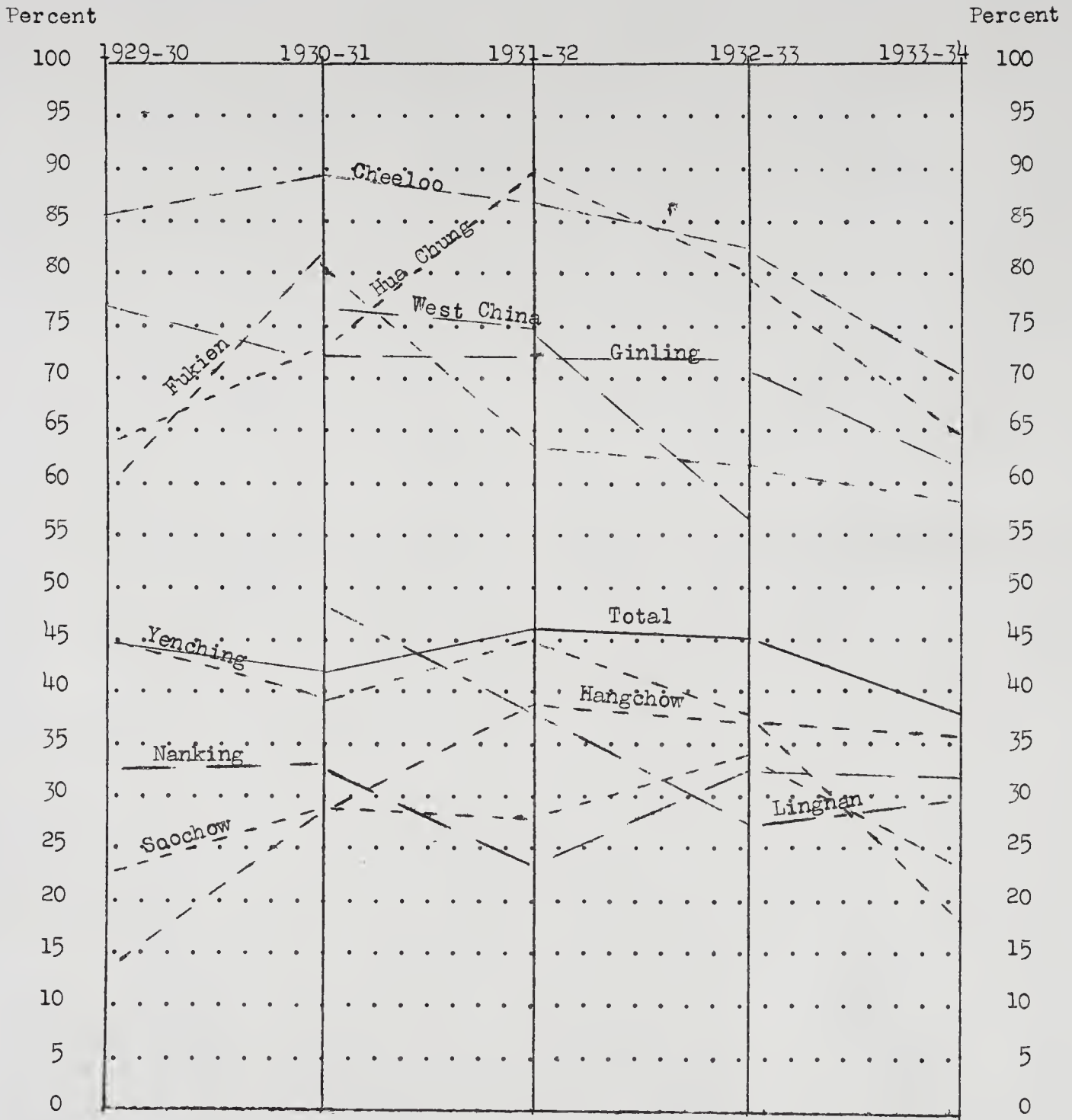
TABLE SHOWING TRENDS IN PERCENTAGE OF CHRISTIAN STUDENTS
CHRISTIAN COLLEGES IN CHINA
 1929 to 1934

<u>Institution</u>	<u>1929-30</u>	<u>1930-31</u>	<u>1931-32</u>	<u>1932-33</u>	<u>1933-34</u>
Cheeloo	86 %	90 %	88 %	83 %	71 %
Fukien	60	82	64	63	59
Ginling	77	72	73	72	62
Hangchow	12	28	39	38	18
Hua Chung	64	73	90	80	64
Lingnan	?	46	?	28	30
Nanking	33	34	23	28	27
Soochow	23	29	28	34	23
West China	?	76	74	57	?
Yenching	45	39	45	38	36
Total	45	43	46	45	38

CHART SHOWING TRENDS IN PERCENTAGE OF CHRISTIAN STUDENTS

CHRISTIAN COLLEGES IN CHINA

1929 to 1934



STATEMENTS OF PURPOSE
IN APPLYING FOR GOVERNMENT REGISTRATION

Statement Suggested by Council of Higher Education After Consultation with Ministry
of Education

"This Board of Directors accepts full power of control of the private institution known as _____ founded by _____ with the purpose of maintaining the spirit of love, sacrifice and service for which they stood, of cultivating the highest type of character, of providing professional training, of pursuing higher learning, and of meeting the needs of society."

Statement of Cheeloo University

"The Purpose of this University shall be to carry out the educational aim of the Republic of China, and the purpose of the founders who warmly support education, to cultivate the highest type of character, to provide professional training and to develop culture."

Statement of Fukien Christian
University

"The Board of Managers accepts full responsibility for the control of the private institution known as Fukien Christian University, founded by the Christian Mission Boards in America, and England, as represented by the Board of Trustees in America, with the purpose of maintaining the spirit of love, sacrifice and service, for which they stand, of cultivating the highest type of character, of pursuing higher learning, and of meeting the needs of society."

Statement of Ginling College

"The purpose of the Board of Directors is to conduct in Nanking a private institution of higher learning for women which shall conform to the highest standards of educational efficiency, promote social welfare and high ideals of citizenship, and develop the highest type of character, in accordance with the original purpose of its founders."

Statement of Hangchow College

"The purpose of this institution is to carry out the general educational aims of the national government of China, also in the Christian spirit of love, sacrifice and service, to prepare men of the highest moral qualifications, intellectual ability and practical training, to meet the needs of society."

Statement of Lingnan University

"The Board of Directors holds as its purpose to continue to carry out the good will of the founders of the University by developing in the University an education of moral character-building and technical expert-training in order to suit the needs of China."

Statement of University of Nanking

"This Board of Directors accepts full power of control of the private institution known as the University of Nanking, founded by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, The United Christian Missionary Society, and the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, with the purpose of maintaining their spirit of love, sacrifice and service; of cultivating the highest type of character; of providing professional training; of promoting higher learning; and of meeting the needs of society."

Statement of West China Union University

"This Board of Directors accepts full power of control of the private institution known as the West China Union University, founded by the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, the Friends Service Council, the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Church of Canada, the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Church Missionary Society, the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, and the Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, with the purpose of maintaining their spirit of love, sacrifice and service; of cultivating the highest type of character; of providing professional training; of promoting higher learning; and of meeting the needs of society."

Statement of Yenching University

"To give that type of higher education which develops intellectual, moral and physical strength and equips for leadership, in order to meet the national and social needs of the Republic of China."

Comment of President J. Leighton Stuart

"Replying to your letter of June 9, I am sending to you an exact translation of the paragraph in our Constitution which was submitted to the Ministry of Education at the time of registration, also a comment on the same by myself. I am sure that you will help to clear up a confusion which it has always seemed to me need not exist at all over this issue. The government educational authorities in any country would have to require some such statement of purpose as the one we have given. Nor does it seem to me that Christian missionary agencies from the west, or any other religious bodies, would have a right to operate a University in China or elsewhere, on any other basis. On the other hand, we are just as free to exert Christian influence, both in respect to the control from abroad and in curriculum and other methods here as we would be, if explicit reference were made in our statement of purpose. We shall be dynamically Christian or shall fail to do so because of factors independent of the phraseology used in our relations here with the Chinese government. Furthermore, I see no reason why we should not be equally frank in dealing with our supporting constituencies. This is one form of witnessing to the meaning and value of Christian faith, of training those who have accepted it, or wish to give themselves to its service, and of assisting this nation from the Christian motive of love. Those to whom this method commends itself will give it their intelligent and sympathetic support. Others may prefer other forms of advancing the Christian cause in China. As a missionary and a son of missionaries, I have no question whatever as to the contribution of university education, nor as to the wisdom of the general policy adopted at Yenching and other institutions of this type. It should also not be overlooked that this is in accord with the judgment of all Chinese Christian educators with whose opinions I am acquainted."

Mr. Spurr

INFORMATION SERVICE

中華基督教會廣東協會

CHURCH OF CHRIST IN CHINA

KWANGTUNG SYNOD

MUNICIPAL BANK BUILDING WEST BUND

CANTON, CHINA.

TELEGRAMS:

"KWANDICO"

CODE: MISSIONS

事務所
廣州西堤
市立銀行四樓

Vol-VII No. 3

March, 1935.

1934

THE YEAR IN REVIEW

C. W. Shoop

The spirit and temper of the whole year of religious life and activity in the Kwangtung Synod may best be indicated perhaps by citing briefly two interests of inter-church character, one at the beginning of the year and the other at its close.

UNION EASTER SERVICE

Following the precedent established in 1933 when a Union Sunrise Service was held at Tung Shan on Easter morning, this year the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Christian Student Association, Canton Federation of Churches and The Kwangtung Synod of the Church of Christ in China cooperated in organizing and holding a similar service at the same place. Being an open-air service and the weather inclement, the total attendance was estimated at about three thousand, approximately two thousand less than the preceding Easter morning. It was a significant and inspiring occasion of worship and Christian fellowship, and like the 1933 gathering, added much to the Christian-community-consciousness. For the first time in the memory of the oldest Christian leaders here, Canton witnessed huge banners stretched across a main city thoroughfare announcing a religious mass meeting of the Christian forces. Local newspapers gave only favorable notices of the occasion, and the observing public showed fine respect. Several of the older Christian leaders, commenting upon these features, referred to them as something *new*, indicating progress of the popular mind toward a more adequate evaluation and appreciation of the Christian Church.

THE EDDY MEETINGS.

As the year came to its close, Dr. G. Sherwood Eddy came to Canton under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. and conducted a week's meetings in the local "Y",

finding time also for extra meetings in the outstanding educational institutions of the City. His special objective was of course, the student mind and conscience, which he reached as effectively as one could expect in such very short-time contact. Approximately seven hundred students expressed a purpose to enroll in Bible study classes while four hundred others made definite decision to become Christians.

These two features of the year's religious life in Canton are offered as an index to the general character of the situation throughout the year—a Christian Movement growing in self-consciousness and increasingly holding the respect of the non-Christian element, winning its way back into the student mind whence it had been, generally speaking, expelled during *the twenties* of the present century.

EVANGELISM.

Not only has the opportunity for preaching the Gospel and holding evangelistic services been all that could be desired, but it is equally true that earnest efforts have been made throughout the year to make use of such opportunity. The Rev. H. Davies, Secretary of Evangelism for the Synod, assisted by Mrs. Davies, the latter emphasizing and applying sacred song as an instrument of evangelism, have spent a busy year in the field. Of course, much of this "evangelistic work" has to be directed "toward the inside" as the Chinese



ROBERT MORRISON

terminology has it, and possesses at one and the same time characteristics of an evangelistic meeting and the more fundamental and basic processes of religious education, aiming at raising and making permanent at a higher level the essential Christian emotions, ideas, ideals, attitudes, purposes etc., of those who are already in the church. Early during the year Mr. Wong Chaak Shaang, a very capable and successful preacher was called from a church in Toi Shaan City to work in the evangelistic department, to which work he has brought special abilities applied with good results. Cooperating

in this same work throughout the field, the Rev. Y. W. Wu of the Religious Education Department and Miss Lois Armentrout of the Department of Women's Work have supported more definitely the educational features of the evangelistic program.

Several years ago a group of zealous laymen organized an Evangelistic Association with the object of keeping a Chinese evangelist in the Kwangtung field of interdenominational evangelism. This organization is still potent and maintains the support of Pastor Au Chi Tong, a local man of piety, consecration, character and ability, who preaches the Gospel of God in a wholesome and winsome way, free from those eccentricities of doctrine and emphasis which characterize some of the more dramatic types of evangelism, and which sometimes unfortunately create difficult problems of reconciliation for those who do the follow up work. Pastor Au has been much in demand throughout the churches of our Synod, as is attested by the fact that he received and responded to not less than one hundred and eighty three separate invitations for service from our churches during the year. Many of these evangelistic efforts were obviously very short, as in fact most of our special meetings and institutes have to be. To find suitable seasons when people in Kwangtung have leisure to give consecutive days or parts of days for attendance at meetings is one of the major problems of our evangelistic and religious educational work alike.

In addition to this more specialized type of evangelistic work briefly sketched in the foregoing paragraphs there is of course the regular, week by week, ministry of the local churches in which much of the best work is being done. Frequently a local pastor invites another pastor or preacher to give aid for a brief period of special service of this type and often with very good results. And this is as it should be no doubt, for this great and glorious task and privilege of *evangelizing* is still the normal concern and business of the ministry of the church,—not merely the function of a few specialists.

Special emphasis and effort during the "New Spring Week of Evangelism" at Chinese New Year, serves to keep this witnessing function of the Church before the mind of the Christian people through the succeeding years. "Newspaper evangelism"—referred to in another column of this paper is rather new in Kwangtung and its possibilities have not been adequately exploited even though its value is generally conceded.

It is impossible to accurately evaluate this type of work into which so much prayer, time and energy are poured and which requires much time to yield its full fruitage. It is therefore only a very superficial assessment of results of the year's work to report that the statistics show a gain in church membership of approximately a thousand communicant members, or a gain of between five and six percent over the preceding year's membership. A more significant gain than any that

can be measured by statistics is the growing Christian aggressiveness and zeal, along with increasing willingness to bear responsibility and to assume leadership, demonstrating those deeper insights and evidencing appreciation and understanding of the inwardness of the Christian religion so basic to every real hope for a truly vital, indigenous church. Our friends in "the homelands" will, however, find it helpful to know that of the total budget of the Synod for church work of \$188,444.46, \$129,173.06 was contributed locally, and only \$59,271.40 represents *grants-in-aid* administered through the Synod.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.



Pioneer American Missionaries Arrived in Canton 1830.

Religious education and evangelism have kept close company during the year. It is difficult in a situation like ours to have two such vital interests carry on independently of each other. Nor has such mutual independence been found desirable. Of the two types of evangelistic work described respectively as "tui noi" (directed *inward*, i.e., toward the revival of the Church itself) and as "tui ngoi" (directed *outward*, i.e., toward

making converts to the Christian faith), the former type depends to a large extent on educational techniques for permanent value, whereas any attempt to promote religious educational activities without the emotional warmth generated in the genuinely vital "revival" process is too cold and lifeless to eventuate in moral or religious results.

However, while such training and institute work as has been done during the year has been a joint enterprise as indicated, the Department of Religious Education, under the leadership of Rev. Y. W. Wu supported by Rev. Y. S. Tom and others of the Synod secretariat, promoted a very significant and vital interest in its own field, dealing with the problem of *Youth and the Church*. In a series of retreats and conferences in which church leaders, educators and students participated in discussion of problems in the spirit of worship, a new spirit and a new understanding as between Church and School, between education and religion has been begotten, appreciably different from that of recent years, and prophetic of something significant to the leadership of the church of to-morrow. Parenthetically, it may be noted that the number of high school graduates entering the Canton Union Theological College at the opening of the year is about four times greater than any preceding year since the beginning of the anti-Christian movement in the early twenties.

Attention is called to a special article in this paper written by the Rev. Herbert Thomson, dealing with the religious life and work in Pui Ying Middle School in which Mr. Thomson is Director of Religious Work. This institution is under the auspices of the Church of Christ in China, and as the writer points out, is a chief source of supply of church leadership. Anyone reading

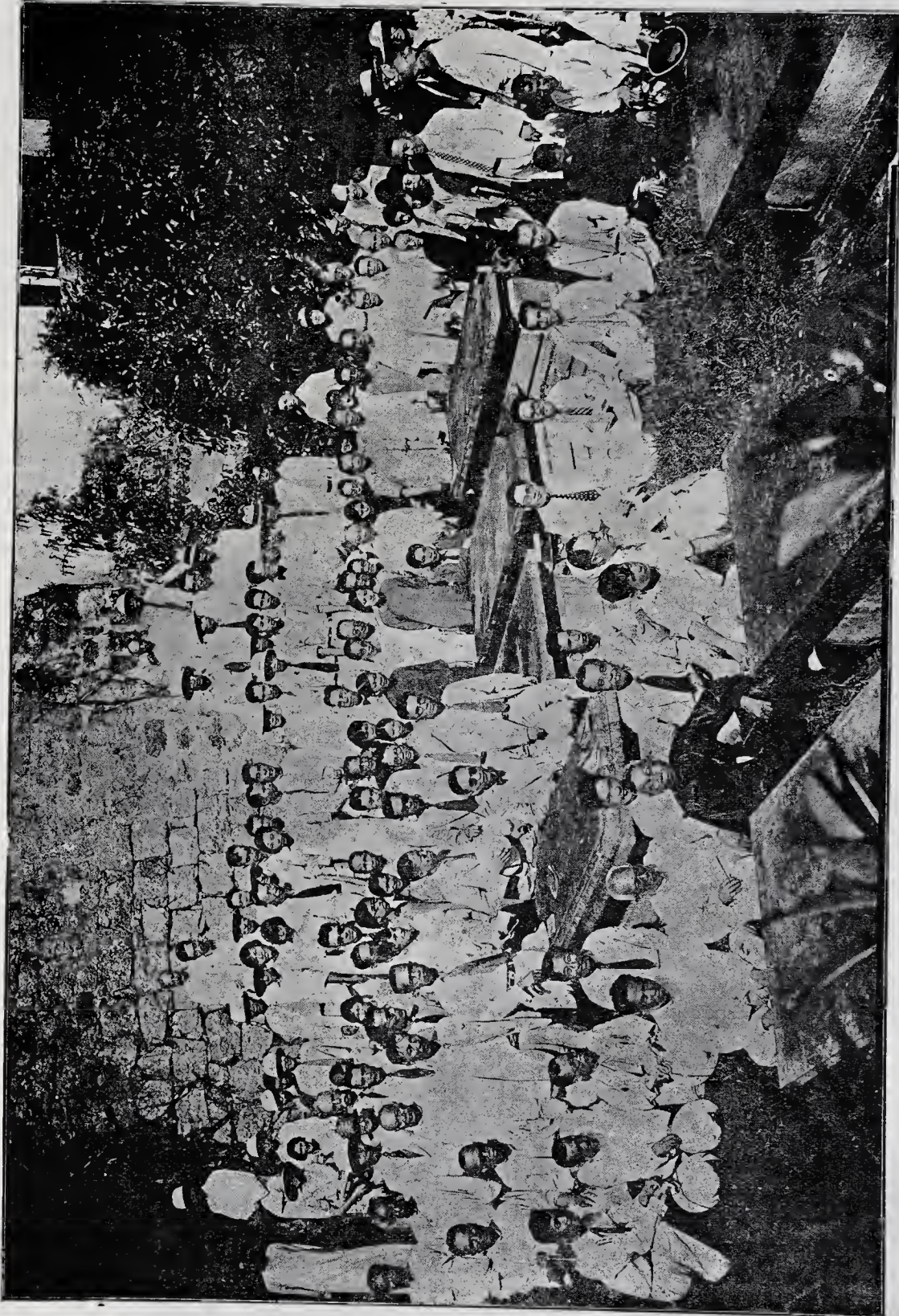
Mr. Thomson's interesting article thoughtfully will appreciate that after all the handicaps—real and supposed—imposed on freedom of religious work in a school registered in conformity with Government requirements are not necessarily calamitous!

By no means negligible from the standpoint of

reverses the order and contributes to the church budget!

NEW CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS

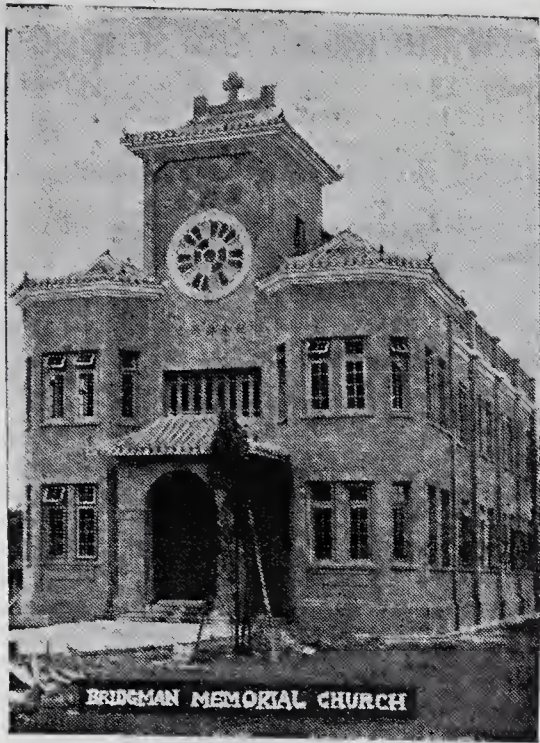
During 1934, seven new church edifices were dedicated within our synod. One church in Canton was rebuilt; in Macao a combined church and school building was dedicated; in Canton the cornerstone of a new



Memorial Service at the Grave of Robert Morrison one Hundred Years after his Death.

religious educational opportunity and value are the primary schools conducted by some of the local churches as an integral part of their work-program. Some of these schools are wholly self-supporting while others are more or less a charge on the general church budget. On another page we present a picture of a school conducted by the Ngayiu Street Church in Canton, which

church was laid, the building to be dedicated early in 1935; and the new and modern buildings of the True Light Primary School were dedicated. Of these churches two are *memorials*,—one to the pioneer protestant missionary to China from America, and another to the first Chinese convert to protestant Christianity under the ministry of Dr. Morrison. These churches and



The Elijah Bridgman Memorial Church, Suitsuen, Canton Dedicated Nov. 10, 1934.

school buildings were erected at a total cost of something over two hundred thousand dollars Canton currency.

Special interest attaches to the Bridgman Memorial Church at Sai Tsuen Canton. This church was erected at a cost of \$32,000., entirely paid by Chinese Christians, and only about ten percent of this amount was collected from Chinese abroad. The Rev. Elijah Bridgman was the first American missionary sent to China by the American Board. He arrived in Canton in

1830. In 1930, a group of Christians decided to build a suitable memorial and this church is the result. It was built at Sai Tsuen, a new suburb of Canton city, not because of a congregation already existing there, but to meet a great need that keeps growing as the four schools, in the immediate vicinity, with a total enrollment of about three thousand students, keep growing.

The first man baptized by Dr. Robert Morrison at Macao after seven years of patient waiting and much work and prayer, was Tsoi Ko. On July 5th, 1934 a combined church-and-school building of three stories was dedicated in memory of this first Chinese protestant Christian of the modern missionary era.

IN MEMORIAM.

On August 1, 1834 Dr. Robert Morrison, pioneer protestant missionary to China, died in Macao where his body was laid to rest by the side of the wife who had preceded him thirteen years earlier. Dr. Morrison belongs to the church universal, and all the protestant Christians in China and elsewhere who are informed as to his significance in the Christian movement and of the essential facts of his personal life, would naturally think with reverence of him as the hundredth anniversary of his decease was brought to mind. But the Kwangtung Synod of The Church of Christ in China, embracing in its geographical area the field of Morrison's Chinese labors and in its organization the local branch of the London Missionary Society under whose auspices he came to China, had special reason to remember him on the centenary of

his passing. The more fittingly to observe the occasion, the annual session of Synod was held in Macao, albeit a month earlier than the precise date of the centenary of Dr. Morrison's death, and remembered him in a special service, made memorable not only by the sacredness of the occasion, but equally so by the manifest capacity



Youth Conference and Retreat, at White Cloud Hills, Canton



Easter Morning Open-air Service at Tung Shaan, Canton.



REV. Y. S. WU. *Secretary of Religious Education, Kwangtung Synod.*

for deep appreciation, combined with the ability to give appropriate expression to that feeling as evidenced by the Chinese Christian leaders who "follow in his train" a century after him! The addresses of Mr. Y. L. Lee, General Secretary of the Canton Y.M.C.A., Rev.

Y. S. Tom, Executive Secretary of the Synod and Moderator of the General Assembly, and others who participated, indicated that the deeper purposes and meanings of Dr. Morrison's life and work are to-day better understood and more appreciated than they were a century ago.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY CANTON UNION THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE.

The Canton Union Theological College, founded twenty years ago for the training of the ministry for eight denominations, appropriately celebrated its 20th anniversary in connection with the annual summer institute held at the College early in July. The College has during these twenty years served conspicuously in South China as the outstanding agency of interdenominational co-operation. The Church of England, the English Methodist Church, the London Missionary Society, the New Zealand Presbyterian Church, the United Church of Canada, the American Board (Congregational Church), the American Presbyterian Church and the United Brethren Church have participated in this united effort of training and education in a happy way and with good results. Nearly two hundred students have either completed the regular courses or taken special work in the College to fit themselves for the work of the Ministry. Most of these are now in active service in China. Some have gone abroad. Australia, New Zealand, The Straits Settlement, the Philippine Islands, Canada, The United States and Mexico have been or are part of the field supplied by the men who have gone out from the College.



Easter Morning Open-air Service at Tung Shaan, Canton.

Of the eight cooperating churches originally forming the Union, all but the Church of England and the English Methodist Church have been organically united in The Church of Christ in China, thus actually reducing the number of cooperating bodies to three. During the year the Board of Directors and the co-operating Societies at home through their Mission Boards adopted



Faculty and Students of Canton Union Theological College.

a new constitution whereby the College becomes definitely the institution of the Chinese Christian Churches instead of a Mission-centered organization. Certain problems of adjustment await solution before the three Chinese Churches can definitely take over the administration. Meanwhile the work of the school proceeds with undiminished interest and success, although during

the recent years of financial depression Several of the Missions have found it necessary to subject their appropriations to this vital interest to the same principles of reduction that applied to missionary work in general, thus creating conditions under which it is more difficult to follow up opportunities or even meet urgent needs.

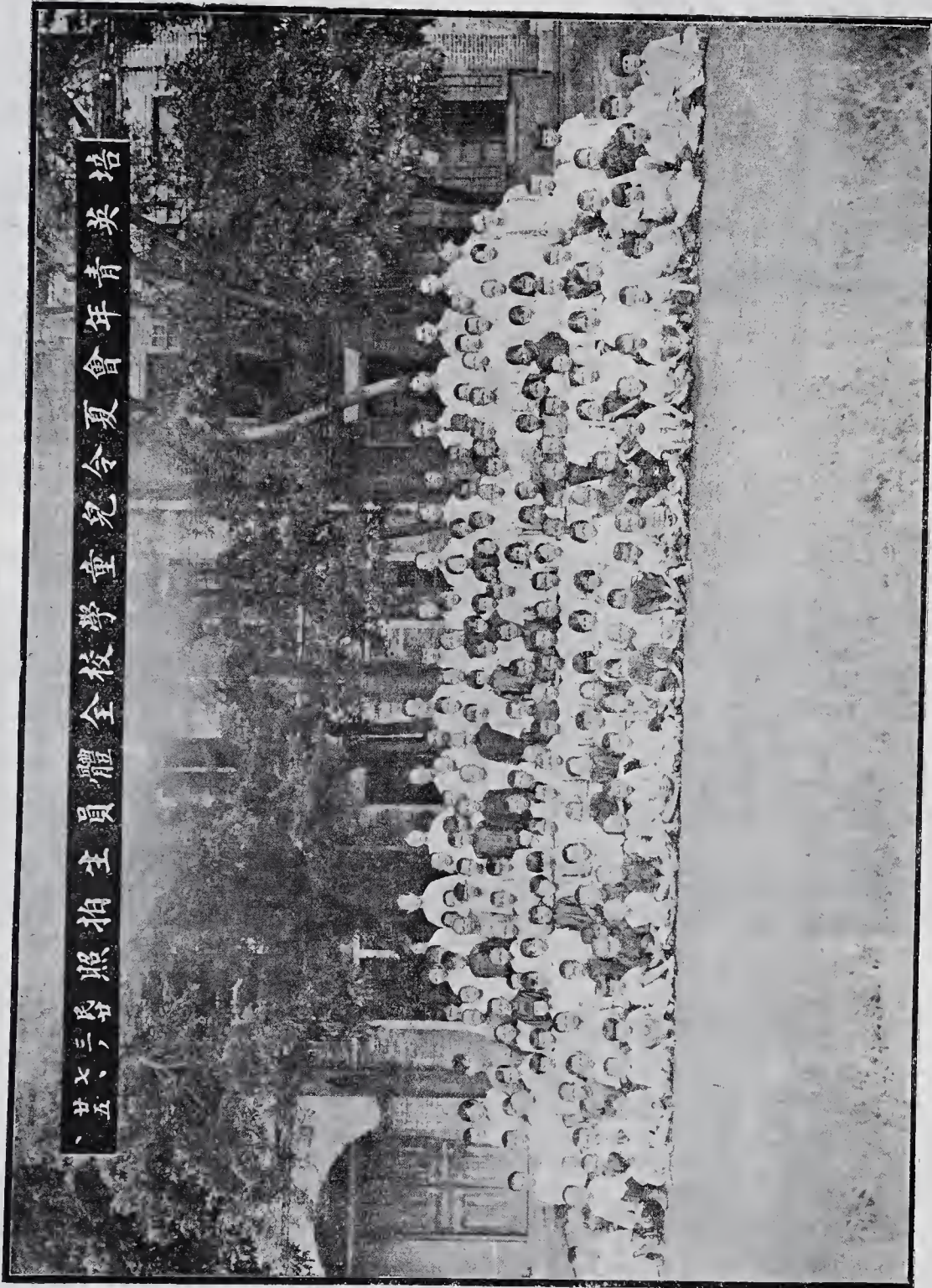
Throughout the two decades of its history, the College has been under the presidency of the Rev. J. S. Kunkle, D. D., of the American Presbyterian Church.

enterprise among the primitive tribes described in the illustrated article. Friends who are interested in this type of work and wish to support it in a special way can do so by sending their contributions to the Synod office, care of Rev. Y. S. Tom, Executive Secretary.

PUI YING MIDDLE SCHOOL

H. F. Thomson

Pui Ying Middle School is a large factor in the work



A Daily Vacation Bible School Conducted by Pui Ying Middle School Students During Summer Vacation.

CHINA'S PRIMITIVE PEOPLE.

The article by Mr. Montgomery in this issue ought to be of interest to many people, as it deals with a subject that is new to most readers and indicates a new project of home missionary enterprise recently undertaken by the Synod. Mr. and Mrs. Montgomery, the latter a doctor, are admirably fitted for this pioneering

of the Kwangtung Synod. Historically it has produced most of the leaders in the work of the Synod and of the churches that make up the Synod. These leaders include the various professions and business. Leading preachers, doctors, teachers and business men have been and are increasingly Pui Ying boys. In past years Pui Ying graduates went directly into teaching or professional

study, but Pui Ying is now a college preparatory school. For a decade and more nearly all graduates have gone on to an arts college, the preference being for Yen Ching, Lingnan and Chung Shaan Universities with a few going to other countries and returning with the boasted Ph. D. degree. Pui Ying is therefore, no longer the finishing school for its students, but it represents, perhaps, the most significant period in the development of the future leadership of the church and of the nation. Pui Ying students are forming those attitudes and habits that will determine not only their own future, but largely that of the groups which they lead. Six of the most impressionable years—the 'teen years—are lived in the environment of Pui Ying through junior and senior middle school. What is Pui Ying doing to meet this challenge? Is she living up to her name—"Nurturing Heroes"?

Pui Ying is a Church School and as such receives many students from Christian homes, and encourages Christian interests on the part of the students: but with a student body of about 800 apart from the two branch schools) of whom less than one fifth are Christians, and the necessity of conducting all religious activities on a voluntary basis, as a registered school, this is no small task. Yet, there has been great encouragement in the past few years due to the very active leadership taken by a group of the students themselves. This, after all, is the surest factor in successful Christian work, a contemporary group influencing their fellows. Their activities, however, are not so much directed at their fellow students as in mutual fellowship and service that attracts participants.

These activities are carried on largely under the Student Christian Association and the Friends of Jesus Groups; the Religious Work Committee of the school cooperating with these groups and assisting in their plans rather than taking the initiative. The S. C. A. is linked up with the national and city associations, and the student leaders take an active part in the various conferences of leaders, especially in the Spring and Fall Conferences for S. C. A. Cabinets and the Student Summer Conferences. This past year the S. C. A. and student service groups have been linked up more closely, also, with the activities of the Kwangtung Synod in their work for Young People, several conferences having been held with the Church leaders on ways of cooperation, and some helpful retreats held with Church young people.

What, then, have been some of the direct activities of the S. C. A. this past year? Their program has been very rich and full. Their work is divided into many departments. The one that calls forth the most enthusiasm and service is, doubtless, the "Ping Man School", the school for poor children that Pui Ying students have conducted for years in connection with the Fati village church. The S. C. A. owns their own school building beside the Church: and, because of the pressure of more pupils during the past two years, they have collected more than a thousand dollars and built an additional building. Over forty students assist the regular, teacher, whom they employ, and conduct a thoroughgoing school with many special features such as Sunday School, daily chapel, supervised playground, savings bank etc. There are about 130 pupils in the school at present.

Similar to this work is the Daily Vacation Bible School work carried on by Pui Ying students during the summer in connection with various churches of the Synod. Last summer six schools were conducted by Pui Ying students with 69 teacher and 813 pupils.

These schools are in churches scattered throughout the province. During school sessions, another department of the S. C. A., the Church Cooperation Dept., arranges with city churches to supply Sunday School teachers and student member of Young People's groups. Another department that lapsed for a year or so but very active now is the group working with the school servants and employees. Night educational classes are conducted, and social, athletic and religious activities. promoted. One feature has been athletic games between the employees of Pui Ying and other schools. The Music Committee has never had a better year. The Band is a school organization, but the S. C. A. is conducting very successfully, with large enrollments, a Glee Club, a Violin Club, and Harmonica Club. All have outside teachers either employed or volunteer. These have weekly meetings with memberships of 20. up. Other popular clubs are the English Club with fifty members and the Photographic Club. The Publication Dept. brings out occasional magazine numbers with suitable articles, and this year the English Club published a special number in English.

Increasingly popular with the students have been the "Friends of Jesus" Groups. These are clubs of ten to twenty or more members with student leaders and adult advisers, (usually faculty members) They meet weekly in the homes of the advisers for varied activities, but their heart is Bible study. Occasionally they meet as a united group in a retreat, or several groups together in a social meeting or retreat. It has been a practice the past two years for the senior groups to meet once or twice a year with groups of girls from True Light Middle School or the Union Normal School. At present there are 19 of these groups with 328 members.

One disappointment in recent years has been the few students that were making decisions for the Christian life from these groups. This year, however, there was a change. During the visit of Dr. Sherwood Eddy in December 82 Pui Ying students made the decision for the Christian life; and 109 for Bible Study. They are being organized into special preparation groups and urged to associate with a church at the first opportunity.

Regular services are conducted in the school on Sundays under the auspices of the Religious Work Committee, and suitable speakers chosen to address the student body in assembly on religious subjects weekly. One feature has been a Religious Emphasis week when there has been a daily series of talks on connected religious themes. The prayer meetings held three times a week are not very largely attended, but they are the power house where the inner circle of student leadership meets for fellowship with each other and with God. Most of the prayer meetings are conducted by students, the S. C. A. Cabinet members and leaders of Friends of Jesus groups etc.

In regard to Pui Ying generally there is much encouragement. Dr. K. W. Hung, the new principal, an old Pui Ying boy and graduate of Lingnan and Leland Stanford Universities with a doctor's degree in education from the latter, in his second year of administration, is still showing marked ability. It is evident that he is aiming to make Pui Ying a real Church School with proper emphasis on things religious. To this end the many new teachers of the past two years have not only been able academically, but are active Christian leaders; and two of them, one in the senior middle school department and the other in the junior, are giving part time to definite religious work assisting the directors in these departments. A faculty prayer meeting under the

personal direction of the principal has been well attended and effective.

The plans for moving the school from its present unfavorable location to Paak Hok Tung, beside True Light Middle School, have reached the stage of actually building the first two dormitories and a dining hall although money is not in hand for more. It is planned to move the highest two classes to Paak Hok Tung in the Fall. The present environment was the best obtainable fifty years ago; but it is on low-lying land, and in recent years the surrounding town has become the center of opium smoking and gambling from Canton city being easily accessible by motor ferries. It is in the city limits. The Paak Hok Tung site is on high land in a beautiful community, and already over eighty mow of land have been secured. (over 25 acres) Judge Peter Hing is now chairman of the Board of Directors, and much is expected from him in furthering the interests of the school in which his own son is a student.

SURVEYING THE FIELD

H. O. T. Burkwall

A decade and a half ago the missionary agencies in South China made a very careful survey of their field with a view toward perfect comity in the prosecution of a new "Program of Advance" which was set up as a result of cooperative planning, prayer and study. Subsequent events and developments took directions somewhat different from those contemplated in the survey, yet as one looks over the field to-day one finds that the *black spots* on the map, indicating unoccupied areas in 1919, have in the meantime been occupied by some agency or other in a manner consistent with the principle of inter-church comity. Thus, for example, Yam Chow in the southern end of the province has been occupied by the Bible Church Missionary Society while the previously unoccupied areas on the North River have been occupied by the Assemblies of God.

In the struggle for self-support many chapels in the interior districts have been closed or abandoned, and many of the stronger centers have become self-centered, emphasizing local work to the neglect of extension work and all effort to carry the Gospel to areas lying between centers or back of them. There are a number of such places in the province, which taken together, create a new problem for the church. During the year some thought has been directed to this situation and there is hope that much of this can be remedied by the willingness of established Church District Councils to facilitate occupation of neglected areas by transfer of adjacent groups and property to new organizations able to man and evangelize these areas. The new Government roads make possible evangelistic occupation of sections hitherto inaccessible for other than resident Mission workers.

In some sections where Missions have been forced by reason of economic depression to close or abandon chapels or churches, they are able to transfer to other Missions and thus to conserve the work done in these places.

During the year 1934 there has been less church building than in 1933, yet the large city churches have shown little extension work. Each church has spent its resources upon its own development and its own plant. Church extension,—the opening of new preaching centers, has been done mostly by the enterprise of individual church members, or the entrance of new Mission organizations. These new centers are not "splitoffs" from parent churches, and soon become self-governing entities under the general organization to which the original organizer may belong.

At the beginning of the year a small group of Christians, members of various churches, began a Newspaper Evangelism which has increased and is now an organized movement. They have been able to secure favorable terms for advertising space in the largest dailies and in magazines for simple Gospel messages. These attract attention by their subject matter, pictures, and prominence in the paper. The fact that these messages have provoked a large correspondence with a mere modicum of opposition is most interesting as well as encouraging. Many requests for Christian literature and Gospels have been received. These letters bear postmarks that test the knowledge of the best



Ngayiu Street Church, Canton, conducts

geographers. They come from all classes and conditions of men. It is an extensive ministry, and fruitful as well. Other cities have attempted a similar form of evangelism. One such attempt in Hingning city promised well, but had to be discontinued because of opposition on part of the military leaders.

Another form of Evangelism is found in the "Witnessing Gospel Association." It is inter-church and is composed of 150 to 200 men and women who give time, usually on Saturdays, to witness for Christ on streets and in homes, and in nearby villages. It is all voluntary service and is making the name of Jesus widely known by the earnest, simple testimonies of these witnesses.

The Kwangtung Evangelistic Association continues its effort to place an accredited evangelist at the disposal of the churches of the province. Whatever any local church can give to the Association is gladly accepted, but there is no charge for the Evangelist except simple entertainment in each place to which he is called. This Association and its work are also inter-church in scope.

The open door for evangelism throughout South China is probably best attested by the work of the Bible Society colporteurs. Fifty colporteurs traversed South

China, East and West, North and South, selling 744,000 books in 1934. From the borders of Tongking to the borders of Kiang Si and Hunan they were able to travel freely. By boat or by bus that were able to reach unfrequented places and to find a ready sale for the Gospels. The simple reading of the Gospels prepares the way for the evangelist and Bible teacher. New groups spring up here and there eager to be taught more fully in the way of the Gospel message of salvation from sin.

There is a hunger among the people for a fuller knowledge of the Bible as the Christian's Book. The Bible Schools or Institutes in South China are mostly filled to capacity with students eager to know their Chinese Bibles. A survey of these schools is an interesting study. Not only are there young people with a minimum of education, but one finds Middle School graduates, returned students from abroad with academic degrees, experienced workers and professional men and women seeking to know their Bibles better. The increasing attendance at the Pooi Ling Bible Study Conference held annually in July is another expression of this hunger for the Bible truths stated simply and in a practical way. One of these Evening Bible-study

her witness centers to reach the largest number of the population. Add to this the presence of Bible classes and christian services in hospital, hotel, shop, individual homes, and Canton is set for a grand forward move to evangelise this the second city in China. It is estimated that there are some fifteen to twenty thousand christian church members in Canton.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD:

Rev. H. Davies

Nine Rivers (Kau Kong): This is a large city of 200,000 inhabitants in the Second District,—the great silk-producing district of Kwangtung. Our Synod is the only body that is doing any Christian work there, and so has a great responsibility to the place and the people. But for many years the church has been in a very low state,—it had lost all contact with the people and there was a sad lack of harmony among the few who counted themselves as church members. It was quite evident that unless a new spirit came over the church there was very little hope for it. So last May a group from the Head Office spent eight days with the Christians, uniting with them daily in Bible study, prayer and worship, and putting before them plainly their duties as Christians and their responsibilities as stewards of the Gospel. On the last day it was decided to have a week of evangelistic meetings in October and a small group agreed to meet regularly to pray for them.

So in October the office group returned along with Rev. Au Chi Tong, a well-known evangelist. Meetings were held during the day for Christians and meetings for outsiders at night. Although the church is in a somewhat secluded position for evening meetings, it was well filled every evening, and the last two nights partitions had to be taken down to provide more room. In

the course of the meetings some thirty decided to study the Bible or to become Christians, and the church members were greatly heartened. At the Communion service three months later eight came forward as catechumens, three were baptised, the attendance of members and adherents showed a considerable increase, and a new spirit of brotherhood seemed to have come over the congregation.

Toi Shaan in the Third District: In November and December a group from the central staff spent three weeks in the Third District conducting institutes for church members. This district is a very extensive one, and for purposes of more effective work the Presbytery divided it up into thirteen sub-districts, each one embracing several church centres that were fairly close to one another, the plan being that the workers in each group should unite for evangelistic work, while the church members in each group who wished to learn more in order to give voluntary service should come together in one place for periodic instruction. The Presbytery asked the central staff to conduct a short institute in each of the thirteen districts by way of experiment, so last November they began with six groups in the Toi Shaan area representing twenty-one churches. Three of the groups were composed chiefly of large churches and in big towns, but the other three



Shan East Primary School of more than 200 pupils.

Institutes continues to attract young people from a wide area in Canton. Two nights a week and two hours each night permit a large number of young men and women who are busily engaged during the day in store, bank, workshop etc., to obtain a working knowledge of the contents of the Bible, a simple statement of leading doctrines and training in leadership and administrative principles in the church field. Thus there goes on the preparation of an increasing number of lay workers as lay preachers, teachers and leaders, and workers generally for service in their respective churches.

In a recent survey of the city of Canton, and Kwangtung province we find approximately 975 churches and preaching places. In many of the county seats more than one denomination is represented. Aside from the county seats not more than thirty cities, markets or villages have more than one church or preaching place denominationally represented. This seems to indicate a very general observance of Mission and church comity exercised by missionary and church worker.

In Canton city there are 62 churches and preaching places. An attempt to locate these on a fairly sized map of the city, one could only praise God for the apparent purpose of the christian church to distribute



Synod Evangelists and Religious Educationists

were essentially village groups. The meeting place for each group was selected with a view to convenience of position and accommodation.

“The Greatest of any Field on Earth”: The central office group, in reporting on this work wrote: “In most of above places we spent three days, each day having Bible study, devotional meetings, singing lessons, discussions on worship, Sunday School and stewardship, while the evenings were given up to evangelistic meetings for outsiders. At all places we sold a considerable quantity of literature. The interest of church members invariably grew from day to day, the fellowship with the workers in the country was happy and enriching, and the kindly hospitality we enjoyed warmed our hearts as well as our bodies. But perhaps most encouraging were the evangelistic meetings in the evenings. At Toishaan city the meetings were held in the auditorium of the Y.M.C.A., when a large block in the centre of the audience was occupied by some 250 boys from the local branch of the Pooi Ying school and the gallery was filled with girls from the Congregational school. At the next place, Chung Lau, where the church is situated amid rural surroundings across the river from the market town, and where it was thought impossible to get people to attend meetings at night, the building was well filled every evening. At another place, To Fook by the sea, where a chapel has been re-opened recently at the request of a few earnest Christians, three times the number that the church could seat tried to get within hearing distance. In every place the buildings were filled to their utmost capacity and sometimes more so. Yet despite the crowds they were always orderly, the majority listened to the end, and, in fact, were generally loth to go after listen-



After the Evangelistic Meeting

ing for two hours. No wonder Sherwood Eddy, after his very fruitful campaign throughout China at the end of 1934 spoke of this golden harvest in China, which is the greatest of any field on earth”.

THE SYNOD BEGINS A NEW AND UNIQUE TASK.

R. P. Montgomery.

A few years ago one of the secretaries of the Kwangtung Synod said to me: “We recognize the evangelization of the aboriginal tribes of our north-western mountain district to be part of the responsibility of the Synod. We are only waiting until the opportune time to get to the task.” Last June the general secretary, the Rev. Y. S. Tom, travelling by boat up the Lin river for almost a week, made his first visit to the eighth district of the Synod, in which these aborigines live. While there he climbed a mountain to one of their villages and saw them as they are. After his return to Canton, he and his associates knew that the opportune time had arrived.

The photo of one of these villages reproduced gives some idea of what he saw at this “pie,” as the villages are called. Many of the houses, mere huts, are half underground, and roofed with bark. Huddled on the steep, rocky mountain slopes, these “pies” have no streets, no sewers, no latrines, no bath-rooms, no cisterns, no fire-protection. Some of the “pies” depend for their water supply upon springs far down the mountains, or pools of surface water accessible to pigs and fowls. Some of them have been wiped out in past decades by fires.

There are about 100,000 of these people in the bounds of the Synod’s eighth district, within 30 miles of the mission station at Linchow. About 35 years ago missionaries, then located nearer these people at the large market town of Samkong, made earnest efforts to befriend them, though they were not permitted to ascend the mountains to their “pies.” For decades there had been guerilla warfare between these people and the Chinese, at one time no less than 4,000 Chinese soldiers having been stationed at Samkong to aid in subjugating them. For centuries past they had been pushed back and up by the Chinese until only a few square miles of the poorest mountain land was left to them. Like the American Indians when deprived of their lands by white settlers, the people had become sullen and revengeful. To this day the usual “psychology” at Linchow is to look upon these people as worthless and dangerous, and to consider efforts to befriend them as so much wasted energy.

But since the Revolution the government has been trying the William Penn method. Missionaries and Chinese have in recent years visited their “pies,” in one case a missionary and a Chinese lady doctor spending two nights there, cordially treated. For decades the market towns have been neutral ground, and to them these people have flocked in hundreds to sell their crude mountain products and buy Chinese goods. Hence many of them speak the local Chinese fluently, though they have their own distinct language. The government bureau which deals with them has shifted its emphasis from “subjuate” to “civilize.” Men in government employ who speak the aboriginal language continually keep in touch with the “pies,” securing the favor of the leading men. From time to time distributions of funds are made. Thirty young men have been sent to a military school near Canton. Just now 13 small boys and two girls are in school in Linchow at

government expense. The government's efforts are commendable. The whole story would not be told, however, if we did not say that the position of commissioner is a political one, and that when commissioners change the whole staff of workers changes with them. There have

been five different commissioners in the past eight years. One can not but feel that the amount spent for salaries is very large compared to that actually used to help the people. The Synod's work promises greater continuity and smaller "overhead."



A typical aborigine village, perched high up on the mountain side. The low one-story houses are made of sun-dried brick, and roofed with bark or tiles. Their floors are made of earth, and as there is almost no furniture, serve the purposes of chairs, tables, beds and storage places for belongings. In many of them cooking is done in a hole in the floor, in a pot supported by stones. The water used in some villages is carried from springs half a mile down the mountain side, or taken from stagnant pools accessible to live stock. From these villages the people go daily to their fields, some of which are two or three miles away down the mountain sides, and climb back again in the evenings. From the villages, farm products and fuel must be carried a minimum of seven miles to market, and if not sold, carried back.



The 13 aborigine boys who are studying in a primary school in Linchow, with some of their Chinese teachers. Four of the boys are in the third grade, and can understand and speak the local Chinese fairly well. The other nine, lower down, are still lame at speaking it. With the exception of a few boys who are learning meaningless fortune-tellers' books by rote, these 13 boys and two girls are the only children of school age, out of approximately 40,000, who are getting any schooling. Their board, clothes, books, etc., are provided by the provincial government. After they have had two or three years in school, one can not distinguish them from Chinese boys.

To people who live in mud-floored huts with scarcely a stick of furniture in them; who know nothing not only of books but of the common trades like carpentry and weaving; who use every ounce of energy and every minute of time going to and from and working on their faraway, infertile lands to secure enough food to keep body and soul together; the preaching of the Gospel does not appear a very hopeful task. To us it appears almost useless unless we can change the physical conditions. The local committee of nine appointed by the Synod, and the two secretaries, propose to dispense medical aid, open industrial school work (carpentry, iron-work, masonry, weaving, sewing, etc.), and promote mass education. We must have buildings, very cheap ones. Fortunately there are Chinese "small merchants" in all the larger "pies" who are friendly and will introduce us, help us to secure building sites, and act as interpreters until we can learn the language. A young Chinese evangelist, a practical, consecrated man who has had a definite call to this work, not simply "job," has been secured to take the lead. His bride of less than a year, just as fine, a R. N. and a skilled weaver, is now working without salary.

This Chinese secretary and a friend spent a night recently in one of the "pies," putting up with the collector whom Lingnan University has had hunting insects in the "pies" for several months. Late in the evening, after carrying home on their shoulders their entire crop of beans, which they had harvested that day on the plain far below, many of the people gathered in the collector's hut to hear the cornet, drink tea, and listen to the plans, which they heard with gladness, which the Synod has for helping them. A young man who had been in an English class of mine for a few hours ten years ago, now selling groceries at this "pie," was the friendly interpreter. Recently a dozen boys from the People's Hope Industrial Institute in Linchow spent two days and nights at this and another "pie." The largest of the aborigine school boys in Linchow (he is in the third grade) has become a regular attendant at Sunday school, and is very helpful and friendly, bringing some of the younger boys with him. A dispensary is being fitted up in Samkong in a place loaned by the Mission, where on market days some

of the hundreds of aborigines who come to the market may find help. An earnest Christian man with some education is seeking to locate in one of the "pies" as a small merchant, desiring not only to make a living but to show how to live a Christian life. Thus in simple, humble ways a start is being made. The committee has recommended a budget of \$6,000 for 1935, and the executive secretary is now making efforts to secure this sum.

I shall not soon forget what I saw that forenoon not long ago when with the Chinese secretary and other friends I approached the "Oil Pass 'Pie.'" For two miles we kept meeting the people coming down in hundreds through the rice fields to the bean patches, on ground unsuitable for irrigation. Every mother's son and daughter big enough to pull up a bean-stalk was there. On carrying poles were bound the cotton sacks

to be used in carrying the crop back up the mountain in the evening. Possibly because beans are hard to identify when out of their proper environment, everybody pulled his beans and flailed them out with a limber withe on that day, all at one time. After a half-hour's hard climb at a very steep angle we reached the "pie."

Here I saw, in separate places, two little girls about six years old, too small to walk down to the fields and pull beans, beating out rice in patches near at home, while they tended the babies who sat on mats at their sides. No play for these children. No pictures. No books. No home but a smoke-filled, windowless, dirty little hut, where they sleep alone with pigs and ducks and men women in the one tiny room. And the mothers are away from morn till eve toiling in the fields, helping to keep the wolf from the door.

The co-educational industrial school which is projected, and the day schools which we hope will be developed with the aid of the young folks educated there, should do much to improve these conditions.



MR. SHIU TS'UNG OHAN, *associate secretary, with his wife* (CHEUNG UE YING, R.N.). *Mr. Shiu is a graduate of the Wuchow Bible School and has been an evangelist for two years in the Linchow field. Mrs Shiu is a graduate of the Wesleyan school for Nurses at Fatshan. They are now studying the language of the aborigines.*

The China Council Bulletin

Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Room 519, The Missions Building, Shanghai

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Chairman.

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Vice-Chairman and Secretary. MISSIONS CODE USED.

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China Council Bulletin.

The response to our "wonderings" in the last Bulletin show 50% in favor of the old Bulletin including the News Items and 50% never having missed or felt the lack of the Bulletin, also questioning the value of the News Items! To tell the truth, there were but two replies!

Property Matters.

For the next few months prior to her furlough departure Miss Frame will care for the bulk of the routine correspondence of the office in order that I may major on property matters. It is our hope that by an intensive effort all along the line much may be accomplished before the summer vacations. To that end we bespeak your cooperation. C. E. P.

Land Sales.

In every instance where land or other Board property is sold report should be made to the Council Office in order that record can be made through the Council minutes, thereby supplementing the minute on permission to sell and rounding out the matter.

Self-survey for Local Churches.

Typewritten outlines of a form for a "self survey for local Churches" were sent out from the Council Office to most of the men in evangelistic work a short time ago. These were intended to be helpful to church leaders in finding out the specific needs of each church or circuit with a view to making project objectives meet the most urgent of the real needs of the group. Rev. H. K. Chang of Tenghsien has translated this outline into Chinese and a limited edition has been printed. A few copies have been sent to each station but more may be obtained from the Council Office.

North China Theological Seminary, Tenghsien.

During the fifteen years of its existence the North China Theological Seminary has rolled up a list of 233 graduates. Of these there are 108 pastors, 89 evangelists, 21 teachers in Christian schools, 6 deceased, and 9 in other employment. The Women's Bible Seminary has 68 graduates of whom 30 are evangelists, 19 teachers in Christian schools, 4 wives of pastors or physicians, 4 deceased and 11 at home.

Mission Meeting Matters.

I. *Council Officer.*

The term of Dr. Wells expires September, 1935. Three nominations are required from each Mission for the Chairman of Council, (Handbook 35).

II. *Furloughs.*

- (a) *Regular.* Each should still have the added year.
- (b) *Furlough study approval.*
- (c) *Furlough Return.* Use the Pre-furlough Voting Blanks with a definite Mission or Executive Committee vote after the blanks are in hand, (Handbook 114).

III. *Annual Physical Examination.*

Report must be made (C. C. 33506; B. L. 193 p. 6) including children (B. L. General 12).

IV. *Delegates.*

- (a) General Assembly U.S.A. with an alternate.
- (b) Council member and alternate (Handbook 31).

V. *Property List.*

- (a) Must be in the hands of the Ad Interim Committee by July 1st.
- (b) Explanatory notes.

VI. *Force List.*

- (a) The list should be in the hands of the Ad Interim Committee as early in the year as possible, not later than July 1st.
- (b) Explanatory notes.

VII. *Estimates.*

- (a) Make out estimates for 1936-37 upon the basis of appropriations for 1935-36. To this end final ad-

justment of endowment items and travel expenses should await the arrival on the field of the 1935-36 detailed appropriation sheets.

(b) No provision need be made in the estimates for members of the Mission who have retired under the present pension system. The allowances for a very few retired members who are under the former honorable retirement plan still appear in our estimates but these are known to the stations concerned and appear in the estimate sheets for the current year.

(c) Children's allowances should be entered in Class I or Class II according to whether the parents are on the field or in America. The place of residence of the child makes no difference.

(d) Be sure to provide travel for any children planning to go to America during the year for their education.

(e) The use of separate sheets for Mission and Church General has been discontinued but headings should indicate what funds are handled by project boards; what are handled by presbyteries or other church bodies on the former basis and what are handled by station or mission.

(f) Try to show through Column D the relative needs of the various departments of work, the institutions which annually find it difficult to balance their budget, the types of work for which there are crying needs but no funds, the increases needed in order to care for repairs or to provide clerical assistance or to render unnecessary special grants from Council funds. The total of Column D should not equal more than 35% of Column C.

Hints on use of Index to the Council Minutes.

1. Look first under the *Station* as the Station is the unit of filing and indexing.
2. *Topics* come next, e.g., Agreements, Appointments, Assignments, etc.
3. *Council Funds* cover the next group, e.g., Emergency Fund, Land Title Fund, etc.
4. Do not look for *personal names* as with rare exception they have only a secondary use in the index.

(See also Hints for making your Mission Index, C. C. B. p. 637).

Family Account Forms.

There are available on request about 25 of the family budget account books.

Personnel Records.

The revision of the office Personnel and U.S.A. address records is in order. Please help us to have you each up to date in our files. If you have a small photograph to spare we would be pleased to have a copy.

American School Blanks.

The forms for travel expenses to and from the three American Schools are issued only upon request.

History Repeats Itself.

The Syria News Quarterly for January, 1934, commemorates the sixtieth anniversary of the arrival of the Rev. F. W. March who is still living on the Mission Compound in Beirut. It includes in that number excerpts from Board letters of 1873

with regard to the appointment of Mr. March (the father of Arthur W. March of Hangchow) from which we select a few quotations concerned with some of the Board's problems of that year. The letters are from the pen, literally, of Dr. F. F. Ellinwood.

Feb. 21, 1873.

"The two young men whom we hoped to get for Syria at Princeton are likely to fail us, viz., March and McClure. A third on whom we have built some hopes is found by his physicians to be too weak and near in his eyesight for the Arabic... But for the fear of an avalanche of letters from incapables I would make a public appeal... Our financial outlook is not good. We shall fall behind last year. It is no comfort to us to learn that all other Boards, Home and Foreign are suffering the same deficits. The times are hard, corruption is rampant, the dry rot of speculation and speculation creeps even into the high places of the Nation. The ears of the people tingle with the scandals which have smitten even Christian men in high public station. Wealth and extravagance and a making haste to be rich and richer and the richest, have done it and yet the cause of Christ suffers lack. Oh for the Spirit of God to descend with mighty power upon the churches and upon the land."

May 17, 1873.

"We are in debt \$128,000. And some of the members of the Board have been almost panic stricken... Our debt has not been the result of any sudden and lavish expenditure but it has come from a gradual falling in our work... We owed a debt of trust funds for Brazil, designed for

building, and which the Treasurer had used in current expenditures. It has been paid . . . Brethren on three or four different fields have greatly transcended their estimates and the sanctions of the Board in building and repairing various structures. On this subject the Board have appointed a committee of Laymen to prepare a strong cautionary circular. Our receipts for the year have been \$454,000 against \$457,000 last year."

July 11, 1873.

"The work of selecting so many men and women for the various fields brings no little anxiety and would, even if pastors and churches were always reliable in their representations to us. We are striving to raise our standards higher and higher. Indifferent men are abundant and still more abundant are a certain class of women. We must have only the best and must take every kind of measurement—intellectual, spiritual, social, physical, economic, executive and that which no other phrase will express but common sense."

July 15, 1873.

"Mr. Samuel Jessup and Miss Fisher now expect to leave about the 10th of October. Mr. March will, I think, go at the same time, unless the Board at its meeting on Monday next shall decide to request him to wait a few months for want of funds. I sincerely hope that this will not be done. His desire is to go immediately, and this kind of uncertainty as to our ability to send men exerts a most disastrous effect upon that whole class of candidates, male and female, to whom we look for our future recruits in the Mission service. The saddest work that I have yet been called to

perform has been to write on behalf of the Board to four or five promising young men within three months, informing them that for the present we could not give a favorable response to their offers to enter the Mission work. When a graduating member of any Seminary receives such a chill upon his consecrated ardor, it affects not him alone, but all those undergraduates down to the youngest class who have the Missionary Work in view. . . . Mr. March hopes to be assigned to Abeih as he thinks himself best adapted to the work of teaching. We all concur in this view of his qualifications. I doubt whether he will take a wife to Syria, though negative predictions or surmises on that subject are of little value."

Nov. 15, 1873.

"We are as you will have learned through the press in the midst of a severer financial crisis than we have known since 1857, and yet up to this date God has seemed to care for our work in a remarkable manner. The Providential intervention by which our great debt was mostly removed before the crisis is so marked as to fill us with a kind of awe as well as with profound gratitude. We take it as evidence that God is with us and will be with us always even to the end of the world."

Itineration Methods.

Many methods are in use in the different districts. The Council desires that a study of these methods, the cost and effectiveness under varying conditions be made for the benefit of the Missions. (Extract from the India Council Bulletin).

A bulletin of timely missionary news issued monthly by the missionary committee of the ARLINGTON AVENUE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, Arlington Avenue and Elton Street, Brooklyn - New York

Rev. WALLACE C. MERWIN
Paotingfu, Hopei, China

Supplementing his very interesting account of a country trip with a group of students "both to preach the gospel and to urge people to break off the ties of ignorance and evil customs that still bind so many of them," Mr. Merwin wrote to the editor on February 21, "Last evening we had the boys who went on the trip with me in for supper. There were eight of them and, as four had never eaten foreign food before and the others very infrequently, it was something of an experience for them. As our meals differ very greatly from those of the Chinese in the food, the utensils, the manner of eating, table manners, etc., it was not so easy for some of them, but they managed very creditably. After supper, we had some music, foreign and Chinese, and played some games. Company from inside the city cannot stay late here, for the west suburb gate closes at ten, so they had to leave before then. In fact, two boys who had to go through the city to the north suburb had to leave at half-past eight, as the north gate, where there is little traffic, closes at nine." Now read Mr. Merwin's story of his country trip, continued from last month's MAIL!

* * * *

"The original plan was that we were to stay in one place and each day go out to one of the surrounding villages for programs. The people at Sheng Chia P'u, however, had erected a large stage with a floor of heavy beams and a covering of mats in their courtyard which is quite a large one and urged us to give all of our programs in their yard. The boys talked it over, but decided they had not prepared sufficient material for a week's stay in one place, so we agreed to stay four days there and to go for a few days into the county seat, a walled city about four miles further on, where we have a chapel.

"Each morning we had a short devotional meeting followed by breakfast. Then a meeting for children was held, led by students, during which the children were taught songs and games and told stories. The afternoon meeting included singing, usually two addresses, one evangelistic and the other of a more general nature, followed by one or two short plays. The general talks were usually concerned with the need for mass education schools; warnings against the use of drugs, which is only too common; exhortation to stop the practice of binding girls' feet, a custom which, unfortunately, is still followed, though in a lesser degree than formerly; health talks which are much needed; plans for co-operative schemes for the country, etc. Our group used three plays, one of which showed the results of carelessness in regard to cleanliness and sickness; one which dealt with the plight of a mother and son who were defrauded and impoverished because of their inability to read and write; and a third which dealt with two Buddhist priests who, seeing the ineffectiveness of their idol, were led to break it up. These plays were somewhat crude, very laughable, as was intended, but nevertheless very effective. They provide a simple but very impressive means of getting over a truth. The other group used a dramatization of the Prodigal Son with much effectiveness.

"After the afternoon program, we usually found time for a walk before supper. The evening program included singing, two addresses and moving pictures. The latter were provided by a Baby Pathé machine belonging to the Y.M.C.A. and electricity was supplied by a portable dynamo turned by hand. The pictures were small and not very bright, but they seemed wonderful to most of the country people, the majority of whom have never seen them before. I can assure you that all our films would have passed the censors and met with the approval of the Legion of Decency. They were mostly educational and health subjects, with a few harmless comedies.

"The crowds were large for all of our meetings and for the most part listened attentively. The children were legion, however, and were inclined to be restless and noisy. In the evening, the crowds pressed against the platform so in order to see the pictures that there was some danger of collapse; in fact, we had to close the meeting early one evening because the superstructure began to fall. The other group were not so fortunate as we for the platforms they used collapsed on two occasions because of the crowds. On Sunday, the usual programs were dispensed with and church services held, Pastor Ku leading at Sheng Chia P'u while I went into the city.

"We went out one day to a large market town about three miles away where we had our meetings in a large school that had formerly been a temple. One of the teachers was a Christian and we were given a warm welcome. On the fifth day, we moved into the county seat and stayed for two days. On our last evening out, we went out to a village where there is a strong church about three miles outside the city and showed the pictures. The moon was bright and the two evening walks we had in the country were very enjoyable.

"During the whole of our stay, I ate with the boys and lived with them, and I was very glad that I did, for to have taken foreign food along would have deprived

me of much good fellowship. Cereals are the staple of consumption in the north of China, especially wheat, but we ate a great deal of rice because the man who did the purchasing got an unusually large quantity. Each had a bowl of rice and a bowl of cabbage cooked with pork, the other staple dish in the north. There was plenty to eat and there were occasional variations, and I never felt hungry. Our food was prepared by an old man, a Christian, who had formerly been a cook and who volunteered his services. It was not always so clean as we fussy foreigners might desire, but everything was hot, and there is not much danger of disease in winter, so I didn't look too closely.

"All in all, we had a very successful trip in every way. One of the best results was the help we got ourselves. Several of the boys were not Christians and they were given an opportunity to see something of the program and the message of the church. All were impressed. One boy especially, who is a very bright student and very promising material, has become greatly interested in Christianity and is very eager to learn all he can about the truth. All of us were helped and brought closer to the Lord by our experiences. I was especially impressed by the fine spirit of the boys in their desire to serve and eagerness to give to others the help they had received from Christ; by the fine spirit of many of the Christians among whom we went and by the sense of a great need and a great hunger among the people of the countryside. Surely, the situation is not unlike that in our Master's day when He looked upon the people and had compassion upon them because they were like sheep without a shepherd. Everywhere we saw temples and shrines, the country is dotted with them, but everywhere they were deserted, broken down, uncared for. The spirit of change is upon China. God grant that the Church may be equal to its opportunity; that the change may be of great profit to the Kingdom and to men.

"Our other group reports a week of at least equal success. In one place where they planned a day's meetings they were forced to stay two days and two nights and were kept busy speaking and acting constantly. The evangelist who accompanied them, after having spoken an hour and a half one evening, the time then being nine-thirty and well past country folks' bedtime, asked that they close the meeting. He was told, 'Oh, we wouldn't think of closing the meeting before twelve-thirty!'

"Most farmers in China plant at least two crops a year. Perhaps we may consider this week of service and witnessing the winter crop of our student work. My hope is that it may be only the beginning of the harvest - a great harvest of souls won for the Master and of work done in His name."

OUR PRAYER Through the leading of the Spirit, that EVERY MEMBER of the
THIS YEAR Church, insofar as circumstances permit, will contribute regularly to the benevolence work of the Church by enclosing a generous offering in the benevolence (red) side of the weekly envelope!

* *

As a business man, speaking to business men, I am prepared to say that the work which has been done by missionary agencies in India exceeds in importance all that has been done by the British Government in India since its commencement. - Sir W. Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab.

Rev. HOWARD B. PHILLIPS
Pine Ridge, South Dakota

"We enjoyed Mr. Merwin's description of his New Year's evangelistic trip in the country," wrote Mr. Phillips on May 23. "Fur-lined sleeping bags, bicycles and brick

beds all make an interesting if not comfortable combination. Folks in China, Brooklyn and Pine Ridge all seem to be happily busy and truly there is much for us all to do. God grant that we all may have a long and profitable season of work." Read Mr. Phillips' delightful letter to the Arlington Avenue Church Family!

* * * *

"This is the evening of the 22nd of May and the third day of our first Vacation Bible Schools. We are holding one in the mornings here in the Pine Ridge Village church and the other at the Extension School House four miles away, just over the line in Nebraska. Both of these schools are for white children. We now have three months of this work ahead of us with just as little time off as possible.

"After we finish the two schools we are now conducting, we are going to try a week's school in each Indian church with morning and afternoon sessions. This will give us the ten periods but will call for only a week of sustained effort on the part of our Indian people. They seem to like to give their whole time to a project if it be of short duration and to find it difficult to concentrate for a comparatively long period of time. If this plan works, it will save Mrs. Phillips and myself quite a bit of energy as generally, we visit two localities in a day, having morning and afternoon sessions. In this way, we can give our whole time to one church and we believe we can accomplish more than in the usual way.

The Effectual, Fervent Prayers of Pastor Ting Li Mei

A Chinese pastor who gave the central place
in his life to intercession

By Laura Cammack Trachsel

PASTOR TING LI MEI was born into a Buddhist home at Chiao Hsien, Shantung, in 1871. Dr. Hunter Corbett and Mrs. J. H. Laughlin, two American Presbyterian missionaries, brought the glad tidings of Christ's redeeming power to this home. The father was the first to accept, the other four in the home soon following him in confession of faith and baptism. So in God's good pleasure, little Li Mei grew up in a Christian home. At the age of seven he entered an old style Chinese school where he studied the four Confucian classics. When eleven years old he left home, going away 150 miles to what is now known as the Shantung Christian University. The young lad was brave in testimony and was known to all the students as "The Little Pastor." He graduated from college at twenty-three years of age.

Imprisoned by the Boxers

His first pastorate was at Laichowfu (Yeh Hsien), Shantung, in the Presbyterian Mission, and was just at the time of the Boxer uprising. The young pastor did not escape the persecution of those troublous days, for he was soon confronted with an official notice of arrest and hurried off to prison. Before going with the officers, he calmly changed his clothes and took his New Testament in hand and then humbly accompanied his persecutors. He knew his physical lot would be made more severe because he insisted on the Book, but he could not and would not be deprived of his true Source of all comfort and grace. The red underlinings in this small volume (which he kept to the day of his death) show that Pastor Ting's fellowship with God was unbroken during his forty days of incarceration. Three times he was called before officials and examined. Once he had two hundred stripes laid on with a rod. He was threatened with death and offered freedom if he would speak one word against the Lord Jesus. His faith failed not—he would not deny his Lord. Like Paul, to the day of his death he carried in his body the "marks of the Lord Jesus." Due to a telegram drafted by Dr. W. M. Hayes of Tenghsien and sent to Consul Fowler of Chefoo, the release of Pastor Ting was granted by Yuan Shih K'ai, then governor of Shantung Province.

After these trials in the flesh, God brought this chosen vessel of his out into a large and extensive ministry in China. Ten years of pastoral work in Eastern Shantung proved most fruitful. Louisa Vaughan in her book, "Answered or Unanswered," tells of holding a four-day conference for the deepening of the spiritual life of the Chinese Christians in Yuan Chuang where Pastor Ting was stationed. In one evening service Pastor Ting was about to give out the text of his address when the Holy Spirit prompted Miss Vaughan to rise and ask: "Won't you give us five minutes for personal prayer? And let each one pray, 'Heavenly Father, for-

Six months ago God called home to himself one of his faithful servants in China, a man who was known and loved by multitudes of Christians not only in that country but in other lands as well. Pastor Ting Li Mei came to his place of greatest usefulness through suffering and persecution, through continual meditation on the Word of God, and ceaseless, fervent prayer. His life shed forth "a sweet savour of Christ," and the Times counts it a privilege to publish this story of his fruitful, loving service by one who knew him and was associated with him in China.

give me my sins, send the Holy Spirit into my heart and reveal them to me. Cleanse me from them in the precious blood and fill me with thy Spirit." She goes on to say: "He consented rather reluctantly, but he repeated my request and added, 'Let us kneel and offer this prayer together.'

"Then a wonderful thing occurred. The Holy Spirit came upon the assembly so suddenly and with such mighty power that before their knees touched the floor, they were all, as with one voice, sobbing aloud their sins of omission and commission, sins of neglect of the spiritual lives of their children, of not loving one another and not loving God, sins of quarreling, of covetousness, of hatred, and of Sabbath breaking. . . . For more than half an hour the confessions continued.

"Pastor Ting tried again and again to preach the sermon he had prepared, but he never got a chance. When at last, near the close of the meeting, he secured a hearing, he told of his interview with me. He had confessed to God his lack of faith. . . . Then turning to his people, he begged their forgiveness for attempting to lead

them in his own blindness. 'And,' he added, 'I call you, Miss Vaughan, and you, my brothers and sisters, to witness that I promise never again to use in God's service any method save that of prayer and faith. Tonight I have seen the mighty power of God in answer to prayer, and I rejoice.'

"Pastor Ting Li Mei had entered upon his life work as an evangelist. Later on he accepted an invitation to tour Shantung Province, and everywhere God manifested his power by means of his servant's faith. Later still the Young Men's Christian Association arranged for him to visit all the schools, colleges, and universities throughout China. God has so marvelously empowered him that he is known today as the 'Apostle of China,' and 'China's Moody.'

A Soul-Winner among Students

Arduous journeys, days packed full of messages to students in assembly, and private interviews with hungry-hearted seekers were the order of the day during this period. Schools in eighteen provinces felt the winning touch of Ting Li Mei's Christ; young people were converted; many felt called to special Christian service. God worked in student circles those years because God had found a channel unclogged by self—a channel kept free and open by intimate communion with Christ himself. As Dr. John R. Mott has said, "Those who knew him best will tell you that the dynamic secret of his life was the central place which he gave to intercession." More than two thousand received help and signed their names asking for prayer. Pastor Ting's work was so strenuous during these days of rich, spiritual out-giving that his body was weakened by the strain and never regained its former robustness.

Another task of Pastor Ting's involved a trip to Yunnan Province where he investigated the churches and did pioneer work. While there, he had the privilege of six months' work among the Miao tribes. There is now a large number of workers in the parts of Yunnan where the field was opened by Pastor Ting.

At the age of fifty-four he was asked to teach in the North China Theological Seminary at Tenghsien, Shantung, where he remained for eight years. A year of this period was given to revivals in various parts of Manchuria. At sixty-two he went to the Tientsin Bible School, where he taught and labored in city-wide Bible class work for the four years before his death.

But out of these intensely active years came a prayer-book, a small loose-leaf volume filled with names, mostly Chinese, but here and there a name written in English. The book grew for twenty years—grew in names, grew in prayer power as Ting Li Mei interceded before his Father's throne for person after person brought to mind by the record. Most of the names were of those who had been helped



PASTOR TING LI MEI

in his meetings. On and on he prayed in the book, marking the end of his intercessory time by a red marker and taking up his prayer from that place the next day. From time to time Pastor Ting would joyously tell in public meeting of an answered prayer—perhaps of ten, fifteen, or twenty years' standing. *Two thousand names* fill this little black book so worn and shiny. There were two other books, too: one containing names of Gospel team members in the city, and the other, a new book started on April 2, 1936, after the doctors had told him there was no hope of recovery from his illness. He prayed every day for the names in the newest book.

On May 2, 1936, he attended his last fasting and prayer service in the Bible School. He spoke most movingly on the subject of prayer. He said that in his dreams he was again a schoolboy. He and his schoolmate had been called to show their prayer-lists to the teacher. He showed his, a common envelope and nothing but a piece of newspaper inside. But the schoolmate had a large, unusual-looking envelope with a picture of the cross on it as well as one of the world, the two being bound together with red lines. The lesson to him was that God wants the *uncommon* prayer—the "effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man."

He then went on to speak of the Temple: the outer courts were for the multitudes; the inner courts were for the believers only; and still inside and beyond all those courts was the Holy of Holies where just one man entered and spoke face to face with God. This had been the course of his ministry: first, outside among the crowds; next, a ministry to believers; but now God had taken him alone into his presence and there on a bed of sickness he could pray and meet him face to face. He said: "This is the place of largest usefulness. *This is the highest ministry of my life.*"

At one time in his earlier ministry Pastor Ting enumerated the following ten out of the uncounted blessings which he himself had experienced in the practice of prayer:

1. I am so much with the Lord that he seems my closest Friend.
2. My spiritual life is refreshed like the sprouting grain with rain.
3. Justice, peace, and joy constantly fill my soul as the light fills the heavens, and I get uncommon strength.
4. When I study the Bible I seem to see Heaven opened, and realize that I am having communion of heart with Christ himself.
5. When I talk about the Gospel in private or public I have an unshakable confidence that the hand of the Lord is supporting me.
6. My love has been steadily expanded until I now am conscious of no man in the universe whom I cannot love.
7. When I fall into sin, whether secret or open, whether great or small, I experience an immediate rebuke of conscience, which drives me at once to confession and repentance.

8. In all my work for the Lord, although the results are not alike evident or immediate, I do not know of any effort that has been in vain.

9. Intercessory prayer has greatly enlarged my circle of friends among God's coworkers, and through the Lord's kind care these friendships will never cease, but will continue to grow, thus far excelling the friendships of the world.

10. And best of all, I am not the only one who is trying to persevere in intercession. Others in my own and in other Christian organizations, both men and women, in church and school and ministry, have likewise been banded together in similar covenants of prayer these same twenty years. I am personally acquainted with not less than ten who have their individual lists for prayer besides the cycles prepared for the use of groups. They are unanimous in their testimonies to the blessings of this habit.

Pastor Ting Li Mei died September 22, 1936, at Tientsin. Who in the Chinese Church is to "stand in the gap," taking Pastor Ting's place as one of God's remembrancers? He gave his all for China: a poised, winning personality; a well-trained mind; breadth of vision for the Church in China; maturity and depth in teaching Biblical truth without compromise; humility of character; an out-poured life of intercession; in short, he gave the "noblest thing in God's world—a lavished life."

TIENTSIN, CHINA.

An Eightieth Year

DR. HOWARD A. KELLY, the "beloved physician" of Johns Hopkins University, and known and honored the world around not only for his surgical standing and achievements but also for his devoted Christian faith and love of the Word, on February 20 completed his seventy-ninth year and began on his eightieth. A Baltimore reader of THE SUNDAY SCHOOL TIMES sends a clipping from the Baltimore *Morning Sun* of February 20, saying: "I was particularly impressed that a poem in a secular paper in Dr. Kelly's own city should pay tribute to his faith,

and love for the Word of God." The poem is in the column entitled "Good Morning," by The Bentztown Bard (Folger McKinsey), and follows:

AN EIGHTIETH YEAR

I want to see what it feels like to be in one's eightieth year.—Dr. Howard A. Kelly.

An eightieth year for some may seem
An idle gesture or a dream;
But unto Dr. Kelly—why,
It ought to seem like some fair sky
On some fair day, some lovely scene,
With heavenly beauty going by
And trees in foliage, grasses green,
And over all God's holy eye.

An eightieth year—may his today
Be all that peace and love can say,
Be happy with some small return
To him of all he's done to make
So many hearts with gladness burn,
And done it all for duty's sake,
With reverent love and faith in One
Who is life's all-beholding sun.

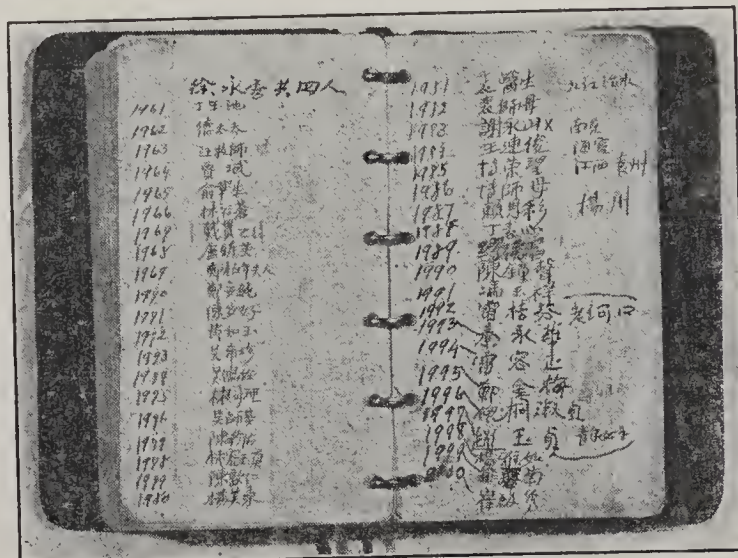
Skilled surgeon, yet a quiet man;
With eyes so eagerly to scan
The Holy Book, to bend his eyes
Upon its pages, and then lift
His head toward the glorious skies
And feel God's love around him drift—
True citizen and noble guide,
A people's love, a city's pride.

—B. B.

A "Mistake" That Saved a Girl from Despair


COLLEGE and high school students in many places are being led to Christ and strengthened in the faith by the Miracle Book Club. One of its pamphlets describes it as "a high school and college world-wide fellowship around the person of the Lord Jesus Christ, the center of the Miracle Book, the center of each chapter of the Club, and the only One who can balance the life. The Club's aim: to know Christ and to make him known, and his work, his power, and his glory." The Club's motto is, "We are more than conquerors through him that loved us" (Rom. 8:37). The Miracle Book Club was founded by Mrs. Evelyn McClusky, who writes the lesson article each week in the TIMES entitled "Your Class of Girls," and Mrs. McClusky is today the Director of the Club. There are branches in every state in this country and every province in Canada. In a recent letter, from which the following is taken, she tells how the Miracle Book Club is bearing fruit, and gives a striking incident that arose out of what seemed like a mistake.

"However, rejoice with me in this: Mr. Potts of Learned, Miss., writes that God evidently wrote the lessons because they have been the means of fire from Heaven in the high school there, and that the Pentecost experience is spreading throughout the district. He further says that the Miracle Book Club is surely born of God because of the changed lives in the young people as the result of the studies, and he urges us to see that many get the studies at once, for 'we know that a revival needs the study of the Word of God, and that is what Miracle Book



THE LAST TWO PAGES IN THE BOOK OF NAMES OF THOSE FOR WHOM PASTOR TING PRAYED FOR TWENTY YEARS

(Continued, page 229)



THE WAR CLOUDS'
SILVER LINING

HUNAN
CHINA



1938

THE WAR CLOUDS' SILVER LINING.

Living behind a war cloud is a new and awesome experience. The cloud has shown us in Hunan its silver lining, but in the distance we have heard the low menace of its thunder, and have known that at any time it might roll inland and rain the fire of its lightning upon us. Already thousands of war refugees, like drifted leaves, have been blown into our midst, and their presence among us has had a very definite influence upon our life and work. What is in their hearts is echoed in the following translation of a poem by one of them.

AUTUMN BLAST.

Leaves, snatched too soon by the autumn
blast

We, who were sons, can but drift afar.
Bleak is this desert of sand and spar !
Black flock the crows when summer is past,
Seeking a rest for their clan outcast.
Do their hearts yearn for nests that wings
disown ?

Leaves !

A sigh drifts back from dry leaves at last ;
Each bears in his heart a bitter scar.
Winter will sharpen his scimitar.
Will spring come again this year, steadfast?
Leaves !

The cloud has shown us its silver lining by the calibre of these guests who have come among us. Many of them are Christians and not a few trained workers, who have been willing to throw in their lot with us, and so have greatly supplemented our regular staff. And there is silver just in the challenge of being in China and in

Hunan at this time of crisis and appalling wrenching of human life.

Hunan, already a province of 30,000,000, has been right in the pathway of the tides of humanity flowing westward. A nation is in flux. Hundreds of thousands have passed through seeking safety and new homes in the provinces beyond. And hundreds of thousands have stopped here. Some of the cities have doubled in population in a few months time. Changsha has grown from a city of five hundred thousand to one of eight hundred thousand, and all our cities have been taxed to the utmost by the myriads of new peoples from "down river."

Group Migration.

They have not come merely as individuals and families but also as institutions. Whole schools have moved with students and faculty and with their numbers more or less intact have swarmed into new localities. They have come in every sort of way, by motor car, by row boat, by steamer and railroad train, and on foot. The students of a provisional university numbering a thousand, gathered from three disbanded or destroyed institutions which had moved from North China and had located temporarily at Changsha, started out on foot, men and women together, to walk the eight hundred miles to Kunming, the capital of Yunnan Province, which has been chosen as the new location for the university.

Hospitals have transported equipment and staff and finding new centers have begun work again, bringing skilled service in some cases to cities which had no such advantages. Teachers,

doctors, nurses, scientists, engineers, evangelists, pastors, mechanics, business men, rural experts, every type of trained leadership are among these folk caught by the winds of war and blown from their accustomed places to new areas. The streets are crowded with this unique population. The sound of strange dialects fills the ear. Every gathering shows representatives from many provinces assembled in the melting pot. Most of them are young, many of them youth. Titanic changes are occurring but they are not daunted. The night may seem dark, but they refuse to yield to despair. They welcome new friends. They are willing to start afresh. They are approachable and responsive to an interest in them. Never before has Church and Mission had such opportunities for ministering to so many people in so varied a way.

Refugee Co-workers.

The Hunan Mission was caught by the flood at a time when its staff had reached a point nearest to the low water mark registered during the communist outbreak in 1928. Of twelve regular members of the Mission on the field during the winter only two were men, one a doctor and the other an evangelist. A larger number were on furlough or detained in the United States. For months three of the Stations were each manned by a lone woman. If it had not been that many of the refugees were finely trained Christian workers, returned students from America, college professors, middle school teachers, university and seminary students, fine surgeons and nurses and teachers in schools of nursing, who have supplemented the work of the Mission institutions, it would never have been possible to have accomplished so much.

Over one third of the whole group of the Mission workers were caught either in Japan or elsewhere in China by the outbreak of hostilities in Shanghai. The Acting Secretary flew in from Hongkong. Three ladies after being marooned in Japan made an eleven day trip from Canton on a house boat to a point on the railroad. At one place where they had hoped to take the train, they were witnesses of an aerial bombardment of the railroad station. Three others coming from Shanghai by way of the Yangtze River had to leave the steamer at the boom which blocked the river passage. They made a two days detour through the canals by gasoline launch. Travel has not been at all comfortable. It has been slow and on the railroad somewhat risky due to what one has called the *aves diaboli*. However, we have gone about our tasks and trips as normally as possible, keeping to the bus lines whenever we could to avoid air raids. Congestion of traffic necessitating waiting for days and inexperienced drivers have rendered even this sort of travel more of a real peril than danger from bombs. Life has been far from humdrum. There has been a deep satisfaction in the constructive service permitted to the Christian forces at this time.

Crowded Hospitals.

The medical branch particularly has had to rise to meet the emergency. The refugees are people who have in many cases been used to modern medical care. They are hospital-minded and have naturally turned to the mission hospital. This is one reason for the phenomenal increase in patients. The other reason is that many serious cases among the wounded soldiers

have been sent to our hospitals through the International Red Cross. In most of the hospitals patients have had to be turned away for lack of bed space. In Changteh where fifty-two beds had been, room had to be found for seventy, and later for one hundred. Every available nook and corner was occupied. The chapel and even the dispensary waiting room were turned into wards. Private rooms were greatly in demand. Obstetrical cases have exceeded all previous records in all of our hospitals. As is usual in war time the boy babies have been in the majority. In one week at Changteh two Caesarian operations were successfully performed. Serious cases have increased. There were eight operations for appendicitis in a few weeks time. Hengyang also had several perforated appendix cases sent to it from the army hospitals which were treated successfully.

Many doctors and nurses from the North, Nanking, Soochow and Shanghai have supplemented our hospital staffs. Central Hospital Unit of Nanking, numbering over fifty, which came in January to Changteh cooperated with the hospital, their doctors assisting in operations, their nurses doing ward duty, and their instructors in Public Health permitting our students to attend their classes. Another unit which was stationed at Taoyuan for two months opened a clinic in connection with our Student Center there.

One of the medical features of the migration has been that graduate nurses in adequate numbers have for once been available. Out of our training schools they came from as far north as Paotingfu in Hopei, from Chefoo and Tsining in Shantung, from Hwaiyuan in Anhwei, and

from Nanking. Miss Lorena Foster of the Southern Methodist Mission, herself a refugee, came to Changteh bringing a contingent of her own students. Already there was a group from the Tsining Nurses Training School. These two schools together with the local school were successfully united, and under the patient and painstaking work of Miss Foster were organized and made efficient.

New Dangers.

The new hospital at Hengyang ready for occupancy in September was in a few months overflowing and has already been outgrown. Hengyang is to be one of the great railroad centers in Hunan. It is teeming with mechanical activity of all kinds, and is bound to be an important manufacturing city. New machinery brings new dangers and accidents are already frequent. One truck filled with workmen was struck by another. It went over a bank and into water. Thirty-eight men were brought to the hospital and eighteen were admitted with fractures, concussions and the effect of partial drowning. A group of air-pilots and their families were riding in an open truck. It turned over seventy li from the city. Word was sent asking that three private rooms be prepared. The hospital was already full. When they came there were fifteen victims of the accident; but they were all received. Thus the forces of destruction and rehabilitation operate over against each other. The fact that the Mission is on the side of reconstruction helps us to see the silver lining.

League of Nations Anti-Epidemic Measures.

There are other redemptive forces at hand. According to the Changsha News Letter the League of Nations Epidemic Prevention Commission is working in China in three divisions. One unit being German speaking, made up of Swiss nationality, has headquarters in Shensi. They are especially combatting smallpox and typhus fever among refugees and troops. The second unit is under the leadership of French scientists working in South China. Hunan has the third division with headquarters at Changsha. It is English speaking. Its main attack is against smallpox, cholera, typhoid fever and malaria. Each of these three anti-epidemic units is staffed by a group of health officers, bacteriologists and parasitologists, sanitary inspectors and technicians trained abroad and in Nanking. It is cheering to realize, that science is not all devoted to the destruction of human life, but is positively enlisted in the saving of life. These men are devoted to defeating "the pestilence that walketh in darkness." The darkness of ignorance is the finest breeding ground for plague. These commissions are letting in the light.

Dr. Politzer, one of the members of the third unit, has spent a good deal of time in Changteh, living with the missionaries. They have discovered that the cholera which existed in that city, even though it was winter, was caused by the germ of true Asiatic cholera with which the water of the river is infected. This is the main source of drinking water for the city. The problem was how to prevent a serious epidemic breaking out with warm weather. Dr. Politzer devised a practical method for stationing

a number of "filter barges" along the shore into which the river water passes and is chlorinated thus rendering it safe to drink. An active campaign for free inoculation against that dread disease and also typhoid has been instituted and thousands have taken advantage of this service. Dr. Politzer's work may save many lives this next summer. It has been a privilege for our hospital to cooperate with him in this splendid undertaking of trying to forestall the horrors of such epidemics.

Another bright side to the cloud is the cooperation of the International Red Cross which has made it possible for the hospitals to take in either soldiers or civilians who otherwise could not get adequate hospitalization. The influx of patients has necessitated the buying of much new equipment, which has in part been supplied by the Red Cross. Greatly needed medicines and surgical supplies have also been given. Dr. George Tootell has acted as the representative of the Red Cross for Hunan Province.

First Aid Units.

With the clouds of possible air-raids hanging low many began to think of first aid measures. The Mayor of Siangtan asked our hospital staff to conduct a first aid class. Forty young people attended a six weeks' course. It was intensively repeated for volunteers from the Christian Fellowship and for the school teachers of the city. This was also true in Hengyang. The Changsha Church has three stretcher corps to carry wounded to the hospitals after air-raids. They have been the first on the scene at the bombings which have befallen the city.

Dug-Outs.

We are certainly reminded of the necessity for air-raid protection by the dug-outs which have become a feature of the landscape in Mission compounds. These have been built at considerable expense and while not bomb proof are probably shrapnel proof. It has eased the hearts of parents somewhat to know that the schools had a place where their children could go from "the destruction which wasteth at noonday" (air-raids usually come around the middle of the day in Hunan.) Dugouts have in some cases been ordered by the government. At one center the two rooms under the transepts of the church were sealed up and the concrete floor above made more bullet proof by a layer of sand two feet and a half thick. Again this area came into its wonted use when the sandy expanse on both sides of the auditorium afforded a foundation and background for figures of the Christmas story in celebration of the birthday of the Prince of Peace.

Not only the schools but the hospitals have in certain cases felt they must provide this sort of protection. They have in some instances been built by subscription. During the autumn the air-raid signals were sounded almost daily, in a certain Station sometimes more than once a day. All the patients in the hospital wanted to go into the dug-outs. At the sound of the alarm dark clothes were donned and within a very few minutes every patient was moved.

Christian Refuges.

The increase in population has meant a great demand for housing. Rents have soared and the large deposits required have been a great

hardship for people whose finances were limited. The churches early did what they could to assist Christian refugees to secure suitable accommodations. However, it soon became apparent that the Church and Mission should go further. The Changsha Church basement was divided into ten rooms with bamboo partitions for Christian families. Later two additional buildings were secured. The very poor were helped with food and bedding. Unoccupied buildings have in all our Stations been filled with our unfortunate brothers and sisters. It has been a blessed ministry, blessing him who takes and him who gives.

Immediately after the schools of Changsha were closed in December the buildings were filled with refugees. The Fuhsiang School property was occupied by doctors and nurses from The Central Hospital of Nanking and from the Southern Methodist hospitals in Soochow and Changchow, and by a medical group of volunteer workers from Java.

Siangtan also set aside its unoccupied girls' school building as a refuge dividing the larger rooms into cubicles, and almost immediately it was filled with about seventy persons. How happy they have been in the Christian family life of the place. A common kitchen was established, family prayers conducted daily, and meetings for women held each week. Among the group were college professors, (one had studied in Columbia) middle school teachers, and some medical folk. Some of the teachers have opened a tutorial class for middle school students and have enrolled about fifty young people. This has helped the latter and has afforded the refugees a chance to make some-

thing towards their expenses. Night classes have been conducted by others.

The establishment of a Christian Fellowship made up of refugees, temporary residents in the city and local Christians has afforded very helpful contacts and given many a chance to do something for others. Two gatherings of over a hundred persons and a supper at which seventy were present have drawn the members of the group together.

Crowded Churches.

Church services have been crowded with new comers. Many of them are bringing fresh life and enthusiasm to us and they are prizing the opportunities of a Church home. These Christians from the war areas have taken part in special evangelistic campaigns, and in the religious education program of the church, have led some of the services of worship and prayer, and have contributed ideas of organization from experience gained elsewhere. There has been little emphasis on what church they belonged to. They were Christians, and brothers in trouble. That is all that was asked. Members of the family who had not yet become disciples have under the kindness and friendship of "the beloved community" begun to take a vital interest in Christianity and not a few have been enrolled as inquirers. They have lost much of this world's goods, but they have found the door into a life of new values.

The Children's Church has been a feature at Changteh. On Sundays they gather ninety strong. Two talented refugee ladies have helped. There are three other weekly children's meetings. A girls' chorus and a children's

choir have also been organized. Siangtan and Hengyang as well have Junior Churches.

During the autumn war conditions and alarms interfered somewhat with the regular work of evangelism. Country people feared to come to the Stations for training. However, a goodly number of short term Bible Schools for women were held and classes were conducted in the outstations.

Youth.

One of the brightest spots in the dark background has been the cheering response of the young people to the ministry of the Church. This has two aspects, the friendly hand to students and aid to wounded soldier boys. How debonair the young people have seemed, many of them with their western clothes and their habits acquired in fine schools in the cities of the north and Central China. They have been so gay in spite of heavy hearts, covering up the ache in their breasts with songs and a laugh. Youth is optimistic. They have seen their schools razed to the ground by devastating bombs. They have witnessed the burning of their homes. Many of them have lost track of their families, not knowing whether they still are alive or not. Hosts of these young people have passed through our cities. Some groups from schools have kept united, teachers and pupils moving together and sharing what they possessed.

At Taoyuan the old hospital building was turned into a Student Center. Gradually a group of thirty young people was gathered together. They were a talented group forming a happy family. Some being students from the

Theological School, others Ginling College girls, five were Christian nurses trained in Cheeloo University, part of a medical unit, among them was the family of a professor in Nanking Seminary. They had lost all their worldly goods in the retreat from the capital. These young people were not there to dwell upon their troubles, great or small, but to help their fellows. Through music, games, clubs and Bible classes, through young people's services, English classes, a daily clinic they drew other young folk into the circle of Christ's spirit. Many of these were entirely cut off from their own people. Moral perils due to the freedom of broken home ties lurked on every hand. The fascination of the uniform is still the snare of romantic girls. Who knows how many were held to their highest by [the happy Christian atmosphere of this and other groups in our Stations? Surely many have been saved from loneliness and despair by the fine fellowship of play and work.

Travelers' Aid.

During February a large number of high school students passed through Taoyuan on boats enroute to Kweichow, where they were to make up the Provisional High School. Three hundred of them were detained at the river bank for a week because of the threat of bandits up river. The young Christians from the Center called at the twelve boats, each housing from twenty to thirty boys or girls, and invited them to come to the Student Center to spend their leisure time. They had already been on the boats for two weeks and were glad to accept the invitation. For a week they thronged the reading and game

room. It was arranged for the girl students to come in shifts of ten for hot baths. The whole group was invited to come half at a time, for a student service followed by games and tea. They responded eagerly, and it was possible to present each student with a book of selected Scripture portions and each boat with a game of "Diamonds" (similar to Halma) to help while away the tedious month of travel which lay ahead.

New Vision.

English classes have been greatly in demand and in several of the stations have resulted in the students being definitely interested in the gospel. Such classes have given fine new contacts and an opportunity to help young people too often untouched. They have in some instances come asking for English Bible classes. Friendship with people of Christian faith has cheered hearts saddened and embittered by their own and their country's ills. There is among these youth real spiritual hunger and an eagerness to find something certain and permanent in a world of uncertainty. The following is a letter written in quaint English to his brother by one of these students.

"In recent weeks I usually go to church on Sunday to listen preaching, pray and a song of praise, which seems to interest me. Now I have learned how to pray. When I feel uncomfortable I pray to God to pity on me. When I do some wrong things I pray to God to forgive me. The New Testament Luke shall be ended this week. I have learned a great deal of valuable knowledge from Jesus. He teach me honor, faithfulness, pity on the poor,

what sins we must avoid, etc. He also made some good examples to follow for me. Japanese armies invade into our country. I always hate her and curse her. Since I read the Bible I have never hated her. Because Jesus teaches me to love our enemies then our recompence is great. Hence we love our enemy, Japan, and teach her to invade another is wrong. Certainly she will repent. Only hating and cursing is no benefit to us at all. I think it is absolutely right. Do you?"

Rev. Stanton Lautenschlager of Cheeloo University came to Hunan in May to hold services among students. He has a challenging message, well balanced between the personal and the social. It is apt for the times and grips the hearts of the youth. He stresses the cross. Over two hundred students in Yale Middle School, Fuhsiang Girls' School and Kwangteh Junior Middle School signified their determination to follow Christ. This is more amazing to those who remember how adamant to the gospel message Middle School students were a few years ago. Young people respond to the claims of Christ in the 20th century as they did in the first. Even before these meetings four-fifths of the seventy-four received into the church at the capital were students. The heart of youth is made for the gospel and the gospel for the heart of youth.

The Wounded.

About every fifth man one meets on the street is in uniform. The military is the most obvious feature of life to-day. The armies are made up of young men, the military hospitals are full of wounded young men. Every city has

several hospitals and the patients run into the thousands. One day a letter came from General Chiang to the hospitals and to the Churches asking that they cooperate in bringing the Christian message to the wounded. This resulted in a definite invitation to come and set up a program for the boys. Already helpful effort had begun in many centers. Christian women were going to the hospitals to sew for the patients, men were writing letters for them, and considerable preaching and distribution of religious literature had been done. Besides this many garments had been made by the women as well as shoes, for the wounded were often insufficiently clad and the winter was bitterly cold. A canteen had been opened at the railroad station in Changsha where the various Christian organizations of the city served the incoming trainloads of sick and wounded. The Y.M.C.A. began a training class for men to take charge of the work and soon in every city a well-organized program of music, dramatics, lectures, classes and recreation was set up.

In this program the Churches have cooperated, and carried on by invitation and as part of their contribution to personal and public evangelism. As many of the physicians and nurses in the base hospitals are Christians or have had their training in Christian schools, there has been the warmest cooperation upon their part and every facility has been offered to advance this much needed service. The response on the part of the soldiers has also been splendid. The wounded soldier problem really threatened to be a very dangerous one for the communities, but the work thus projected has definitely contributed to changing the temper of the soldiers and

making them feel that they were not forgotten men with every man's hand against them. The civilian refugees have many of them been enlisted in this enterprise.

The Changsha Church choir donated \$250.00, the proceeds of a benefit concert, for relief among the refugees and to provide a stove and coal for a bathroom for wounded soldiers in one of the large heavy casualty hospitals.

Crowded Schools.

From nearly every Station comes the word of crowded schools. Many new children are from the families of railroad employees or refugee families. Some of the new teachers required to handle the increase are refugees also, Kwangteh School has in the year more than doubled its student body. Fuhsiang and the primary schools at Changsha at the request of the Government took in, after the influx of refugees, as many guest students as possible. Enrollments reached a total never known in the schools before. With students from half a dozen provinces the difficulties of differences in dialect can be imagined. During the winter after the fall of Nanking all schools remained closed for two months. Uncertainty as to the future colored all plans. The tenseness relaxed somewhat by February so the schools reopened. It has helped to uphold the morale of the nation to have schools in Central China and the Southwest going on as usual and able to care for the multitude of students from the stricken areas. Mission schools have been able to make a great contribution at this time and the fact has been commented on by the Educational Department of the Government.

Attitude of the Christians.

One of the most beautiful flashes of silver in this struggle is the attitude of the Christians toward their enemies. They are truly patriotic. There is no question in their minds of the rightness of China's position in this war which has been forced upon the nation. There is, however, no bitterness or hatred against the Japanese. Special evangelistic meetings in the autumn of last year under Dr. Marcus Cheng and Miss Mary Chen, and the revivals under Mr. Andrew Gih's band have corrected any tendency to despondency and inspired new faith and courage. We have marvelled at the Christians' lack of resentment and freedom from hatred. To listen to their prayers for China and for Japan is like standing on holy ground. Light breaks through at the point of love for one's enemies.

Shadow and Light.

These are some of the silvery bits through the dark clouds of a major war. Darkness and light alternate, now thick gloom and then a streak of silver. The wind of war, in its apparently capricious movements, has blown many of the "leaves" into its vortex, as well as scattering so many at our feet. A regiment of fine looking, enlisted students goes singing down the street on their way to the front, How bright their new uniforms! Their train will meet another, or perhaps several, packed with broken and bandaged young chaps, grimy and bloody, coming back to the base hospitals. The songs have died on their lips. Maimed, sick, blind, on crutches or stretchers, what can put a new song in their mouths? All seems black. And the

black clouds will continue. Already it is eleven months. The storm may last another year, or even two. China is mentally prepared for more profound sacrifice. Our work is not finished. May the missionary, as the ambassador of a Christian world view, and the representative of a Christ who loved mankind, show to this stricken nation by the way he meets this obvious human need, a silver lining in the inky darkness.

When civil war tore Hunan apart and one side or the other was bitter against the missionaries, as representatives of "the exploiting white race", it became necessary for them to move away. They were a liability to the Chinese Church and an encumbrance to the Christian brethren. That is not true in this day of unspeakable calamity from without. The presence of the missionary is a comfort for which the first lady in the land has over a world wide hook-up expressed the gratitude of the nation. In their calm the Chinese have found calm. By their willingness to stand with this people, to share with them the uncertainties of war even in the midst of air-raids and the bombardment and the looting of their cities, the people have been heartened. They will not forget.

If ever China needed the help of the Christians of the world she needs it now. The governments of the nations may give her no aid and comfort, but surely the Christian Church will not pass by on the other side.

American Presbyterian Mission.

Hunan, China.

Printed in China.

在至高之處榮耀歸與上帝
在地上平安歸與他所喜悅的人



CHRISTMAS ON THE GINLING CAMPUS

— 1938 —

LUKE 2:14

Christmas on the Ginling Campus

— 1938 —

Excepting for the little destitute children in the Homecraft Course, and the neighborhood children in the Sunday School and half day school, no plans were made for a "Merry Christmas." Although outwardly conditions in the city are much better than a year ago, and physical danger is largely past, yet the thought of the terrible agony of wounded soldiers on the battle fields, the daily danger in which people in the western part of China are now living, the deprivation and suffering of the great number of refugees who have gone westward, and the general mental and physical suffering all over the great nation,—all these made a "Merry Christmas" impossible for any thoughtful person in this part of China. However, we did want to share the inner meaning of the Christmas message with the women and girls with us, most of whom are in a Christian institution for the first time, and plan for them a Christmas Eve and Day which would linger in their memories.

A simple Christmas Pageant had been planned that would use the passages in Luke and Matthew telling of the birth of Jesus, and use the Christmas carols we wanted them to learn. Representatives of all on the Campus were made a part of the pageant, teen-age girls, destitute women and their children, members of the staff and their children, and the college servants. The various groups began to prepare their parts early, for all were expected to memorize them. It was hoped to have the pageant out in one of the gardens, so the shepherds could come down from a hill near by, the wisemen come up the long path from the east, Mary could ride up to the inn on a donkey, and where we could have one large Christmas tree with a great star above it. However, the weather changed just a few days before Christmas and the out door plan was reluctantly given up, and the College Chapel substituted. There was only one

rehearsal—that on Friday evening, December 23rd, The program at 6:30 on Christmas Eve was as follows:

- Hymn—O Come, all Ye Faithful, Joyful and triumphant By the Angel Choir
(Senior I and II)
- Prophet—Isaiah 7:40 Mr. Y. T. Wang
- Hymn—O Come, O Come Emmanuel.
The Angel Choir
- Prophet—Matthew 2:6 Pastor David Yang
- Scripture Verses—Luke 2: 1-5. . . . Junior III
- Pageant—Mary and Joseph Arrive at the Inn
(Yang, the janitor in the Science Building was Joseph, one of the destitute women was Mary, and a little destitute girl was Mary's maid)
- Hymn—O Little Town of Bethlehem
By the Choir of the Homecraft Course
- Scripture Verses—Luke 2: 6,7. . . . Junior III
- Pageant—Appearance of the Holy Family at the Door of the Inn
- Hymn—Holy Night. The Angel Choir
- Scripture Verses—Luke 2: 8-15 Story of the Shepherds
(By the remainder of the women of the Homecraft Course)
- Hymn—While Shepherds Watched their Flocks.
. Junior II
- Pageant—Shepherds Worship the Christ Child.
(Four boys, sons of members of the staff, and two Christian campus servants were the shepherds)
- Scripture Verses—Matthew 2: 1-12 Story of the Wisemen. Junior Ia
- Pageant—Wisemen Offer their Gifts to the Christ Child (Pastor Chiang, Mr. Chen and Mr. Li made very excellent kings. One at a time, they came up the long aisle, singing a verse of "We Three Kings of Orient Are.")
- Hymn—The First Noel. Junior Ib
- Pageant—Nursery School Children Offer Gifts to

the Christ Child. (The older children in the Nursery School went to the lower platform, knelt and offered their little gifts and then faced the audience.)

Hymn—Away in a Manger. . The Nursery School
Hymn—Joy to the World. . . , Congregation
(As they sang they marched past the lower platform and offered gifts—some money, some packages of clothing, some play things. The gifts of money amounted to \$24.50)

There were only a few guests at the pageant for we sent out no invitations since it is neither wise nor safe to go out on lonely roads after dark. The pageant was simple but meaningful. Much of the planning and costuming was done by Miss Whitmer, but the training was done by persons responsible for teaching the various groups.

The Christmas holiday began on the morning of December 24, but no one went home. There were no regular classes, but instead the morning and part of the afternoon were spent in cleaning and decorating. From 8-10 all were supposed to clean their bed rooms, while the girls doing house work to earn their fees, cleaned class rooms, living and dining rooms. From 10-12 o'clock committees of women and girls made decorations for their Christmas trees and the common rooms. By four o'clock in the afternoon the rooms and trees were quite gay and festive, and certainly no two alike.

Christmas Day dawned cloudy but fortunately it did not rain. Beginning at seven o'clock in the morning there were two services on the campus. All of the 145 girls in the Experimental Course and many of their teachers met in the South Studio where Mrs. Tsen and Mr. Chen and I, the Administrative Committee of the Campus, had planned for a short service which was followed by the singing of many Christmas carols, chosen by the girls. It was of interest to note that their first choice was "The Moon and Stars of Christmas Eve" which was set to

a Chinese tune by Professor Wyant of Yenching. The room was beautiful, with a lovely tree, undecorated, at the right, large bouquets of heavenly bamboo and poinsettias on the platform, and a seven-branch candlestick with lighted candles on the speaker's table. At the side of the room was a set of three Christmas scrolls with lighted candles on a table beneath.

At the same hour over in the lecture hall of the Science Building the women of the Homecraft Course met with their teachers. They too had a service of praise and prayer. The plain room looked festive with its Christmas tree, its Christmas scroll on the background of a red satin banner, and its lighted candles. Miss Lin, the dean of the course, was in charge of the service. This is the only Christmas that that group will be together, for long before next Christmas their course will have been finished and they will have left us to go out to start life again.

Breakfast was a real birthday one, with long noodles of longevity and several other special dishes.

At 10:30 the same morning in the big chapel, we had a regular Christmas church service with two choirs—the one from the Homecraft Course on the left, the other from the Experimental Course on the right. Again we made use of the Christmas Carols and Scripture passages that had been memorized. Pastor Shen of the Methodist Church gave the Christmas message.

Not all the activities were for our own group, for at 2 o'clock on Christmas afternoon three services were held for others.

Over at the Neighborhood Center, about two hundred children were gathered in the Neighborhood House and an overflow meeting for 80 other children was held in the day-school. The program consisted largely of motion singing and group recitations prepared by the children of the Nursery School. Of course there was a treat—a card and candy prepared

by the women of the Homecraft Course, and peanuts and an orange. The Experimental Course girls who teach in the neighborhood Sunday School wrapped the packages.

At the same hour in the Science Hall more than one hundred neighborhood women met for their Christmas service. The program was in charge of Miss Lo, our neighborhood evangelistic worker, and the music was furnished by the choir of the Homecraft Course. These women too were given a treat of an orange, and candy made by the women of the Homecraft Course.

And still one other very interesting service was held at two o'clock by our group. Representatives of each class in the Experimental Course, of the Homecraft Course, and of the staff left the campus at one o'clock and made their way by ricksha, down to the Municipal Home for Cripples near the South Gate, where a group of 70 very pitiful men, women and children are now living. They took with them enough money and warm clothing, so that in the evening the superintendent could give 20 cents to each person for extra food, and warm clothing to the neediest. Had our representatives tried to give out the money and clothing they would have been mobbed. They had carefully planned a Christmas program of carols, scripture passages, and a talk on the meaning of Christmas, which they gave not only for the 70 cripples but for many others who gathered with them. A report of the meeting given later by two of the representatives to the rest of our students made us feel that the meeting was appreciated not only by poor cripples but was deeply meaningful to the representatives who planned and gave the program.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon up at the South Hill Faculty residence, more than 60 westerners and English speaking Chinese, and two Japanese pastors, attended a Christmas service which was largely given by the nine American children who had come up for their holiday from the American School in Shanghai

and the four American children who have been living in Nanking since early autumn. Rev. Ernest Forster and Miss Lois Ely had drilled the children and were in charge of the service. At that service there were diplomatic people from three Embassies, business men, missionaries, and Chinese and Japanese Christians. A strange gathering.

Christmas Day on the campus closed in a lighter vein. From 7-9 o'clock six parties were held for six different groups.

In the living room of the Teh-shueh dormitory gathered the 30 destitute children and their teachers. Mrs. Tsen had prepared little baskets of treat for them and they had a great time playing games together. In the big social hall of the Central Building gathered the one hundred destitute women of the Homecraft Course and their teachers. It was good to see them laughing and playing together. They too had a treat. Over in the Science Lecture Hall, under the direction of Pastor Yang and Mr. Chen the college servants and their families met for a service first and then a party and a treat. Each servant was given two pairs of stockings and two towels which had been woven by the women of the Homecraft Course, and a one dollar bill. They had a treat which was given by members of the Administrative Committee.

Last, but not least, were the parties for the three groups of Experimental Course students. One group met with their teachers in the living room of the South Hill residence, another in the living room of Ting tsiu the dormitory, and still another in the dining room of the Practice School dormitory. For an hour and a half they played games and then they had refreshments too. When the lights blinked at nine o'clock, giving the first warning, all were sorry the evening had been so short. For many, Christmas was a new experience. Through the varied activities and services it was our hope that the prayer of St. Francis which had been translated into Chinese and

placed on a bulletin board where all could see, would become the prayer of each of us during the Christmas season.

Lord, make me an instrument of Your Peace.

Where there is hatred, let me sow love,
Where there is injury, pardon;
Where there is doubt, faith;
Where there is despair, hope;
Where there is darkness, light;
Where there is sadness, joy.

O divine Master grant that I may not so much seek

To be consoled, as to console:
To be understood, as to understand:
To be loved, as to love.

For it is in giving that we receive:

It is in pardoning that we are pardoned:
It is in dying that we are born to eternal life,

Written by Minnie Vautrin
145 Hankow Road
January, 1939.

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廣州青年號外

No. V

CANTON COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE TO CHINA

廣州外僑對華正義會

This Bulletin has been prepared by A. J. Fisher, So. China Mission, Presbyterian Church U. S. A.
Canton, China

Feb. 1, 1938.

WHY CHINA'S DEFENCE IS YOUR BUSINESS.

Are there any who can better appreciate the beneficial changes which have taken place in China during this twentieth century than the small group of foreign residents who have made their homes here throughout that period? Sufficiently detached to maintain a somewhat critical attitude they are at the same time sympathetically familiar with Chinese life from the inside. Because of this appreciation the present forced set-back to progress must appear more wanton and heinous to them than to the ordinary person. It may be charged that we who are proud of the title "Lo Kwangtung" i.e., "Old Cantonese", given to outsiders who through long residence have become proficient in language and customs, are prejudiced. But in this opinion we are quite evidently in the company of most unprejudiced observers throughout the world.

China has not been alone in rapid and radical change. A glance back over the centuries will convince us that the past thirty years have been more significant in this respect than any other brief period of the Christian era. But the rejuvenation of this ancient nation means more to the civilized world than changes in any other country, even including her virile neighbor Japan. For one thing China embraces at least a fifth of the human race. Then China has a longer consecutive history than any other, and is direct heir to the most wonderful past. In spite of her age she is still young, with vast territories only partially developed and resources of hidden wealth beyond imagination. When such a nation moves forward the advance is bound to affect powerfully the rest of mankind.

But the significance of the change cannot be measured by the mere counting of heads, marking of centuries and surveying of territory and resources. No one can have intimate contact with the Chinese people and not sense their essential human worth. After all what means most in a moral universe is character. If this world is a reasonable cosmos then the qualities in man which make for social happiness, harmony and well being are the world's most precious assets. The absence of these qualities or the presence of their opposites leads to misery, war and moral bankruptcy and indicate man's most serious failure. No mastery of material forces which does not help make better men in a better world can be called progress.

Judged by such high standards, what of the changes that have been taking place in China during these thirty odd years? The writer was here long enough before the Revolution (arriving in 1901) to compare life under the Manchu regime with conditions since. This comparison convinces him that most competent authorities are right when they claim there are certain basic characteristics of the Chinese race which are only slightly modified by a change of government. Industry, frugality,

sobriety, peaceableness, reciprocity, lofty intellectual and moral ideals are intermixed in the raw human stuff out of which the new Chinese nation is being fashioned. But the more democratic form of government, the struggle for literacy and scientific education, an awakening interest in hygiene, the developing of industry and the tapping of natural resources, the redistribution of population made possible by the opening of highways and railways, attention to rural problems, the gradual realization of a national and cultural unity, along with the friendly welcome into the family of nations—all these forces are working upon the original character of this people to make a new China.

No old resident, least of all a missionary, could be under any delusion as to the handicap against which this crusade for right and against wrong is being fought in this land. Hereditary enemies and environmental hindrances abound. The old vices are sometimes too much for either the old or the new virtues. The universal law of materialistic gravitation drags down even those who are eager for a new life. But recent years have made it increasingly evident that this opposing bias is being challenged by a new spirit in the Chinese people. They deserve nothing from their fellowmen but sympathetic encouragement.

So far I have said nothing about outside influences in China. Western civilization has brought its rich stores to her gates, and these gates—long closed and barred—have slowly opened to receive and assimilate them. China's debt to cultural and philanthropic institutions—the gift of Western Christianity—is beyond calculation. Other influences have come in from abroad which have been the reverse of helpful. Given the proper leadership their fine sense of moral values may be trusted to guide their choice.

And now the world looks helplessly on while this great nation—great in its heritage, its present endeavor and future possibilities—is struggling with a relentless foe for its very life. What a tragedy! The self-styled "friendly" Powers are condemning themselves when their sympathy exhausts itself in kindly sentiment and the mere giving of money for ameliorative relief. No one desires a further extension of the conflict, but nothing can be more certain than that the policy of laissez-faire must lead in time to a world conflagration. There is still enough sense, ingenuity and courage in English-speaking lands, if unified and directed, to stop this mad interference with China's development. And no greater kindness could be done to the people of Japan than to take action which will convince them they have chosen the wrong way to win the friendly cooperation of China and the respect of their fellow-men.

Kong Chuen.

Geo. H. Mc Neur

SOME MORAL AND SPIRITUAL ASPECTS OF THE SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT.

The CANTON COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE TO CHINA has aimed to be thoroughly objective in presenting to the world China's cause, as we see it from the South China angle. We aim to avoid mere subjectivism and to undergird our every statement with concrete fact. We think this is the only way in which we may be able to render useful assistance of permanent value to China at this point.

However, the "Incident" draws out its wearisome length, the *facts* and local incidents accumulate and we are in danger of becoming surfeited with having them retailed to us by newspaper, radio and other means. Perhaps we are becoming a bit callous. The original sense of shock and of outrage tends to become a bit dulled. Japanese bombing planes zooming overhead to-day do not evoke quite the reaction they did last September. The repetition of local incidents, the addition of more *facts* does not seem to register now as it did then. Perhaps it is Nature's way of being kind. Perhaps we are in process of being adjusted to the war situation. Perhaps by a "natural process" our nerves, tempers, consciences, and character are being conformed to a changing environment somewhat as the bear's fur is supposed to adapt to changes in season. And again, *perhaps* it is a very serious matter for us and for the whole world that even a small measure of adjustment is possible.

Symptoms of Moral Spine Disease

Is it not, in fact, precisely here where the worst evil of the hell that is war roots? The facts that the world over people are once more adjusting themselves to the idea of war as an axiom of mass behaviour, is the worst thing that thoughtful people to-day have to contemplate. This is not a lamentation bewailing the failure of any particular persuasion of "pacifism", but rather the calling of attention to what seems a general backsliding from the post-war psychology suggested by such words as "NEVER AGAIN!" It is, or seems to be, a sort of moral spine disease that afflicts us. And it may be accounted for largely in this way: as a responsible world community we have tabulated "facts" of international malpractice, expressed a little pious—or perhaps impious—indignation over the thing and then left the matter where of course we as laymen had to leave it, in the hands of the diplomats. Presently we were told by these gentlemen that the Manchurian rape and the Abyssinian crime were "*fait accompli*". And that was that! These experiments in international brigandage had proved so successful and rewarding that further steps in the same direction might as well be taken! And so we come back to our subject, Japan's present attack on China, after having suggested that facts concerning actual incidents and occurrences must not be permitted to monopolize our attention. The really vital and dynamic forces upon which we must depend for rebuilding our civilization on higher levels are spiritual and moral principles. The facts and events which present themselves to our attention are after all merely so many symptoms that tend to reveal the soundness or otherwise of the operating, underlying principle.

Hesitation of Powers in Face of Moral Issues

Some of us here in South China have been greatly disturbed at marked deliberateness of the Powers in coming to a decision on the fundamental moral issues involved in the Sino Japanese struggle. It has seemed to us who have been close to the scene over a period of time, enabling us to note the progress of events and the sequence of cause and effect, that these issues should be fairly clear. For we remember that the famous "Twenty-one Demands" date back to 1915. We remember Japan's irruption into Manchuria and her wantonness in Shanghai five or six years ago—all of it without moral or reasonable justification of any sort. We have seen Japan once more in this latest act of vandalism and barbarism, time her action against China so as to run a minimum of risk from British and European intervention. As for America, had not that country made it clear through unofficial sources that no matter what might happen "abroad", *she* would not become involved? The year 1937 was obviously Japan's best opportunity to thrust her steel rapier into China's vitals, and she improved on the opportunity. From our standpoint, Japan has stood condemned by her own act even before she committed it in an overt manner, for she has been out to get China by whatever means, over a period of years. It has been disappointing to us that moral and spiritual issues have found such scant recognition in the world's capitals, and that it seemed impossible for the governments, especially the "Nine Powers", to find a way to bring Japanese aggression to a halt at the very start. The degree of governmental aloofness, the refusal of governments as such to authorize economic sanctions against Japan; coupled with the suspicion that there must be ample evidence before them to prove Japan the aggressor and China the helpless victim, has made it rather difficult at this distance to see that moral considerations are having any bearing on the problem so far as efforts at solution are concerned. Meanwhile the war goes on. Injustice and unrighteousness are going to have their way, apparently, for a long time to come. As things look now, peace is a long way off and if China should agree to Japan's terms even on the latter's most moderate terms, injustice would still be enthroned and the Chinese would be a subject people. But they are still fighting on. They are also being adjusted to the war situation,—but at what tremendous cost to them and to the world!

War's Tragedies

Here is a fresh, illuminating fact just in from the front. It is a brief news item clipped from to-day's (Jan. 19, 1938) *South China Morning Post*. (Hong Kong.)

"INSANE WOMAN"

Trembling violently, an old man—a refugee from war-torn China—led his wife to the Central Police Station late on Monday night. Their home had been destroyed by bombs, and they barely escaped with their lives.

Their travels to sanctuary made a nightmare journey that will never be wiped from the mind of the old man.

But nature has erased it from the mind of his wife. She does not remember the days of hunger and misery on that terrible trek!

She remembers nothing. War has driven her insane. Late at night the woman, Shum Yuk-ying, was admitted to the mental hospital.

Nature was kind to Shum Yuk-ying in enabling her to forget the man-made hell from which she escaped. But it cost her all that we mean by the term "personality." The woman is no more; the state supports the body. "Sob-stuff" do you say? Then prepare to sob! Not because it is intended to go into further details here, but for the reason that the injustice and lust for power that breeds war is in the saddle, and because moral and spiritual sanctions are not authoritatively invoked against it, and, once again, because, instead of taking the higher moral road to coercion and effective restraint, the Powers are taking the low road of greater armaments and higher explosives. If this does not mean more war in the future it means nothing at all! If it does mean war, then it means "bigger and better" wars—and many more women like Shum Yuk-ying. And the mental hospitals will not hold them! That is, there will not be enough of them in the first place, and if the present Japanese military psychology is an index, hospitals will not be regarded as sacrosanct by the enemy.

Is it possible to exaggerate this point? I hardly think so. The thing we are trying to insist on is that here in the Orient, before our very eyes, is being waged a conflict essentially of moral principle on one side against cold steel on the other. Without the least fear in our hearts that *ultimately* China will be vindicated, there is legitimate ground for raising the question as to whether not only China but the whole world civilization will be saved from disintegration unless something effective can be done to rebuke soon this bullying militarism. Is there enough moral and spiritual energy in the world to-day, and can it be organized and incarnated in such a way as to put a check on the violences and the inhumanities perpetrated by Japan against China, such as characterize the civil war in Spain, and such as the world recently witnessed in Abyssinia, and to keep the temper that produces such outbursts from setting the whole world on fire? If this involved question is finally answered by history in the negative, then it may be that history will also have to record that a once proud, scientifically great, materialistic civilization, having allowed its spiritual fiber to atrophy through lack of use in the crises of the twentieth century, had to retreat to the cave and the jungle whence it emerged some milleniums ago, to take a fresh start! It does not require exactly a *diseased* imagination to-day to discern in vague outline and within a distance not even comfortably remote, a "Shape of Things To Come,"—not necessarily the vision of H. G. Wells, but nevertheless something sufficiently ominous to give cause not for idle alarm, but for positive, constructive action. Shall the voices of Justice and Righteousness be silenced?

STOP SUPPLYING JAPAN WITH THE SINEWS OF WAR! This of course has been said many times and by many people. The official answer

always has been, in one phraseology or another, that the thing is impractical. Which chiefly means that business interests are jeopardized. Ten million bales of cotton all ready for market for example, weigh tremendously in the international scales as over against "the imponderables,"—justice and righteousness. That the problem is a simple one is not suggested here. What is suggested and urged is that its solution requires a moral and spiritual approach, emphasis, and high courage. We have seen recently that even the Christian Church, which more than any other organization, stands as the mediator of moral and spiritual values, is finding great difficulty in speaking a positive word on this subject. Even the Church is warned from within that it must not speak out its message of truth, justice and righteousness. We have seen on one side of the Atlantic one of the outstanding Christian leaders, with fine courage and fidelity to his informed sense of moral values, take his stand as a city that is set on a hill and that can not be hid. And we know the crisis his action precipitated in the Japanese church, resulting in the defection of forty thousand members and their separation from the Mother Church in England. No matter how one deplores the fact—and it is deplorable—that such a high cause should produce so ignoble an effect, one nevertheless rejoices that here at least we have one instance of clear recognition of the fact that basically the Sino-Japanese crisis is a moral and spiritual crisis, and that Japan's action in China is definitely immoral.

It is unfortunate that on the other side of the Atlantic the Archbishop of Canterbury's clear-cut challenge to the world's moral judgment, followed by the crisis within his own communion in Japan, should have had the effect of recommending and virtually enforcing silence on the great issues on the part of the American churches that are carrying on work in both China and Japan. These issues are too intimately and deeply bound up with the very values which the Church must mediate to the moral and spiritual life and health of men. There is no room for neutrality of judgment in the matter except by slurring over or obliterating those distinctions of honor, truth, justice and righteousness which lie at the very center of that Kingdom to which the Church professes its first and last loyalties.

C. W. Shoop

REALITIES

An example of how the bombing, even of legitimate war-time objectives, is a threat to life and property in no way associated with hostilities is provided by the following account of recent air-raids upon the railway at Kong Chuen, a market town 13 miles north of Canton.

On the morning of Jan. 14th., a goods train, proceeding from Canton to Hankow, had reached Kong Chuen when air-raid signals were sounded. Those in charge of the train, expecting it to be bombed, separated the trucks and left them standing at intervals on the line, just north of the station. True to expectation, enemy aircraft appeared and subjected the line to several attacks during the course of the day. The train received little damage, however, and could have proceeded that night had it not been for damage to the line further north.

The next day, the train was the object of three further raids. In the space of 36 hours, more than twenty bombs were released over a stretch of line a few hundred yards in length. The damage was again slight. By morning the line was fully repaired, a slightly damaged engine and coach had been removed to Canton for repairs, and the goods train had proceeded north.

It happens that in this neighbourhood, two or three hundred yards distant from the railway, there is a Mission Hospital, working under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. The building is clearly marked both with the British flag and the Red Cross sign. Yet, during these raids, two bombs landed so close to the residences attached to the Hospital that shrapnel splattered the brick-work and the concussion damaged the buildings in a number of ways.

A farmer, whose only fault was that his ingenuity in escape was insufficient, was killed outright.

Another bomb landed just 60 feet from the western wing of the Hospital. While the structure of the building is unaffected, damage to doors, windows, ceilings, and sundry fittings is so complete that a renovation of the entire wing is necessary.

From this bomb, one person in the Hospital received injuries and several others escaped narrowly with their lives.

The patients took fright and, in spite of the fact that some of them were still seriously ill, many took the first opportunity to escape from a place so dangerous.

There is nothing very new about the events related here: to people resident in Kwangtung during recent months they are almost commonplace. But they are worth relating because they illustrate a number of facts which are beginning to stand out clearly in relation to the Japanese campaign of bombing in this province.

One is the fact that, in spite of repeated avowals from Japanese responsible circles that foreign rights and property will be respected, it is abundantly clear that those who actually carry out the raids, continue to do so in a spirit of hit-or-miss recklessness, even when foreign lives and property are clearly endangered.

A second fact is that humanitarian and cultural institutions cannot expect to escape the results of the callous wartime spirit.

A third fact is the meaninglessness of the term "military objective." An airman who has no opposition from anti-craft fire and is thus free to come as low to his mark as he wishes, and yet misses that mark by 200 yards and damages a hospital instead, should stop talking about "military objectives." It would be much more

appropriate to talk about "factual realities". For what are the realities in this particular case, a case that is typical of so many others? — a hospital prevented from ministering to the relief of human suffering in the community which it is meant to serve; — a peace-loving citizen suddenly struck dead by the road-side, while his wife and children are left to provide for themselves as best they can, in a land where poverty is already acute.

When we think in terms of these concrete human realities, we get a clearer picture of the significance of this undeclared, unprovoked, and unwanted war which Japan is waging upon a neighbouring people.

OBJECTIVES

1. Collaboration and united action between Great Britain, United States, France, Holland, and other countries, in the present Sino-Japanese Conflict.
2. Cessation of trade with Japan on the part of all nations.
3. Aid to China in the purchase and transportation of means of defence.
4. Insistence on China's sovereign rights and non-recognition of Japan's rule over invaded territory in China.
5. Contributions for relief of refugees and for those who suffer from Japanese atrocities, and medical aid for the wounded.

DEMOCRACY OR DICTATORSHIP

Shall the World be governed by Dictators or by the people and for the people? This is the question of the hour. When people resort to a dictatorship it is really a confession of lack of intelligence and initiative required to solve the problems of their national life through democratic processes, whereas, as Dr. Fosdick says:—"Democracy is the conviction that there are extraordinary possibilities in ordinary people and if we throw wide open the doors of opportunity so that all boys and girls can bring out the best that is in them, we will get amazing result from unlikely sources."

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Rev. George H. McNeur of New Zealand has been in China for more than 35 years. He is acquainted with the village life of the people. As professor in the Union Theological College of Canton he has been in close touch with student life. He is writing from Kong Chuen which has been under fire of air bombardments for some months.

Dr. C. W. Shoop is President of the Union Theological College and Superintendent of the United Brethren Mission. He also writes from a background of rich experience in South China.

Rev. E. G. Jansen of The New Zealand Presbyterian Mission has been in China for two years, which have been spent in the study of the language and in getting acquainted with the village life of the people. He speaks of what he has experienced from the air raids at Kong Chuen.

1938

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BOMBING of CANTON

Published by the Canton Committee for Justice to China



*Photo by
F. A. Nixon*

Foreword

THIS pictorial review of the bombing of Canton by the Japanese Air Force is an attempt to give a visual and factual demonstration of the effects of the indiscriminate bombing of an undefended city by high powered modern bombers. For nine months, since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese hostilities, Japanese planes have subjected Kwangtung, important South China province, to daily raids, causing the death of over 4,500 civilians and the wounding of over 8,500 others. On May 28th this year and for 20 days including the moonlight nights which followed, the raids on Canton City became intensified, taking a large toll of civilian life and destroying millions of dollars worth of property. Casualties from May 28th to June 7th were over 1,500 killed and 5,500 wounded. Hundreds of buildings were razed to the ground, three churches, ten schools, two universities and two hospitals being damaged. Foreign property which was bombed, includes the French-owned Doumer Hospital, the American Lingnan University and the London Missionary Society's St. Hilda's School for Girls.

Canton is one of the best known cities of China, being the cradle of the Chinese Revolution. It is a prosperous and progressive modern Chinese town with a population of one million and a half. In peaceful times it is the Mecca for tourists. It is from here that 95 percent of the Chinese trading and living abroad come from and it is to this place these oversea Chinese hope to return. One of the first Chinese cities to have trade intercourse with foreign countries, it is the leading Commercial centre in South China. Canton is also a cultural city. Hundreds of Government and private schools where the principles of modern education are applied, have been established in the city. It is here that the Central Government established the big University in commemoration of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen. It is here that Lingnan University has functioned for more than 30 years. Schools for medicine and other professions are numerous. It was here that the Western medicine was introduced into China which is now carried on by a large number of modernly equipped Government, Mission and private hospitals and medical colleges. It was here that the first missionary came to China to preach the Christian religion. And most important of all, Canton is the birthplace of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, leader of the Chinese Revolution and Father of the Chinese Republic. In his memory the Chungshan Memorial Hall, the finest building in China, has been built and now stands at the foot of the famous Kwan Ying Shan (Goddess of Mercy Hill) as a tribute to his revolutionary achievements.

Within the last 25 years Canton has become a modern city; narrow streets have become wide avenues; old yamen compounds have been transformed into public parks; sky-scrapers appear on the sky line; the river still teems with thousands of boats and sampans which help to make a most picturesque waterfront.

The Cantonese people are most progressive and industrious. They cherish ideals of peace and democracy. While noted for their commercial enterprise, they are keen promoters of culture, education and international goodwill. These are the people whom the Japanese in their ruthless aggression have sought to demoralize and to destroy with indiscriminate aerial bombing. This booklet is an attempt to show what the Japanese raiders have accomplished and what can happen to an open town and its civilian population ruthlessly bombed from the air.

MUNITIONS SUPPLIED BY NORTH AMERICA
AND GREAT BRITIAN CAUSE THE SUFFERING
THRCUGHOUT CHINA WHICH THESE PICTURES
ILLUSTRATE. MAY THE DAY SOON COME WHEN
WESTERN NATIONS WILL CEASE TO BE PART-
NERS IN THE CRIMES WHICH JAPAN IS COM-
MITTING IN CHINA TODAY.

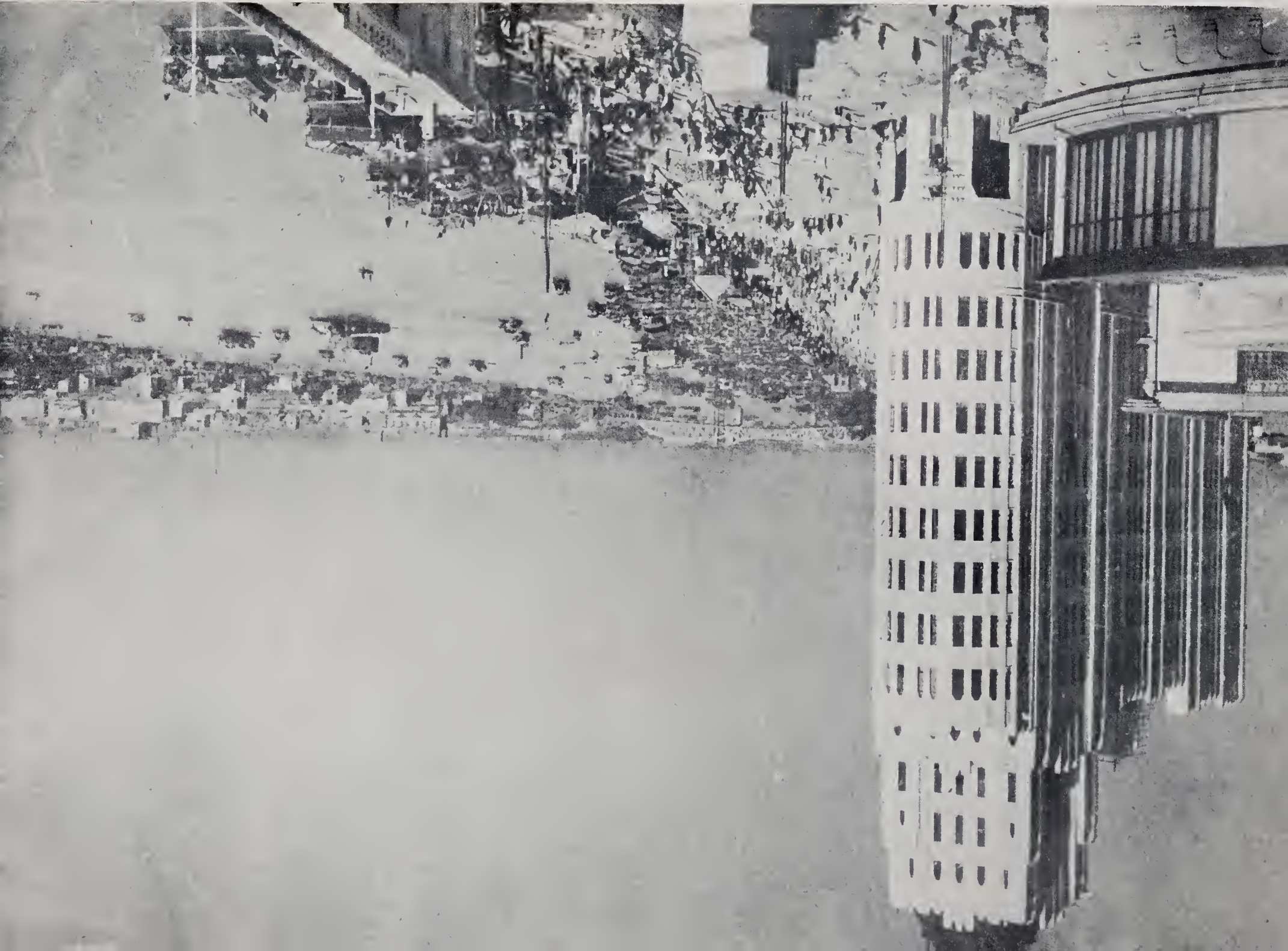
A. J. FISHER

CHAIRMAN CANTON COMMITTEE
FOR JUSTICE.



MODERN CANTON *The South China metropolis has in recent years built many wide streets and modern buildings, some of which are among the finest in the Far East. In the upper picture is shown the magnificent Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall and lower is the Municipal Building, both of which the Japanese air raiders have unceasingly sought to reduce to ruins.*

THE BUSY CANTON BUND as it appears at peaceful times.



STREETS IN WONGSHA ABLAZE following a severe air raid which reduced 500 houses to complete ruins and caused the death of 300 people.



Photo by F. A. Nixon

Always
Grand
THE CHOICEST

Sunday Herald



THE LARGEST CIRCULATION IN SOUTH CHINA

號五月六 年八十三百九千一英 HONG KONG, JUNE 5, 1938 日八

初月五 年寅戊次歲 年七十二國民華中 Price, 10 Cents Per Copy

2,000 VICTIMS OF

Hundreds Buried Alive When Bomb Hits Arcade

SEETHING MASSES SEEK FLIGHT FROM STRICKEN CITY

"CANTON TO-NIGHT IS A CITY OF
WAS THE DREAD NEWS
DESPATCH FROM THE
EVENING AFTER
ALL THEIR PREVIOUS
NESS, SUBJECTS
ROWING ORDER
EVER EXPERIENCED

"The dead, however
living, some of
adds Reuter's
SUNDAY HERALD
OF THE DEATH
1,000 WERE
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JAP. SAVAGERY

When Bomb Hits Arcade

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THE JAPANESE WAY *Woman killed in kneeling position while taking shelter in a street corner with her infant son carried on her back as a bomb hit and destroyed her home. Both the mother and child met their tragic end.*



75 people killed in the street when one of the bombs intended for the French-owned Doumer Hospital landed and exploded outside the Tiger Balm Building on the Bund. The Hospital itself was demolished by two bombs.

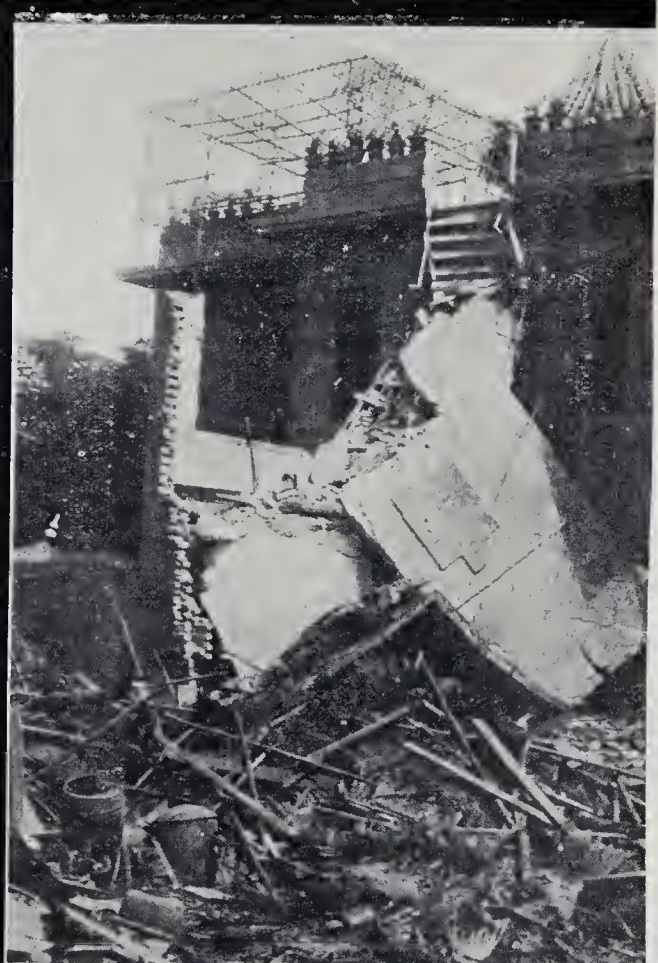


Father, mother and son all killed as a bomb exploded in the street outside their shop. Over one hundred others died in the same manner in this area.

AID IN MOONLIGHT

BOMBS SHAKE WINDOW IN SHAMEEN

RES OF BOAT PEOPLE KILLED
ON SATURDAY NIGHT





NON-MILITARY AREAS BOMBED IN THE CITY OF CANTON

Each red dot represents a bomb dropped in raids on the City during the period from May 28th to June 16th. 525 bombs were dropped on residential and business areas, killing 1800 and wounding 6500 civilians.





RESCUE PARTIES removing victims from ruins while raid is still on. These young boys and girls attached to Red Cross units or other war relief organizations face danger of the same sort that men in the front line of fighting are called upon to bear, and they perform their gruesome tasks with every bit as much courage as the fighting men.



Ghastly And Pathetic Canton Scenes

Canton, May 30.

Sights so ghastly that they beggared description were witnessed by Reuter's correspondent who made a tour of the bombed areas here this afternoon.

A young woman and an old man were the only survivors at a group of a dozen small, poor huts.

The young woman sat sobbing on a tree trunk, looking down at the little blasted body of her only child, whose tiny chest had been blown away.



THE PRIDE OF THE JAPANESE AIRMAN!

Red Cross ambulance machine-gunned by Japanese plane while rescuing bombing victims. Forty bullets hit and perforated the car.

Below are shown Red Cross workers rendering aid to sufferers Picture on the left shows young woman had left leg amputated.





ARMED GIRL VOLUNTEERS—The Japanese ruthless bombings have failed to achieve the demoralization of the Cantonese but have on the contrary increased their determination to fight the Japanese aggression with all resources available. These uniformed and armed volunteers are not men but girls who have joined the Model Volunteer Regiment and are undergoing vigorous military training. They drill hard and are always cheerful, even during an enemy air raid on the city.

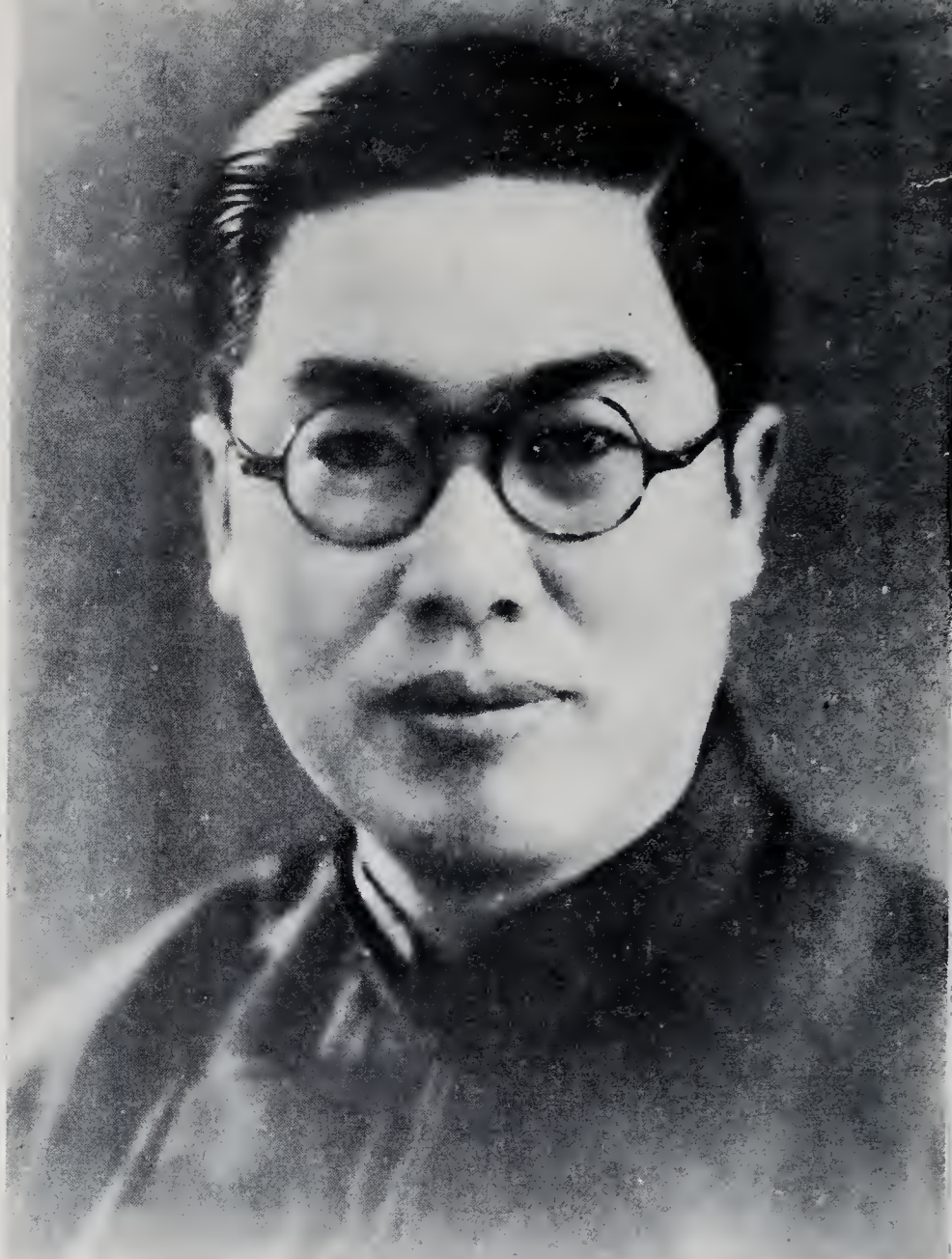
Canton Mayor Sends Message to all Mayors in Europe and America.

MS R. TSENG YANG-FU, Mayor of Canton, cabled the following message to all mayors in Europe and America on June 6:

"As Mayor of Canton, a densely populated open Chinese city whose civilian population is being subjected to daily wanton bombing by Japanese planes, I wish to bring your attention to the continued wholesale slaughter of men, women and children with bombs indiscriminately rained from the sky. Since May 28th, twenty ruthless raids have been made on the business and residential sections of Canton, killing 2,000 and wounding 5500 civilians. Hundreds of mothers were horribly crushed to death with babies clasped to their breasts. Hundreds of homes, three churches, six schools, two hospitals and the Red Cross Headquarters have been destroyed. I appeal to you for support in condemning and checking such indiscriminate murderous bombings, because I feel that in the interest of mankind as a whole, Mayors of all cities of civilised countries should know of the continued horrors here and join in a strong protest against the massacres. Each protest that you might voice today could help forestall similar barbarous attacks on your own city and people in future. Canton does not ask for your pity; new China will look after herself, but Canton shall never forget your sympathy and assistance in this hour of trial and any move you can make will be in defense of the right of man to live."

Message to London Mass Meeting

"On behalf of the 1,500,000 people of Canton I wish first of all to thank our British friends and other sympathisers most heartily for all their sympathy and support in our hour of trial. Not in the war zone and densely populated, Canton has been subjected by Japanese aircraft for the last nine months to indiscriminate bombing, which has been intensified since May 28th. The total casualties up to May 28th exceed 3,500, while raids during the past fortnight resulted in 1,500 dead and 6,000 wounded, all of whom were unarmed civilians, including many women and children living far away from any military establishment. The Japanese raiders deliberately attacked our business and residential areas for the purpose of massacring and terrorising our people. As homes in widespread areas went up in flames or toppled under bombs rained indiscriminately from the sky, hundreds of women and children were blown into the air and hundreds of others were trapped and crushed under fallen timbers and masonry. Educational and cultural institutions, churches, hospitals and Red



Mr. Tseng Yang-fu, Mayor of Canton, who has faced and tackled a most trying situation with great calm and courage, declares commenting on the recent air raids on his City: "The Japanese bombings have achieved the horrible death of thousands of civilians, but failed to achieve the demoralisation of our populace. The aggressor's bombs could destroy our property and life, but not our morale nor our determination to fight to the end. The people of Canton will never surrender to either Japanese threats or yield to terrorism."

Cross Headquarters as well as rescue parties were made targets and wantonly destroyed. At present the city is ceaselessly raided day and night. If these barbarous bombardments are unchecked, the whole humanity will be doomed to the same fate which Canton is suffering today. As Mayor of the city now undergoing such harrowing experience and in the interest of mankind as a whole, I appeal to you for every possible assistance in restraining the aggressor from continuing the wholesale slaughters here. Any step you can take today towards restraining Japan from continuing their atrocities and obtaining justice for us will help forestall further inhuman attacks on mankind and help safeguard civilisation. Your sympathy with our suffering and your protest against the outrages are giving us great encouragement and strengthening our conviction that justice must eventually triumph over brutal might and righteousness is not giving way to savagery."

The Bombing of Canton Civilians.

By A. J. FISHER,

Chairman of Canton Committee for Justice to China.

THE intensified bombing of Canton during the 20 days—between May 28 and June 16—constitutes one more outrage of the Japanese air-force on the civilian population in China. If all the places that were bombed in Canton fall under the heading of “military objectives” then nothing is safe from being an “objective”. The knitting factory, private houses and shops, the slaughter house, schools, colleges, hospitals and house boats, (peacefully anchored by the river side). Can these by any stretch of the imagination be considered as “military objectives”? The dead and the wounded who were brought to the hospitals were not soldiers but the common people. The coolie about his daily task, the mother at her household task, carrying a baby on her back; these were the people that were killed, maimed and wounded. If as it is claimed the aim was to hit military establishments then one must say that their aim was very far from the mark. Admit that the railroad station is a “military objective”, but why should bombs apparently intended for the railway station be dropped close to a hospital, (the Hackett Medical Centre) a mile away; or a slaughter house 100 rods away. One can only answer that—either the bombers do not care what or where they hit, or they were not capable of handling high explosives, and therefore should not be entrusted with dangerous weapons. It is those who send them on these errands of destruction who are the real culprits. No amount of explanation can ever get around the fact that the bombing of Canton during these 20 days was indiscriminate, ruthless and murderous. The blood of the thousands of innocent victims cries out against them and will continue to speak for generations to come. And what about the maimed and crippled? Many of them suffering a worse fate than death! Will they ever be disposed to love those who made them thus? The Japanese spokesman say: It was done to “demoralize” the people!—an admission which makes the other claim that they bomb only “military objectives” false! Yes, it did strike terror into the hearts of many people. More than half of the population of Canton moved out; but as far as demoralizing the people is concerned, my observation is, that it has increased the determination to resist the aggressor to the very limit.

To those of us who lived through these days of anguish—anguish for the masses of the people who earn their daily rice by the sweat of their brow, wondering where the next missile from a plane a mile up in the sky would fall, carrying death and destruction to the masses huddled below in crowded streets and houses, it seemed a hellish and murderous affair.

What has Japan gained by this frightfulness? As soon as the bombings cease, the masses of people go back to their work. Railroads have been bombed again and again it is true, but as soon as the sound of the planes cease, gangs of workmen begin to repair the damages and the trains go on, crowded with freight and passengers. There is a grim determination on the part of the people *not* to be “demoralized”. Apparently one of the Japanese objectives is to try and split-up China, to alienate the South from the Central Government, but as far as one can observe, the people are more than ever united, South, North, West,—all standing by the Central Government.

It is said that one should learn from history. This is even more true of present events. This bombing of Canton cannot be treated as an isolated incident. It concerns us all. We are “our brothers’ keeper”! Those who love justice, peace and righteousness must stand against such unwarranted injustice. China’s cause is the cause of those who really love peace and justice. Japan’s way means more and bigger wars. China is fighting for her national existence, for freedom and independence, for the right of national development and to preserve her culture, all of which are threatened with destruction and annihilation by the onslaught of the Japanese military power. China is really fighting the world’s battle for democracy. It has been pointed out again and again by China’s statesmen as well as others that this is not alone a battle between China and Japan. World forces are at work here. The principles of freedom are at stake. It therefore behoves all those who love freedom and truth to help and sustain China in this cause.

The Folly of International War.

By REV. G. F. ALLEN,

Lecturer in Theology and Warden of St. Andrew's Hostel, Union Theological College, Canton; Formerly Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford.

I am very glad to have this opportunity to add my word on the tragic waste and suffering, which we have seen in recent weeks in Canton. It is not good that we should allow our minds to dwell on horrors and atrocities; but it is good that we should have the facts brought home to us, just how great a suffering modern air warfare can cause. This pamphlet will do a great service, if it both elicits sympathy and aid for China, and also warns the other nations towards what goal their armaments may be leading.

The photos in this pamphlet speak for themselves. There is one thing they cannot do, and that is to describe the years ahead. Broken buildings can be repaired; broken bodies in many cases cannot. The most tragic feature of the bombing is the large number of people, generally very poor and dependent on their strength for earning their living, who are now left to manage the rest of their life as best as they can, with their bodies maimed and an arm or a leg lost.

There are only two possible reasons for causing such suffering, the destruction of military objectives or the breaking of the morale of the people. Despite many months of attack, and some weeks of intensive bombing on the city of Canton, both these objectives have failed. The railways run as usual. The life of the city goes on. The spirit of the people is excellent. From a military point of view, air attack seems far less effective than had been expected. From a psychological point of view, it cannot but leave a lingering bitterness in the hearts of multitudes of innocent people, who have to submit to so much unreasonable and undeserved pain.

In all such warfare, it is the civilians who are bound to suffer. In ancient days, war was an affair between armies, and at times had almost the nature of a gentleman's agreement to fight a friendly duel. I think we foster in our minds the illusion that war can still be fought as an honourable and friendly affair, and feel slightly offended when we think the rules of honour are broken. When we think in such terms, we are living in a world of illusion; and the sooner the illusion is broken the better. The facts are, that war is a life and death struggle between nation and nation; and that in this struggle it is the weak and innocent who suffer. In modern warfare the rules of decency always are broken and always will be; the beast in the heart of man is unchained, and for a long time after the war can only with great difficulty be persuaded to submit again to the restraints of reasons. In air warfare,

even if the claim is made in all good faith that the aim is to destroy military objectives, it is quite impossible to fulfil this claim. Whatever the nation at war, the aim from a thousand feet high cannot be exact. Whenever a city is bombed, it is the civilian population who pay the cost with their maimed bodies and their life.

It would be hypocritical for the other nations to blame Japan, when they are themselves heaping up armaments of attack and defense. A more drastic cure is needed. There are in every nation many varied groups who love the ways of peace. The members of the great Christian churches follow, or claim to follow, the Prince of Peace. The members of other world religions in general seek for peace. All those engaged in art or learning, even if they be alienated from the Church, agree with the Church in wanting peace for the quiet pursuit of beauty and of truth. The forces of labour, who after all form the majority of every nation, have no desire to see their strength used for destroying their fellow workers in other lands. All those who love the joys of home life, and all who care for women and for children, of necessity hate to see the pains of war let loose on those they love. When these various groups make up almost the whole of the population of every nation, why is it that they are so amazingly ineffective in forming the political policy of nations?

Perhaps the sufferings of Canton, and of many other places in China, may not be in vain, if they stir into activity and power these slumbering forces. We need to claim throughout the world, that those who love peace, and not that strange and rare minority who find pleasure or profit in war, shall form the policy of our governments. Having seen the tragic folly and waste to which modern instruments of war can lead, we need to work with a whole new faith and vigour, to banish war altogether as a method of international relationship. Most difficult of all, we need to find a new way of turning and changing the policy of an aggressor. We need to restrain the aggressor's capacity for war, taking the risk that in so doing we may for the moment draw his attack against ourselves. More important still, we need to find access to those people who love peace, who are always also present within the aggressor nation; and we need to encourage them to make their power felt in changing the policy of their nation. It is not an easy task which lies before the world. But on the one hand lies the path of destruction and ultimate chaos; on the other hand lies the promise, that all things are possible to them that believe.

Doctor Describes What He Saw During Air Raids

By DR. W. W. CADBURY, *Prof. of Medicine, Sun Yat Sen Medical College, Canton.*

IN fulfilment of the Japanese threat to bombard the city of Canton, the massacre began on May 28. For 9 days the invaders brought death and destruction to the citizens of this open city. On June 6, as I was making rounds in the hospital, I heard the rattle of machine guns sweeping the streets. Men, women and children were rushing wildly for shelter. Bombs soon began to fall. Planes roared but five hundred feet overhead. The building shook with the shock of bombs falling nearby. Soon the Red Cross units began to carry in the wounded,—men women and children. Not one wounded soldier! All innocent civilians!

As the wounded came in, one of our woman doctors gave each a hypodermic of morphine and anti-tetanic serum. Between 60 and 70 required amputations of an arm or leg. There were many injuries of the chest and abdomen. Six tables with as many surgeons operating till late at night. One day's toll of casualties brought to Canton Hospital, actually registered 154. Hundreds of others were treated elsewhere. The killed were numbered in thousands.

Among the victims brought in was a doctor who was helping in the Red Cross Relief himself. He was struck down when the bomb fell in front of the Red Cross Headquarters. He was dying, both legs horribly mangled. His wife and little boy stood beside him weeping. Next, a man with one leg hopelessly crushed. He was bleeding and was in a dying condition.

Five times the air-men dived for the French Hospital, with the tricolor clearly painted on the roof. Two bombs hit and destroyed the X-ray room, laboratory and operating theatre. All was in readiness to perform operations. Crowds driven away from shelters near the hospital fled to the Tiger Balm Building; a newly built concrete structure. The raiders again power-dived and

dropped a bomb close by, and then another in the river crowded with sampans. Scores of men, women and children were killed here alone. Late in the afternoon I saw 40 bodies, horribly mutilated, laid out for identification. Some were disemboweled and others had their brains blown out. Many of the serious cases were brought to our hospital. Newspapermen who had covered Nanking, Hsuchow and other northern cities declare that this is the worst massacre in this or any other war!

Among the victims rushed to the hospital was a Mrs. *Leung* expecting a baby in a few weeks. One leg was badly wounded; her husband killed, sister-in-law and mother-in-law also badly wounded. There was *Poon*—a coolie; family in the country. He sent them regularly \$10.00 a month. His crushed leg was amputated. He wept bitterly as he realized he could no longer support his family again with only one leg! Two sisters were working in a shop on the Bund. They rushed for shelter to Wing On Tong and were badly injured. There was also *Lam*, half of his face destroyed—he died later. He had a wife and little son, and an old father and mother dependent on him. His brother and his brother's wife and son were all killed. *Ue*,—with 4 little children to support, received a serious wound and lost his right leg. He had a shop for selling vegetables but all lost in the general ruin. *Hoh*,—employed at the little railway station at Pingwu. A Japanese bomber flying 7,000 feet high released 4 deadly bombs. One hit his home, wounding his wife and 2 little children and himself. Next door lived carpenter *Cheung* another bomb hit his house. His father and four year old daughter were killed instantly. The wife was carrying the baby girl. She was struck dead and the baby girl had one leg blown off. These were but a few of the hundreds of similar or even more horrible cases we actually handled in our hospital.

American Doctor Tells of Suffering of Victims

THE following is an extract from a letter written by Dr. J. Oscar Thomson, American surgeon in the Canton Hospital, describing the horrible suffering of recent air raid victims who were brought to the hospital for treatment:

“As I write this many Japanese bombing planes are flying overhead, at a great height, above and in the clouds, over the densely populated open city of Canton, hundreds of miles from fighting zones. Through the clouds we can see the planes diving and dropping their bombs.

As we made our rounds and examined those of the wounded operated upon who did not die, we could hardly hear ourselves talk because of the zooming of the bombers and the dropping of the bombs.

In this Hospital alone patients were operated upon on seven tables simultaneously. One old man was a railroad guard, one a fireman who was trying to put out a fire caused by incendiary bombs; the rest were all civilians — men, women and children. More than forty were admitted, of these six died. They were hopeless cases, with large wounds. One man had his whole lower extremity blown off, others legs, arms and hands. Bombs were dropped close to the Hackett Medical Centre and a private hospital nearby. Hackett is also full of wounded.

In our Hospital there were already many wounded non-combatants, who had suffered at the hands of the Japanese bombers, from bomb fragments and machine-gun bullets. In one room are three babies, and in the adjoining one four elderly men, all wounded at the Ping Wu station of the Kowloon-Canton railway, British financed, when bombs were dropped on them. A mother was holding her four months old girl baby. A bomb fragment cut off the baby's left foot and killed the mother. The baby will probably live — without one foot.

Another one with a large wound in his head died as he reached the Hospital. The boy of nine with the brain matter extruding from a wound in his skull we hope will recover, but epilepsy may follow.

When the western suburbs were bombed a while ago, the bombers swooped down and machine-gunned the people as they ran out of their collapsing houses. A baby five months old was brought to us with a bullet wound through its hip. One young woman was a member of a happy family of seven. A bomb dropped and one of her feet was blown off. When she recovered consciousness she learned that all of the other members of her family had been killed. Then there is the mother of four small children. One of her legs was shattered and the other knee blown open. She is recovering. They were passengers on a train coming south on the Hankow railway — obviously therefore non-military. Bombers dropped the missiles on the train and on the passengers as they fled to the fields. The half dozen men who were wounded when the airmen bombed and machine-gunned their boat on the East river carrying firewood are now able to leave the Hospital, “killed”.

Another Eye-witness Describes Raid Horrors

FOLLOWING is an extract of a speech delivered at the protest meeting held under the auspices of the Hongkong League of Nations Society, by the Rev. N.V. Halward, of Church Missionary Society, who was an eye-witness to the recent bombings:

Having seen the mutilated bodies of children amidst the ruins of their homes my heart has been filled with horror and shame at the thought that human beings could be so devilish. And so as one who has been on the spot in Canton and has personally seen some of the horrors perpetrated by the Japanese during the past fortnight I have no hesitation in denying all that the Japanese say in defence of their murderous and indiscriminate attacks on a practically defenceless civilian population living in an open city which is nothing but the commercial centre for South China.

We have seen the mangled remains of scores of civilians—men, women and children—and many wounded from the effect of bomb explosions, and for the Japanese to say that casualties were caused by Chinese anti-aircraft fire is a monstrous lie.

On the morning of May 30 some of the Japanese planes bombed the north-eastern district of Canton. I realised at once that there must be many casualties as the place where I saw the bombs drop was a crowded area. Our Scouts were ready to go out and give a hand and as soon as we thought the planes had gone off we started. We had reached the edge of our compound when more planes came over and from over our heads released at least 15 bombs on the same area as before. Ten minutes later we were in the scene and no words of mine can adequately convey to

you an idea of the destruction wrought to those poor people's houses and shops. Scores of dead, dying and wounded were strewn amongst the wreckage, whilst others more fortunate were standing dazed from the horror which had so suddenly come upon them.

Two days later we went to the scene of another bombing again in a crowded civilian area just off the Wai Oi Tung Road. Here we laboured for over an hour to release a small boy of seven who was pinned under a pile of masonry and debris. He was released practically unscathed but his mother and elder brother lay dead, crushed to pulp nearby.

I think it should be clear to the world at large by now that the Japanese militarists are indulging in an orgy of frightfulness in order to terrorise the population into submission. This view has been further borne out by the statement made in London by the Japanese Ambassador to a deputation of the China Campaign Committee. He is reported to have said that the Japanese Government had found it necessary to destroy the anti-Japanese movement in China and that the bombing of Canton had been undertaken in order to demoralise the Chinese people. If the Japanese really think that these are the methods which are going to make the Chinese love their culture and co-operate with them they are sadly mistaken. Instead, their ruthless and savage methods have engendered in the hearts of thousands an undying hatred for Japan and the people who are causing the destruction all over China.

In conclusion I would urge that it is high time that the Governments of Great Britain, France and the United States of America and other countries should take strong action to restrain Japan in her campaign of aggression in which so many thousands of innocent civilians are suffering."

Canton Foreign Doctors Urge Help to China

THE following is an extract from an open letter signed by leading British and American doctors in Canton, including Dr. Derolle (French) Dr. R. L. Lancaster (British), Dr. W. W. Cadbury, Dr. C. A. Hayes, Dr. F. Oldt, Dr. T. D. Stevenson, Dr. J. O. Thomson and Dr. P. J. Todd (Americans), testifying to the recent massacre of Chinese men, women and children by Japanese air raiders in Canton and urging all democratic countries to help China to fight the Japanese aggression:—

“We, foreign physicians working in Canton and some of us in connection with the International Red Cross, witnessed many terrible sights during the inexcusable, ruthless and barbarous bombing of this city, which the Japanese Ambassador in London himself admitted was ordered with the intention of demoralizing the Chinese people. This object was, however, unsuccessful. The lives and rights of hundreds of foreigners were totally disregarded.

In the event of the capture of other large Chinese cities, such as Hankow and Canton, unless the nations of the world rise up in righteous indignation to prevent it, we may expect a repetition of what happened at Nanking—looting, arson, murder of civilians, and raping on a tremendous scale, by a huge Japanese army of occupation run amok. Will you in America, Britain, France and other civilized countries, who have expressed your friendship for the Chinese people, continue to provide credits and materials for the Japanese armies to capture and destroy the cities of China and their noncombatant population? If you are not with China you are against her.

June 13, the *South China Morning Post*, Hongkong, reports: “The Japanese Consul General in Hongkong has delivered replies to the British, French and American protests against Japanese flying over Shameen (the Anglo-French concession) and bombing the Lingnan University (American). To the British and French the reply reiterated that instruction had been sent to the Japanese navy to respect foreign territorial rights which must be rigorously carried out.” June 16, *S. C. M. Post* reports: “Eight Japanese planes again violated the neutrality of Shameen yesterday when they flew over the foreign settlement on their way to Wong Sha” (railway station).

As they crossed Shameen where all of the Foreign Consulates are, they opened fire with their machine-guns on the Chinese just across the canal who thought that was a safety zone. We have some of the wounded in our Hospitals. If this order was actually given by the Japanese Government in Tokyo, it was disregarded by the Japanese

airmen. This proves that the Japanese military forces are completely out of control.

At Nanking the army refused to obey orders issued from the Japanese Embassy. We submit that the Japanese military forces have broken the international law of nations, the laws of decency and humanity and have trampled on the personal rights and interests of America, Britain, France and other countries.

Now is the time for all those nations that believe in law and order, in whom the rights of humanity are still held supreme, to sever completely all relations with the Government of Japan.

The Japanese repeatedly insist that foreign flags must be flown. Why? The French Hospital, the Hackett Medical Centre, the Hospital of the New Zealand Presbyterian Mission, had large flags painted on the roofs. The first was bombed. The second had bombs dropped between several of its buildings. The third had bombs dropped beside it.

In the June 4 number of the *Saturday Evening Post*, Edgar Snow writes: “It is gravely to be doubted whether an isolated China can defeat a Japan helped by the entire world,—the democratic Powers financing the conqueror by extending credits to Japan directly or indirectly. Given after that, a mere decade in which to exploit their prize, given the continued assistance of the Western People—who blissfully imagine that all this is no direct concern of theirs—Japanese militarists will then build an army and navy capable of wrecking the earth, themselves included, and great numbers of the despised white men, whom the Japanese are now gleefully making their footballs in China.”

Are you helping to hasten the doom of civilization for a little temporary gain? You who are providing the money and the materials for the slaughter of the Chinese women and children—you who believe in peace at any price rather than in the righteousness which exalteth a nation—you have no come-back if some day an enemy bombs your city from the air, calling it a fortified zone, and your homes and public utilities and educational institutions, military objectives—or if, when it is captured, your homes are looted and burned, you and your fellow citizens murdered, your wives and daughters raped and murdered, as at Nanking and many other places. The success of the Japanese armies is due to your help. The suffering of the Chinese people is due to your apathy and to your purchase of Japanese goods.

That Japan is the aggressor in this conflict has been abundantly proved to the world. She has wantonly invaded a peace loving country, which has never attacked another nation, and is in no way responsible for the present “incident”.

If the democratic nations of the world do not rise at this time to help China, then it is our opinion that freedom and democracy in the world are doomed to extinction.”

Foreign Eye-witness Gives Graphic Account of Massacre of Factory Girl Workers.

By H. H. POMMERENKE, American Presbyterian Missionary

WHILE the Japanese airmen are again bringing death and destruction to Canton in their renewed bombing of the city, I recall with a horrible feeling the bombing of the Tai Lee Sewing Factory, which resulted in the massacre of over 150 girl workers and the wounding and maiming of many others. It was on April 10th of this year when the writer was attending a worship service at the Tenth Street Methodist Church that the raid occurred. Two bombs were dropped on the building inside which several hundred women workers were sewing clothes. As I looked out of a window immediately after the explosions I saw horribly mangled bodies at the ruins and wounded people covered with blood running in all directions.

From around a corner there came a young woman bespattered with blood. I ran into the street whence they had come. After having gone a few steps I saw an injured woman stumble into a small shop and then fall into the arms of another woman. People covered with dust poured into the street. After going a short distance I saw more men and women lying or sitting in the narrow street covered with blood from head to foot. While trying to get in touch with Hackett Medical Center two men brought to the door in their arms a man whose leg had been blow open from knee to hip. The entire bone was exposed, broken and crossed.

There was a roaring fire. It was a clothing factory that was hit in a building that was once a theater in the very heart of Canton's famous Sai Kwaan residential district densely populated with relatively few wide streets.

In full view of everybody were many corpses of those who had been burned to death.

Where there was an opening in the debris people called in the hope of getting a response. Men dug anywhere. Of course digging was rewarded by the finding of people in all states of life, death and injury. There was great competition among stretcher bearers to have the privilege of carrying off the injured person to an ambulance.—Stretchers soon began to look more like Persian rugs than bits of canvas stretched over frames.—The group to which I attached myself dug and found a top-knot of a woman's hair. We finally got the back of her head un-

covered but we had a most difficult time disengaging her. Across the back of her neck was a four or six inch pole. That was sawed away with great difficulty with a most inadequate instrument. Then we found that her neck was resting on the edge of a board. We could not yet make out whether she was alive. Another beam was across her knees. She was tightly pinned down. Although her forehead was badly perforated she was alive.

At the foot of a two storey wall that was leaning on the top and ready to fall any minute two legs were seen kicking. Near by many had been burned to death and beyond recognition.

A baby was heard crying. There is renewed activity to find it. It was found next to the child's mother who had died. Other children were found with crushed skulls. A wooden ceiling had fallen killing all under its heavy beams—gashed bodies, flattened faces, etc.

A block from the disaster on another road another group of men were busy with coffins.—I counted fifty eight rough coffins side by side on the street and four in an ambulance-hearse. All were occupied and almost all were women. About half of these were disfigured and charred beyond recognition. Some coffins contained only torsos.

It was a beautiful day—a really beautiful day. Spring was in the air—It was Palm Sunday, just a week before Easter. It was the time of year when people rejoice because of renewed life and nature. These factory girls and women had been chatting and gossiping, talking about weddings and the rearing of their families, talking of dresses and food and about how they would spend their low wages and hard earned money. Some of the girls owned their own sewing machines and got a higher wage than others. Some of the girls worked industriously so that they could save enough ten cent pieces to make down payments on their "Singers". Though life was hard they made the best of their lot. They knew laughter and song—Then all of a sudden, splinters of steel penetrated abdomens, chests, heads, limbs were torn, skulls were bashed in, necks broken and the factory was reduced to a complete shambles. Over 150 were killed and many others wounded. Some were burned to death. The sight was most appalling.

English Journalist Condemns Raids

INTERVIEWED upon his arrival in Hong Kong by the South China Morning Post, Mr. Hessel Tiltman, war correspondent for London Daily Express and author of several books on Chinese affairs including *The Far East Comes Nearer* and *The Uncensored Far East*, who is one of the small band of foreign newsmen who have been covering the Canton raids, declared: "The horrors of Canton should never have been permitted to happen and, unless the world is insane, will never be permitted to happen again."

The schoolboy excuses of Japanese Spokesmen deceive nobody. During the past three weeks I have been in more than three dozen air raids during which bombs have been dropped indiscriminately over more than one hundred points of a congested and almost undefended city. The result was what one would expect—during those days I have seen enough blood and horror to last a lifetime. But it wasn't the blood of soldiers or government officials. It was the blood of innocent civilians—more than half of them women and children.

"The responsibility for these mass murders does not rest with the kindly, gentle people among whom I have lived in Japan. I do not believe for one instant that my friends and neighbours at Tokyo—if they could have seen what I have seen—would tolerate this crime.

"Nor does responsibility rest with the half and quarter trained boys who are sent up in powerful warplanes to throw high explosives on other people's homes. Their general aim is appalling, but presumably their superiors don't care.

"Responsibility belongs to the Japanese High Command which planned, ordered, permitted and persisted in this murder campaign. For them it is impossible to feel anything but profound contempt. Even to-day when, thanks to the neutral, impartial evidence of consular officials, doctors and newspaper correspondents, the whole world knows the truth, Japanese Admirals and Spokesmen still talk about hitting "military objectives" when actually their bombs have demolished English-owned schools and small homes. By so doing they have crimsoned the Sun-flag with a stain which it will take generations to erase."

Mr. Tiltman added that no praise could be too great for the calm courage with which the people of Canton, from General Wu Teh-chen, Governor of Kwangtung, to the poorest coolie, were facing the hours of supreme trial.

"Directly the first bomb falls in a raid the ambulances and rescue-squads are racing to the scene, superbly indifferent to the bombs crashing around them.

"In the course of covering the news in forty countries and across four Continents I have seen human courage at its best and finest, but never have I seen a grander and more moving display of comradeship and personal bravery than in Canton during the recent red weeks. The Cantonese are not only prepared to live for China—they have proved their readiness to die for China. Thousands have died—and earned from the world a salute to the brave."

Canton Committee For Justice to China.

198, The Bund, Canton

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A busy section of the New Bund where three bombs were dropped killing 75 men and women in the street and others seeking shelter in a dug-out nearby



**AMERICA'S SHARE
IN JAPAN'S
WAR GUILT**

MADE IN U.S.A.

**TAKE AMERICAN WAR PROFITS OUT
OF JAPAN'S AGGRESSION IN CHINA**

AMERICA'S SHARE IN JAPAN'S WAR GUILT

AMERICA'S SHARE IN JAPAN'S WAR GUILT deals with the fact that we are now giving indispensable aid to Japan's program of militaristic aggression and expansion.

By rendering such support, are we serving the interests of international peace and justice? Are we contributing to America's future welfare and security? Are we being fair to China?

In sending you this copy of AMERICA'S SHARE IN JAPAN'S WAR GUILT, the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression invites you and your associates to join in a serious consideration of this significant issue. What should be done?

August, 1938



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AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR NON-PARTICIPATION
IN JAPANESE AGGRESSION

8 West 40th Street

New York, N. Y.

Price: Fifteen Cents

forced to spend billions for the construction and maintenance of a Big Navy because of the menace in the Pacific. It is idle to pretend that our huge naval construction program is being pushed because of threats from European navies. The threat comes from Japan. Yet we are not only arming Japan for her aggression in China but also supplying a major share of materials for Japan's naval construction program, compelling Congress to enact such a measure as the \$1,150,000,000 Naval Expansion Bill—money that is urgently needed at home for flood control, public works, slum clearance, housing projects, social security, education, public health and the whole relief program.

The irony of it! We prepare to defend ourselves against those whose sinews of strength for expansion come from our own industries.

In this booklet the reader will find important and challenging facts which reveal America's role in arming Japan and America's share in Japanese aggression on the Asia mainland. It raises an issue that deserves the earnest consideration of every American.

The issue is clear-cut for those who oppose war and seek peace. Japan could not continue her invasion of China another six months or continue as a potential menace to the security of other nations without equipment, oil and other materials from the United States.

The time has come to present these facts to every man and woman in the United States. If the American people become fully aware of the part they are taking in the deliberate and frightful bombing of helpless civilians in China, the mad attempt to subjugate a great people, and the ambitious expansion of a militaristic power, there is little doubt what they will say or do. Americans will say, "Count us out." Americans will not give further aid and encouragement to the aggressor, actual and potential.

Not only must the information in this booklet be widely disseminated but the moral conscience of America must express itself. We are committing a great wrong. We are virtual allies of a nation whose military policy and methods have received world condemnation. We sympathize deeply with the deluded and misled people of Japan. We are their sincere friends. We entertain no hatred toward them. But we cannot condone the actions of their military party, and we must not economically support what we morally condemn. To be indifferent or silent

now, to acquiesce in an intolerable international situation, to think selfishly of peace as only an American problem, is to strengthen the forces of greed and lawlessness among nations and to increase the future perils to peace on the American continents.

Shall we say nothing and do nothing in the face of the known facts about our share in the guilt? Then we betray humanity.

If the people of the United States know the facts, if their consciences are deeply stirred, they will act and they will see that their government acts. Japan then can no longer look to America for the means of war. America then will cease to be a partner of Japan in her barbarous attacks upon China.

The United States can do its part by refusing to give economic support for war purposes to a country which is violating, as Japan is, a solemn treaty of peace with the United States.

China is making a magnificent struggle for liberty. The least we can do is to withhold aid from her enemy. The democracies can stop war from spreading only by refusing absolutely to support wars of aggression, only by refusing to share in their evil profits.

Let America act now and act quickly, for peace.

OUR ASSISTANCE TO JAPAN

“The lamentable fact is that today the aggression of Japan is being actively assisted by the efforts of men of our own nation and men of the other great democracy in the world—the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is not only being actively assisted, but our assistance is so effective and predominant that without it even today the aggression would in all probability be promptly checked and cease. . . .

“So I say that the first glaring fact which stares us in the face in our analysis of the situation is that China’s principal need is not that something should be done by outside nations to help her, but that outside nations should cease helping her enemy. Given a situation in which the supply of munitions was only somewhat less unequal, China’s bravery has already shown that Japan’s task would be hopeless.

“In the light of these facts, the first question that I should ask of the American and British peoples is: Does the safety of the American nation and the safety of the British Empire require that we go on helping Japan to exterminate, by the methods she is daily employing, the gallant Chinese soldiers with which she is confronted—not to speak of the civilian Chinese population that she is engaged in terrorizing? Is the condition of our statesmanship so pitifully inadequate that we cannot devise the simple means of international cooperation which would stop our participation in this slaughter? I for one do not think so. I believe that it can be done, and done effectively, without serious danger to us.”

—HENRY L. STIMSON,
former Secretary of State.
Excerpt from letter to New York Times,
October 6, 1937

WHAT GOVERNMENT LEADERS ARE SAYING . . .

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT:

“Without a declaration of war and without warning or justification of any kind, civilians, including women and children, are being ruthlessly murdered with bombs from the air. . . . The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality.”

—*From address of October 5, 1937
on the World Political Situation.*

CORDELL HULL, *Secretary of State:*

“Respect for law and observance of the pledged word have sunk to an inconceivably low level. The outworn slogans of the glorification of war are again resounding in many portions of the globe. Armed force, naked and unashamed, is again being used as an instrument of policy and a means of attaining national ends through aggression and aggrandizement. It is being employed with brutality and savagery that outrage and shock every humane instinct.

“There is a desperate need in our country, and in every country, of a strong and united public opinion in support of a renewal and demonstration of faith in the possibility of a world order based on law and international cooperative effort. When such public opinion has developed and when the momentous issue of today—the fateful decision as to whether relations among nations shall be governed by armed force or by cooperation and order under law—is clearly understood and visualized, there will be no insuperable difficulty in finding acceptable ways and means of achieving the desired end.”

—*From address at Nashville, Tennessee,
June 3, 1938.*

FRANCIS B. SAYRE, *Assistant Secretary of State:*

“When forces of lawlessness are abroad, supine inaction in effect means siding with the evil against the good; the strongest

encouragement which can be given lawless aggressors is to make it quite clear that they have nothing to fear from those with power to withstand them. The United States cannot afford to be a cipher at this crucial moment of the world's history. We must be resolute and prepared if necessary to withstand the aggression of the lawless. This does not mean desire for war. War is evil incarnate. But it means recognition of the fact that some things are worse than fighting if fighting be in defense of life or principles.

"I need scarcely add, in closing, that the general acceptance of a code of law and morality among independent nations can never be brought about through force, for this is essentially a thing of the spirit. The task of the law abiding now is to save the world from being delivered over into the hands of the lawless—to prevent the shipwreck and annihilation of what we have been toilfully building for centuries."

—*From an address before The American Society of International Law, Washington, April 30, 1938.*

STANLEY K. HORNBECK, *Adviser on Political Relations, Department of State:*

"Without the concept of justice, pursuit of national interests becomes simply effort toward national self-aggrandizement. Without regard for justice in pursuit of national interests it would be difficult indeed to conceive of peace as possible. . . .

"There is warrant for believing that the present disruption of international relations generally is due to a failure on the part of some nations to realize that in relations between and among nations national self-interest must, in the long run, be subordinated to the claims of justice. . . .

"To make principles effective in practice it is necessary that peoples be committed, by personal understanding and conviction, to them. . . .

"The first line of our national defense should be spiritual. It should lie in character. It should lie in concepts, beliefs, faith, conviction,—and in willingness to make sacrifices—if necessary even sacrifice of our own lives—in support of and in defense of these. . . ."

—*From address before the Chaplain's Association of the Army of the United States, Washington, May 17, 1938.*

WHAT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ARE SAYING . . .

SENATE RESOLUTION:

*—Introduced by SENATOR KEY PITTMAN OF NEVADA; Passed
unanimously by the United States Senate on June 16, 1938.*

Resolved, That the Senate record its unqualified condemnation of the inhuman bombing of civilian populations.

SENATOR JAMES P. POPE of Idaho on:

AMERICAN AID TO JAPAN

“Mr. President, the American people are shocked at the continued Japanese barbarities in carrying out her campaign against China. Our Government has protested against particular acts of violence, and we have claimed damages for properties destroyed. America has joined other powers in these protests. It is as well, however, for us to recognize the bitter fact that it is America which is supplying 54.4 per cent of the materials absolutely necessary in order that Japan may continue her aggression against China. It is doubtful whether Japan could get these materials if we were not willing to supply them. I call your attention to the following table:

“United States’ share in Japan’s imports of essentials for war purposes:

<i>Commodity Class</i>	<i>Percentage (1937)</i>
Copper	92.9
Automobiles and parts	91.2
All oil	60.5
Pig iron	41.6
Other iron	59.7
Machinery and engines	48.5
Zinc	20.4
Total in aggregate	54.4

“The following table is still more conclusive in its proof of the fact that America is Japan’s best support in the war against China. The table shows the contribution of the nine principal countries towards Japanese aggression:

TABLE 3A
CONTRIBUTION OF NINE PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES TO JAPAN'S
IMPORTS ESSENTIAL FOR WAR PURPOSES—BY COUNTRIES
(Value in Thousands)

<i>Principal* Countries</i>	1937		1936	
	<i>Value**** (yen)</i>	<i>Share in aggregate** (%)</i>	<i>Value (yen)</i>	<i>Share in aggregate** (%)</i>
U.S.A.***	627,238	54.4	280,389	47.9
British Empire***	201,496	17.5	116,454	19.9
Dutch India	84,913	7.4	46,827	8.0
Germany	43,434	3.8	21,872	3.7
Belgium	23,473	2.0	7,447	1.3
China	20,099	1.7	17,668	3.0
Soviet Union	12,528	2.2
Norway	2,931	.3	759	.1
Switzerland	179	.0002	1,952	.3
Total	1,003,764	87.1	505,896	86.4

“The interesting fact remains that while the United States protests against the aggression of Japan in China, and while 95 to 99 per cent of the American people keenly feel the invasion of China by Japan, yet the United States, by furnishing the necessary war materials to Japan keeps her going in her war on China. I think it is clear that if it were not for the materials which the United States is furnishing Japan, this war of aggression would be seriously hampered. What we ought to do about it is another matter. Whether the Japanese embargo should be supported by the Government may be a question. At any rate, the American people ought to know that while they are longing for discontinuance of the aggressive war upon China by Japan, we are making it possible for Japan to carry on the war by the shipment of war materials to Japan.”

SENATOR KEY PITTMAN of Nevada:

“I believe the people, the churches and the peace societies of the country have at last awakened to their duty in protesting

* Manchuria is excluded.

** Aggregate value of imports of 13 commodity classes: 1937—1,152,861,000 yen; 1936—585,015,000 yen.

*** U.S.A. includes Philippine Islands; British Empire includes Great Britain, Canada, Australia, India, Malay, and British Borneo.

**** Values for 1937 are approximate estimates.

against military wrongs and against violation of the peace treaties.”

REPRESENTATIVE EMANUEL CELLER OF NEW YORK:

“Day after day the Japanese are mercilessly maiming and killing thousands upon thousands of women and children in China. The news despatches brand Japan as one of the most despicable and accursed of nations. We must wash away some of America’s guilt. We are also guilty because, despite our Neutrality Act, we are supplying Japan with more than 50 per cent of her war supplies in the form of oil, machinery, automobiles, scrap and pig iron and such ingredients for her munition factories. American planes which dropped those bombs on Canton can only be flown with American oil which we are supplying. Surely this is one of the blackest pages in our American history.”

SENATOR WILLIAM D. KING of Utah:

“It seems to me that there is at least a moral obligation if not a legal obligation resting upon the United States, to denounce the course of the Japanese Government in its invasion of China, its destruction of cities and towns and villages, its murderous assaults upon unoffending people, particularly women and children, and its application, under the name of war, of the most cruel, atavistic propensities, which found expression in the conduct of primitive races. The course of Japan is an anachronism. It belongs not only to the Dark Ages, but to the darkest and cruelest periods of human existence. We may not be justified in becoming a party to the conflict; we may not be warranted in trying to stay by military force the sanguinary and devastating course of Japan; but certainly we owe it to ourselves and to the future to lift our voices against the recrudescence of those frightful and tragic ancestralisms which it was hoped the world had abandoned and entombed in dishonored graves of the history of the past.

“I do not believe that a denunciation of Japan’s course would lead to war. I cannot help but believe that if we and other civilized nations were to brand Japan as a treaty violator, as an outlaw, as a nation unworthy to be found in association with nations that love peace and seek justice, instead of that course being provocative of war, it would tend to modify the course of the Japanese Government and restore it, if not to complete sanity, at least to a condition in which there might be negotia-

tions looking to a termination of the frightful tragedy which is now destroying hundreds of thousands of human beings and devastating cities and towns and portions of a vast continent.

"I have referred to treaties existing between the United States and Japan. Certainly our Government should be interested in having treaties to which it is a party respected and its terms observed. It certainly cannot be claimed that the duty rests upon a nation party to a treaty to remain silent while other parties to the treaty flagrantly violate its terms. Our Government, as well as other governments, have interests in the Orient. China was a party to treaties with the United States and other occidental nations. These treaties were beneficial to China and were promotive of trade and commerce, helpful to the Chinese people, and more or less a benefit to those nations signatories to such treaties.

"Japan solemnly covenanted in the Nine Power Treaty to respect the rights and territorial integrity of China. She bound herself, as did other signatories to the same treaty, to respect Chinese territory and the rights of the Chinese people. It was not a unilateral treaty; it was a multilateral treaty, and each party to the treaty obviously had some obligations resting upon it. Japan has violated this treaty, as well as others. She has contemptuously disregarded the rights of other signatories to the treaty, and has invaded Chinese territory, and is waging one of the most aggressive and sanguinary wars of which the pages of history bear record. . . .

"I am repeating when I say we are warranted in prohibiting any further shipments of munitions and military supplies and commodities to be devoted to military purposes."

SENATOR ARTHUR CAPPER of Kansas:

"The people of this country are indignant, shocked, filled with righteous wrath over this inhuman and barbarous treatment of non-combatants. And I feel that the people of this country expect the Senate to vindicate the rising indignation against these nations which are running amok and threatening to plunge the world from civilization into the depths of barbarism. . . . It is the duty of the Senate to condemn treaty violators; to condemn the ruthless and wicked bombing of thousands of defenseless men, women and children; to make plain to all the world our abhorrence of such practices; and to disapprove the sale of American aircraft to countries which so flagrantly violate all the principles of civilized warfare."

SENATOR BENNETT CHAMP CLARK of Missouri:

"Does it not partake of a good deal of the nature of smug hypocrisy for the Senate . . . to deplore the use of bombs, particularly in the case of a certain Oriental nation, while we go on day after day selling for the profit of our own manufacturers and our own producers the materials out of which the bombs are made and the machines by which they are used?"

SENATOR ELBERT D. THOMAS of Utah:

"The spirit of America is for peace. The American people condemn war and they condemn a resort to war. . . .

"If the application of the Neutrality Act could by any flight of the imagination stop the fighting, we might be forgiven in attempting it. But it would not. It would be purely a unilateral action which would not affect the fighting one whit. Under the Neutrality Act both belligerents must be treated equally. By it, condemnation of both China and Japan would result. Impartial neutrality is a physical impossibility. If we do nothing, we help the stronger. If we act impartially, we still help the stronger.

"No one in America would want to see us allied with either of the combatant states; above all no one wants to see us aiding the stronger of the two. But an application of the Neutrality Act would do just that. If we should embargo the shipment of arms we would not in any way affect the ability of the state with plenty of arms from continuing the war. If we refused to sell to only those who could not come to get our products—Japan only could buy our goods because no Chinese boat could get past the Japanese Fleet. The American people would not stand for taking sides in this way."

POLL OF CONGRESSIONAL SENTIMENT

WASHINGTON, June 21—Representative members of the Senate and House, polled by The Christian Science Monitor, show an entire willingness to support Secretary Hull's effort to apply a voluntary embargo on shipment of American aircraft to Japan, but an even greater desire to extend the embargo to a wider range of exports.

—*Christian Science Monitor.*

WAR MATERIALS FROM AMERICA TO JAPAN

The war picture, so far as raw materials for war purposes are concerned, is practically all Japanese. Scrap iron and steel is a major item, and in 1937 the Japanese bought from the junk yards of the United States 1,865,918 tons of old boilers, car wheels, stoves, automobiles and other wrecked objects made of iron or steel, for which they paid \$35,462,000. In the first five months of this year Japan's scrap iron and steel purchases have amounted to 690,000 tons, for which was paid \$11,632,000.

In these five months Japan's purchases of other raw materials have included 466,000 bales of cotton, the price of which was \$24,436,000; crude petroleum, 11,729,000 barrels, for \$16,464,000; automobile parts and accessories, \$1,935,000; steel ingots, sheet bars, etc., not containing tungsten, \$2,032,000; pig iron, \$2,166,000; motor fuel, \$1,935,000; gas and fuel oil, \$2,638,000, and lubricating oil, \$1,100,000.

When various other raw products, all of them essential war materials, are added, the total of such purchases for the first five months of this year amounts to about \$73,000,000. In the corresponding months of 1937 the total of these purchases was approximately \$102,000,000.

Japan's total import trade from the United States in 1937 was \$288,000,000 and of this it is a reasonable estimate that more than \$200,000,000 was for raw materials Japan must have in order to wage war against China. This year, it appears, the total raw material bill will be considerably less than in 1937, probably about \$150,000,000.

—*New York Times*,
July 24, 1938.

SOME QUESTIONS

The extent to which the United States supplies Japan with materials essential to her war of aggression, and the extent to which the Japanese military machine must depend upon America for these supplies are revealed in statements appearing elsewhere in this pamphlet. The probable effectiveness of a policy of non-participation in Japanese aggression and some of the practical problems involved in such a policy are also discussed.

Thoughtful consideration of so far reaching a matter inevitably raises some further questions. The purpose of this section is not to deal with these questions fully but to suggest some conclusions which seem reasonable in the light of recent history and of the facts now at our disposal.

1. *Is the United States now neutral?*

Public sentiment and official pronouncements would seem to put us on the side of China. But materially we are Japan's most important and most indispensable ally. Japan possesses a military-industrial plant capable of converting huge quantities of raw materials into implements of death. China does not. By furnishing the better part of the essential supplies for the maintenance and continued operation of this military machine, we are making it possible for Japan to retain the superiority in equipment which is her outstanding advantage over the defensive forces of the Chinese. By this means we are supporting Japan.

2. *Would invocation of the Neutrality Act put the United States in a neutral position?*

No. Invocation of the Neutrality Act would leave us in the position of supplying Japan with most of what she needs while selling to China none of the arms and munitions that are vital to her defense. It would therefore make us even more decisively an ally of Japan. For while an embargo would be placed upon munitions, Japan could still obtain here the raw materials and machinery which are vastly more important to her than munitions. Unlike China, she has a highly developed munitions industry and could continue to use American raw materials to equip her mechanized army. She has a large merchant marine for transporting these supplies.

The neutrality legislation was framed with a view primarily to the European situation before the outbreak of the conflict in

China; it has been found unsuitable for application to the situation which has developed in the Far East.

3. *Is it wise for us to do nothing?*

Without a more positive American policy, at least to the extent of withholding economic aid to Japan, the present conflict may continue raging for years, becoming the most stupendous in all history for its devastation and its toll in agony among millions upon millions of peaceful civilians as well as among courageous soldiers on both sides. The longer it continues, the vaster and deeper will suffering become and the more insuperable will be the problems which follow in its wake. To do nothing in the face of such a situation seems callous. But actually to continue support for the military machine which is responsible for this devastation is morally indefensible.

Through a more definite attitude, the United States, by refusing to support Japan's aggression, would make its enormous influence felt on the side of justice and of a new and better international order in the Pacific area—an order based upon mutual respect, justice, security, and peace.

A positive policy now would still leave the United States in a strong position to help in arranging a just peace when the war is ended. Japan's greatest external dependence is upon America. The resumption of trade and the reestablishment of friendly, cooperative, and mutually helpful relations between the two countries can be made contingent upon conditions of peace and security for all.

4. *What are the justifiable grounds on which the United States can withhold economic assistance to Japan?*

On humanitarian grounds the people of the United States can refuse to be party to a ruthless war of conquest over a great peace loving people, or to the utterly inhuman acts which this war has entailed. They can decline to furnish the oil, scrap iron, airplanes and bombs needed for the slaughter of soldiers and civilians who are struggling for national independence, and the money needed for purchasing these supplies elsewhere. They can show this much regard for a great nation whose citizens have traditionally regarded Americans as their best friends.

Where and how American goods shall be sold abroad is a matter for the American people to decide. While international

custom has prescribed that a recognized government in time of war may import war materials from friendly nations, Japan's claim to the benefit of this custom has been forfeited by her repeated violation and repudiation of treaty obligations to the United States, to China, and to the other signatories of the Kellogg Pact and the Nine Power Treaty.

Action by the United States, therefore, can be on grounds that America will withhold economic support for war purposes from any nation which is in process of violating a solemn treaty of peace to which it is a signatory with the United States. Such an action would be a logical and reasonable consequence of such treaty violation, not an unfriendly act taken on the initiative of the United States. It would apply in the case of the Nine-Power Treaty but not in the case of the Kellogg Pact, the terms of which prevent such implementation as the above.

The American people acting individually, in groups, and through their government can refuse to lend economic aid for war purposes to a nation which is in the process of violating a solemn treaty of peace to which the United States is a party. Japan is clearly violating such a pact (the Nine-Power Treaty) under which she bound herself with other signatories of the treaty to respect the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

On grounds of her own legitimate interests in peace and security in the Pacific area, the United States can decline to endorse or support a course of conquest by a regime which has steadily undermined the foundations upon which any just international order must rest.

5. *Do American interests and traditional policies warrant a policy of non-participation in Japanese aggression?*

For decades American Far Eastern policy has proceeded on the assumption that the best interests of China, of America, and of the world generally, would be served by a unified and independent government in China. It is clear, propaganda to the contrary, that an independent China will trade with the world, while a conquered China will trade almost exclusively with Japan. Maintenance of the right to participate in the trade of China on terms of equality with other nations is an affirmed and reaffirmed policy of the American Government.

Our Government has also repeatedly declared its interest in law and order, in peace and the maintenance of international obliga-

tions. These intangibles have figured especially prominently in our Far Eastern policies.

These policies reflect a concern not only with trade but also with the future of American security in case the great Chinese people become the pawns of another power. Some Americans fear the consequences of Japanese domination in China. The surest means for bringing this to pass is to continue supplying Japan liberally with the means for conquest. Some Americans, with less cause, perhaps, fear Russian domination in China. The surest road to this is for all the other powers except Russia to remain aloof while Japanese aggression in China continues. This would bring about a growing feeling among the Chinese people that they have nowhere else to turn but to the powerful neighbor on their north and west. Most congenial to the American outlook would be an independent China whose people are free to choose their own destiny. The stopping of American assistance to the Japanese military regime would be an important step in the direction of helping to maintain an independent China—a China ready and eager to cooperate with the United States of America.

From the standpoint of domestic interests, huge sums are now being expended upon naval armaments which would be unnecessary but for the potential threat of Japan to the security of all countries in the Pacific area. The burden thus levied upon American taxpayers is many times greater than any temporary losses involved in a cessation of our present war trade with Japan. It is inconsistent with our own interests to supply to Japan the sinews of war and then to spend huge sums in order to counteract the growth in aggressive power which we are helping to make possible.

6. Is Japan clearly the aggressor in the present conflict?

The fact that the conflict is being waged on Chinese soil is in itself an answer to this question, rendering hollow the Japanese militarists' claim of self-defense. Anti-Japanese feeling in China is a consequence of Japanese encroachments. By impartial third parties, Japan's aggression has been repeatedly recognized.

Since the occupation of Manchuria in 1931-32, which was stigmatized by unanimous vote of the League of Nations as an unwarrantable act of military force, Japan has steadily enlarged the scope of its encroachments on China. This process continued between 1932 and 1937, by dint of threats backed by military

force. Especially was this true in North China when Jehol, Chahar and East Hopei were successively drawn into the orbit of Japanese domination.

In July, 1937, despite all efforts by the Chinese Government, the Japanese military authorities used the manufactured Marco Polo Bridge "incident" near Peiping to start a general invasion of China. Once again the League of Nations has recognized the subsequent hostilities as a case of aggression by asking League members to render aid to China. Both now and in 1931-32, the American Government has adopted the same attitude as the League. In response to a recent Congressional request, the State Department included Japan among treaty-violating nations.

7. Is there a serious danger that the cutting off of economic assistance to Japan might lead to war?

Even before the outbreak of hostilities, Japan's economic condition was becoming serious. The present war, spreading over an enormous area and being waged against seemingly limitless manpower and an altogether unexpected determination on the part of the Chinese people, is already placing the Japanese Government and military command in a desperate position; this is reflected in unprecedented efforts to break Chinese morale by means of aerial bombings and in a tightening of every control at home. Acute strain is becoming evident in Japan's financial and commercial structure, due not only to the war itself, but also to Japan's utter dependence upon foreign markets and foreign sources of supply. Japan, it seems, has already attempted more than her home economy can support.

Meanwhile, Japan's military leaders have had to face a disconcerting change in the balance of forces in the Pacific area. Japan's armament program after the invasion of Manchuria was matched by a growth in the Far Eastern defences of Great Britain, Russia, and France and in the naval power of America. Now that Japan's military strength is spending itself in China, the balance is turning against her. While she becomes weaker, these nations, whose interests are opposed to those of Japan in China, are becoming stronger. Among these nations none possesses greater resources, a greater industrial plant, and greater financial and commercial power than the United States.

Japan, meanwhile, is entirely dependent upon sources of supply which other nations, unsympathetic with her aggressive aims, can

control. Even her navy could not operate for long without replenishment of oil and other essential supplies from abroad.

It is believed, therefore, that a policy on the part of the United States of non-participation in Japanese aggression, while further weakening Japan's capacity for war, would bring to the Japanese an increased realization of the grave situation toward which their present course is leading. Instead of initiating a war, it is believed that this simple policy of non-cooperation would prove to be a curb, far more effective than verbal protests, to Japanese militaristic expansion, at a moment when such a curb can be applied with a minimum of cost to ourselves.

It is not likely that Japan's militarist leaders would be so rash as to attempt reprisals against the United States. They recognize that, if they cannot readily win a war against China in their own backyard, they cannot dream of wandering afield, when economically exhausted, in order to engage in conflict the strongest power in the world. War with the United States at this time would mean a certain end to their dream of becoming a great world power.

There is no historical support for the supposition that an American embargo on war materials to Japan would lead to war. An embargo by Russia and an effective stoppage of war supplies from France to Japan have not done so.

It is reasonable, moreover, to believe that a policy of non-cooperation now would involve far less risk of war than a continuation of the support which we are rendering to Japan.

8. *Is it conceivable that an American policy of non-cooperation might lead to an invasion of the Philippines?*

Japan has already learned that invasion means the surrender of trade with the invaded market and the antagonizing of the invaded population. Thus China, Japan's most important market, has been crippled for many years to come. The Philippines have become an export market more important to Japan than ever before since they yield revenues essential for the financing of the present war. It is most unlikely that Japan will want to sacrifice such revenues at her present critical financial juncture. Another factor not to be neglected is that Japan has political ambitions in the Philippines, and she knows that a physical invasion at this time would permanently alienate masses of people whom she is now trying to win for her position. Finally, even if

she were to be deprived of war materials from the United States, she would not be willing to lose the last cent derived from her enormous exports to this country; or from her commerce through the Panama Canal. Both exports to this country, and trade with Europe and Latin America through the Panama Canal, would naturally be closed to her once she did such a rash and provocative thing. In general, Japan realizes that in the present balance of world forces she is a world power only in the Far East and that, outside the Sea of Japan, the vast superiority of the western powers renders them immune to offensive action on her part.

9. Why is there a danger that our continued support to Japan would lead to war?

Because, by supplying Japan with over half of the materials needed from abroad for her vast expansionist program, we are contributing to an indefinite prolongation of the present conflict, with the continuous threat to international peace which this involves. We are making it more possible for the military rulers of Japan to continue their grandiose dream of complete domination in Asia, with enormous new resources and manpower under their control. We are making more possible an ultimate Japanese victory which, without our aid, could not be achieved.

A partial or complete victory for Japan in the end would produce an international situation more unstable than any which has heretofore existed in the Pacific area. It would further strengthen and consolidate the control which military leaders now have over the Japanese government and nation thus postponing any change in national policies which might result with the rise to power of more liberal elements. The great ballast for peace which exists with an independent China would be lost.

It is a foregone conclusion that the Japanese militarists, entrenched as overlords of Asia, would proceed to develop to gigantic proportions the military and naval power of the Empire. Now relatively weak they would then become genuinely strong. As a vast militaristic empire they would be capable of threatening the peace and security of the world for years—possibly generations to come.

If a Japanese victory is achieved and consolidated, the Empire will still be far from self-sufficient; there is little reason to doubt that the newly won strength will be used to back up fresh

demands for raw materials and markets and political controls in other areas where American interests are deeply involved.

A Japanese victory, moreover, would encourage and strengthen the hands of aggressive powers elsewhere. Instead of being discredited, aggression as an instrument of nationalistic policy would be further established. Its success in this instance would lend new impetus to the growing rule of force in the present-day world.

10. *Would a stoppage of American economic aid to Japan be effective?*

Some essential materials, as indicated in articles which follow, can be secured only from the United States. Particularly important among these are machinery and machine tools, special steels and lubricating oils which are necessary for the operation of industries — especially heavy industries — with standardized American equipment. If the entire supply of other materials from America were cut off, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to get anywhere near sufficient quantities from elsewhere. Germany and Italy could not supply Japan with what she needs, even if they wished to do so. Purchases from Russia and France are already checked. In Great Britain, public opinion would render exceedingly difficult any governmental policy which appeared to run counter to that of other powers in the Far East, particularly if the United States were to stop furnishing economic aid to the Japanese for the duration of the war.

In the total complicated balance of forces which exist in a major conflict, a stoppage of American economic aid to Japan now, would count heavily on the side of restraint for aggression.

11. *What positive results may reasonably be expected from a policy of non-cooperation with Japanese aggression?*

A more speedy end to the war; an end to Japanese expansion at the expense of the Chinese and of other peoples; a reduction of the tax burden levied upon the American people for naval armaments; a probable change in the Far Eastern balance of power whereby China would emerge independent and free to cooperate with other powers; a discrediting of the military regime in Japan and the rise of a now repressed liberal element to a new degree of influence; a general discrediting of military aggression in this day as a means to nationalistic expansion; an earlier begin-

ning of reconstruction in China and Japan; and an earlier restoration of peaceful trade and international security in the Pacific area.

12. *Would American industry and commerce sustain serious losses by an embargo on munitions and war materials to Japan?*

It has been stated that the two industries most affected would lose the equivalent of approximately a week's work during the year through a cessation of the Japanese war trade. This is a price that would have to be paid as our contribution toward peace and toward our own future security. Compared with the loss in trade which has already taken place and which will increasingly occur in the Orient as a result of continuance of the war, this loss is small. Compared to the price we are now paying through taxation for the expansion of naval armaments in the Pacific, it is also small.

It is to be hoped that the United States will be willing to sacrifice that minute portion of its prosperity which now comes from traffic and connivance in the suffering and sorrow of innocent civilians, and that those who now benefit from such traffic will be willing to take a longer and larger view of their responsibilities and opportunities. It is to be hoped that, where possible, means may be found to compensate for losses incurred.

A great future compensation will come with the resumption of peaceful trade and with the expansion of investment and market opportunities which friendly relations with an independent China will insure. Moreover, resumption of peaceful trade would restore our Japanese market for cotton, lumber and other commodities which, unlike the trade in war essentials, are permanently important to us, and which Japan has curtailed in order to be able to continue buying military necessities.

13. *Would a stoppage of economic aid to Japan tend to engender hatred for the Japanese people?*

There is a widespread and justified appreciation for many admirable qualities of the Japanese people. It is in no spirit of hatred for them that a policy of non-cooperation with Japanese military leaders is being discussed. To the contrary, there is a realization that the war which these leaders have engendered is extremely burdensome to the common people of Japan, and that it is to their interests that the conflict be brought to an early end.

The cessation of economic assistance, now, would not be an injury to the Japanese people but to the capacity of military leaders to continue waging aggressive war in China. The people of the United States may well look forward to the time when the Japanese *people*, the civilian population, in control of their own destinies, can face their very difficult problems of internal reconstruction. When such a time comes, it is to be sincerely hoped that the United States will be ready to furnish liberal aid and cooperation.

14. *What would be the effect of such a policy upon the people of China?*

It would check the injury to the Chinese people which is inherent in our economic assistance to their aggressors. It would re-establish the faith of the Chinese in the goodwill and integrity of the American people. The failure of the United States to take any positive action in connection with the present desperate conflict has been and is being interpreted in China as evidence of American weakness and insincerity. On the one hand we, individually and collectively, protest our friendship for the Chinese people and our allegiance to principles of international peace and justice; on the other hand we continue to supply to Japan enormous stores of materials which are converted into implements of death in order to line our own pockets by this doleful traffic. The Chinese have traditionally liked and respected America; mutual bonds of friendship have prevailed. A policy of non-cooperation with Japanese aggression now would serve to restore and strengthen this relationship.

15. *How would such an embargo affect the world economic situation?*

By helping to bring the war to an end, it would make possible an earlier restoration of international economic relations with which the interests of the United States are inextricably interwoven.

16. *How would such an embargo affect the international political situation?*

As a contribution toward an ending of the present conflict, it would also be a positive step toward paving the way for a peace in which aggression would be outlawed. We would be doing our part now in a more courageous and realistic way toward laying new foundations for world peace.

17. *What can America's contribution be toward the establishment of a new era of international cooperation in the Pacific area?*

A negative contribution can be that of firmness in refusing to provide further assistance to Japan for her invasion of China. In a definite way this would help to restore the prestige and sanctity of international obligations.

More positively, the people of the United States have it in their power to inject into international relations in this area a new and broadened perspective based upon equality and mutual advantage for all nations. They can think and work in behalf of a new Pacific order in which justice rather than force will prevail. The negative and positive contributions are necessary to each other.

Specifically, the United States, when the opportune time comes, can participate in liberalizing international economic relationships, in laying the groundwork for a new economic stability and security, in favoring political adjustments which permit to the Chinese people a chance to work out their own destiny, in building a new machinery for peaceful change and developing means for preventing the violent overturn of this machinery, and in reducing thus the haunting fear of new, destructive wars. Only on such foundations can a new era of international peace, prosperity and goodwill be inaugurated.

WHAT EDITORS AND WRITERS ARE SAYING . . .

U. S. ON THE SIDE OF LAW AND ORDER

“Though the United States has lived for two years under a Neutrality Act which expresses its wish to remain at peace, the American people are not neutral now in any situation involving the risk of war, nor will they remain neutral in any future situation which threatens to disturb the balance of world power. . . .

“In the case of China’s fight for self-existence against Japanese aggression, American sentiment is tapped by loyalties which come readily to the surface. We sympathize instinctively with the underdog. We cherish a special and long-standing friendship with the Chinese people. We resent the ruthlessness of Japan’s attack. We are not ashamed of a frank commercial interest in desiring the continuation of the Open Door.

“These considerations are responsible for the fact that American opinion has willingly supported Mr. Roosevelt in the maintenance of the elaborate fraud that no “war” exists—since a finding that “war” is actually in progress would compel us to invoke sections of the Neutrality Act which would react to the disadvantage of China as against Japan.

“This is the first consequence of American unneutrality in the Far East. But something more decisive is involved in this dispute. We have cast our choice of sides in this dispute. We have cast our influence in advance of an ultimate decision on the soil of China, against any possibility that Japan will profit from this adventure with our approval or support.

“We will not recognize as valid Japan’s claim to one square foot of Chinese territory conquered by force of arms. We will not facilitate, through such recognition, the development of a new code of property rights which would encourage the investment of foreign capital. We will not permit our own capital to go to the aid of Japan in making her conquest a paying venture. The American banker or the American industrialist who dared to propose American participation in any plan to develop the resources of China under Japanese administration would find the opinion in this country overwhelmingly against him. To that extent at least, we have aligned ourselves with China in her present struggle. . . .

"There is reason to believe that . . . an effort to repeal the Neutrality Act will succeed in reaching its objective when Congress reconvenes. Certainly that result is greatly to be desired, not only because it would liberate the foreign policy of the United States from the effects of a law which attempts to prescribe a fixed course of action in every possible emergency, regardless of when and how that emergency may arise and what its effect on our own interests may be, but also because repeal of the law would at least permit the material resources of the United States to count on the side of international law and order. . . ."

—From editorial, "*A Way of Life*,"
June 15, 1938. *New York Times*.

MUST AMERICA ABET BOMBING?

"For several days this newspaper has run quotations in this space reporting the results of civilian bombing in China and the share America has in it through the supplying of war materials, particularly aircraft. Our purpose has been to widen and clarify an appreciation of this relationship. Our hope has been that when clearly seen this role would be rejected by the moral sense of the American people. We believe it is so rejected. But there remains the task of making that moral rejection effective and dissolving America's partnership with bombers.

"Three principal ways of proceeding present themselves:

"1. Governmental pressure. Secretary Hull has voiced the hope that American aircraft manufacturers will refrain from shipments to Japan. The June figures on plane exports may show how effective this plea has been. But the survey made by the *Monitor* discloses a marked silence on the part of several big plane manufacturers as to their attitude and action. Despite the highly commendable sentiments of some plane makers the impression remains that those who are doing a good business will not be stopped by intimations of State Department wishes.

"It should be noted that Mr. Hull's statement was not a direct or formal request made to plane manufacturers but a hope expressed in the press. Judged by past experience much more definite pressure will be required if the United States is to cease being Japan's chief aid in the bombing business. State Department hints of a similar kind did not prevent America being a supply base for Italy in Ethiopia or both sides in Spain.

"2. Governmental embargoes. Without action of Congress any embargoes would have to be applied under the Neutrality Act and would shut off supplies to China as well as Japan. The State Department makes a good case to show that they would injure the aggressee more than the aggressor. Those who are not concerned about which is the aggressor and are determined only that America shall have no part in war make a good case for embargoes to end supplies to both sides.

"3. Voluntary measures by individuals and groups. The most effective moves of this kind have been taken by dock workers and sailors who have refused to handle war supplies for Japan. On Friday the *Monitor* carried an account of the resolution adopted by the Waterside Workers' Federation in Melbourne, refusing to load tin clippings which might be used for "war and the ruthless slaughter of non-combatants." Similar action has been taken by other dock workers in Australia and England.

"In the United States there have been only sporadic efforts of this kind, and they have not been effective in stopping American supplies for Japan. So far as we have heard there has been no movement among stockholders or employees of aircraft companies to curb this business. Others who have neither profits nor wages to lose should be slow to take a holier-than-thou attitude. They might offer to share the sacrifice by some form of compensation for orders rejected.

"There is also the argument, 'If we don't supply them somebody else will.' But that will not be persuasive with men and women who are deeply moved by a moral revolt against being accessories to civilian bombing. And if the moral position becomes clearer, hands will cease to carry out an evil the heart condemns. Despite all the obstacles there can be no doubt that if conscience becomes sufficiently awakened it will find ways to stop American aid to civilian bombing. Effective action by private and governmental agencies awaits only such awakening."

—*Christian Science Monitor*.

DISASTROUS DEFEAT IN FOREIGN RELATIONS

"It would be the most disastrous defeat in the history of America's participation in world affairs if, just as we are coming within reach of the evolutionary, non-revolutionary liberation of China foreseen by John Hay and guarded as an article of faith in our Far Eastern policy ever since, we should bring it to abor-

tion by lending our money, our industry, and our political influence to the uses of Japan."

—OWEN LATTIMORE,
Atlantic Monthly, July, 1938.

MEANS CAN AND MUST BE FOUND

"The time has come for a fresh address to the question of selling war materials to Japan—either munitions or materials essential to munitions. For one thing, no legal rationalizing, no philosophical detachment can blur the realization that the United States is and has been for a year accessory after the fact of a war of invasion, a war carried on with a maximum of cruelty, in violation of every article of even the elastic moral code of war. Nor does acquittal at law absolve America from responsibility for the result. Moreover, in supplying Japan with the means of attempting to conquer China, America has been conniving at its own detriment. What has happened to foreign interests at Peiping, Tientsin, Shanghai, foreshadows the fate of American interests in the event of Japanese victory. Furthermore, with the rapid exhaustion of Japanese reserves Japan becomes increasingly dependent on American sources of supply and by so much vulnerable to American decision on continued purveyance. Increasingly, then, America becomes Japan's armoury, for the forging of weapons in the long run directly against itself. It should renounce the role.

"The mechanism of the law is an obstacle. Official embargo may still not be practicable. But it is necessary to begin to canvass possibilities for bringing about a cessation of the flow of materials to Japan without contravening the law or definitive new legislation. Provisions for licensing arms shipments offer one means. The kind of pressure that can be levied by the government to prevent loans to foreign governments is another, if levied in the matter of sales of munitions or materials for munitions. There is still a third. The same end can be achieved as a matter of reprisals.

"There has been ample ground for reprisals in the past. There will be others in the future. Japan already stands as violator of contractual obligations to the United States. Japan has broken the Nine Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact. Japan has committed open offenses such as the sinking of the Panay. It is within the right and the power of the American government on the occasion of every derogation of American rights or offense

against American persons or property to declare by executive order or congressional resolution that in reprisal therefor the export of some commodity will be forbidden. If the Japanese refuse to permit Americans to return to Nanking, as it actually does in complete violation of all treaty rights, America retaliates by shutting off the supply of copper. If Japan refuses to evacuate American property such as hospitals, colleges and missions—as it does—America shuts off the supply of iron. If Japanese officials announce that extra-territorial rights are not valid for Americans in zones under Japanese occupation, thus unilaterally abrogating treaties *between China and the United States*, America shuts off the supply of automobiles. If Japanese military refuse to permit Americans to return to their places of business in the Hongkew and Yangtzepoo districts of Shanghai, as they do, the supply of something else is shut off. There will be ample opportunity. The offenses of Japan, offenses under international law, are infinite. It is necessary only to read half a dozen issues of the North China Daily News. The dossier of the Department of State must be of prodigious thickness. The means are less important than the end, which is that America must cease being the provisioner of the Japanese army in an aggression abominable in itself and working toward America's injury. The means can be found and they must be found. And organized efforts must be made to find them and to have them put into effect."

—NATHANIEL PEFFER, *Amerasia*
(from August issue by permission).

AMERICA'S GIFT TO AGGRESSORS

"At first American business asked for prepayment in full before accepting orders (for munitions to Japan) but when the depression deepened, the 'cash with order' policy was modified. Orders were accepted on the basis of 40 per cent down and the rest on delivery. Now there is talk of a \$50,000,000 credit to Japan for purchases here.

"Meanwhile Japan's war orders which brought a measure of prosperity to the war traders have resulted in a great decline in cotton sales, evening out the score for business as a whole. Of one thing there can be no doubt, however, and that is the United States is an important factor in keeping the Japanese Juggernaut rolling."

—H. C. ENGELBRECHT, *The Nation*.

AMERICA MAKES INVASION POSSIBLE

"An arms embargo against Japan would have almost immediate effect. Washington's tender consideration for the murderous Japanese is unjustified. The American Government not only supports the aggressor but makes the continued invasion possible. Military experts in Europe and the United States have declared that Japan would have to withdraw her troops from China if American imports to Japan were stopped."

—LUDWIG LORE, *New York Post*.

OUR NATIONAL STAKE IN CHINESE RESISTANCE

"We cannot pretend to be uninterested in the creation of a Japanese empire which might extend from Siberia to Singapore. We have, over and above our abstract sympathies, a great national stake in the Chinese resistance. For we know quite well that only the Chinese can hope to stop the Japanese in Asia, and what we can do to encourage them, short of war, we shall be disposed to do."

—WALTER LIPPMAN, *New York Herald-Tribune*.

THE WORLD AND THE VICTOR

"The world, then, has these possibilities to face. Which would be the better victor, speaking for the world, Japan or China? It seems to me immeasurably to the benefit of the human race that China be victorious. . . . If Japan wins, she will become not only a first class power but a superpower, holding in her hands the Orient. Her swollen pride will immediately lead her to further conquest. She will think of territory and of power unmatched since the days of the Roman Empire. The victory of Japan will mean a great deal more than the victory in this war. It will mean the triumph in the Orient of the imperialistic and fascistic ideas of a militarist nation. It will mean that the world must immediately see to it that armament is matched for armament to an even greater extent than now, for further wars will be inevitable. . . . The kind of thinking the Chinese have done for centuries has produced a human being less dangerous to society than the one produced by Japanese thinking. If Japan wins, let the world prepare for further strife and aggression or, if not these, at least for constant conflict. If China wins, we may hope for peace."

—PEARL BUCK, in *Asia Magazine*.

IF CHINA WINS, AMERICA WINS. WHY ARM JAPAN?

"That the inhumanity of Japan's monstrous aggression in China is abhorrent to every self-respecting man and woman is clearly evident in the world reaction to the undeclared war now raging on Chinese soil. But there is still doubt in many minds as to the real significance of China's fight for us and for the rest of the world. China is fighting not only a defensive war to retain its national integrity; it is fighting to preserve for us and the rest of the world an Open Door to legitimate trade and commerce with its four hundred million people.

"The American people must recognize the fact that if Japan gains its objectives in China the doors of the Far East will be shut tight. American high standards of living depend to a large degree upon a world open to all on a free and equal basis. In supplying Japan with large quantities of its munitions requirements, we become a silent partner in a war against China which is fighting to preserve its independence, a condition which constitutes the basis of our whole Far Eastern policy. On the other hand, a victory for China is a victory for everything that America has stood for in the Far East for half a century. Why then do we aid Japan to make that victory difficult if not impossible?"

—PHILIP J. JAFFE,
Managing Editor of "Amerasia."

AN UNSAVORY ALLIANCE

"The renewed bombing of open Chinese cities following the establishment of a Cabinet in Tokyo dominated by extremists calls for a re-examination of the undeniable facts of American aid to the Japanese war machine. The extent of American economic participation has hitherto been generally underestimated. A recent careful study of the Japanese economy, the most exhaustive yet attempted, shows that in recent months the United States has supplied no less than 54.5 per cent of the war materials essential to the Japanese invasion of China. Only in very small part have these consisted of actual munitions of the type covered by the Neutrality Act. The one exception is in the field of aircraft. The United States contributed \$1,000,000 worth of planes and parts to Japan in April alone.

"Far more important, however, from the standpoint of Japanese military efficiency are the huge shipments of American scrap iron, oil, copper, and machinery. Before the war Japan's imports

from the United States consisted primarily of raw materials for its textile industry—cotton and wood pulp. In the past year these commodities have practically dropped out of the picture as Japan has concentrated on primary military necessities. April saw 40 per cent of our petroleum exports and 40 per cent of our copper exports go to Japan. Many of the American airplanes used in bombing Chinese cities can only be flown with American high-grade gasoline. Scarcely a week passes without the shipment of three or four cargoes of scrap iron and steel from New York alone. The development of Japanese heavy industry for war purposes has also brought a tremendous increase in the purchases of iron and steel products. In 1937 Japanese steel imports from this country rose to nearly a million tons, an eighteen-fold increase over the previous year. Machine exports, which are the foundation of Japan's future strength, have likewise skyrocketed. Last year contracts were signed for the sale of three complete continuous sheet-and-strip mills, the most efficient equipment of its kind to be found in the world.

“The most effective weapon for destroying America's partnership with Japan in the rape of China is the consumers' boycott. Japan cannot buy if it cannot sell, and the United States still absorbs some 25 per cent of Japanese exports. The boycott is unquestionably growing in scope and effectiveness. Reports from New England, the South, and the Middle West testify to its increasing popularity. It is in large measure responsible for the 45 per cent decline in imports from Japan in the first four months of this year as compared with the corresponding period of a year ago. Silk, the most crucial of these imports, dropped 31 per cent in quantity and 40 per cent in value in the first quarter of the year.

“The refusal of longshoremen and sailors to load or carry war supplies to Japan offers another promising method of stopping American aid. If carried out by the United States alone, the effect would be unimportant, since Japan could shift most of its orders elsewhere. But the longshoremen of England, France, the Scandinavian countries, and Australia have already indicated their willingness to participate in united labor sanctions. There are strong intimations that some of the American unions are already prepared to tie up shipments of war materials if they can be assured of general support, and the resolution adopted by the executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches last week indicates that this support will be forthcoming. But it is important that

neither longshoremen nor hosiery workers should be asked to bear the brunt of the responsibility. The rank and file of the people who hate war must share the burden to the extent of providing a peace chest for persons thrown out of work by either form of boycott. If this is done adequately and efficiently, there is no reason to fear that labor will not do its part. The price is a trivial one if it severs this country's unhappy alliance with the war-makers."

—*The Nation.*

DEATH IS A COMMODITY

"Some American oil companies are sure missing a good bet. They ought to advertise: "Whose oil is used in Jap airplanes bombing Canton? Ours. Whose gasoline? Ours. Buy from us and know you're buying a tested product."

"Yessir, let's be generous with recognition. Let's give every seller of scrap iron a medal (appropriately made of scrap iron) with this motto on it: "Death is a Commodity."

"Let's no longer criticize United States munitions makers, for they can prove they have been fair—that is, they've sold to both sides. The nationality of the corpse never interests them; it's just his killer's credit rating.

"Brother, remember what a good time you had in your old jallopy you drove in 1930? Those Sunday drives? The picnics? Pretty mean of me to bring that up. But the scrapped brake-drum of that old pleasure boat just finished off a mother and her five children in Canton, China, two days ago. How's your family?"

—CAL TINNEY, *Columnist.*

JAPAN'S GHASTLY TACTICS

"In taking steps to discourage the sale of airplanes to Japan, because of the campaign of frightfulness waged by that country against the helpless populations of Canton and other Chinese cities, Secretary Hull will have the warm approval of the great majority of Americans.

"It is apparent that mere verbal protests by the United States and other nations against the bombing of undefended cities,

whether in Spain or China, have no immediate effect. Certainly the Japanese warlords have not been deterred by such protests from continuing to vent their sadistic fury on Canton, where the death toll from repeated air raids now runs into many thousands. More drastic measures are obviously called for to give point to the civilized world's disapproval of such ghastly tactics.

"The United States and other nations that have expressed their deep disapproval of air raids on civilian centers would be open to charges of hypocrisy if, at the same time, they should continue to send to the offenders the means whereby such outrages can be committed."

—*Washington Post.*

OUR STRANGE NEUTRALITY ACT

"Our strange neutrality act continues to breed strange consequences. . . . As *The Nation* wisecracked, it is admirably designed to keep us out of the last war. The President was dissatisfied with this act at the time of passage, but he didn't put up the fight against it that he might have. We wish he had; wish it more as the effects of this law become more grotesque. . . .

"Altogether, our Neutrality Law is building toward a terrific blowup in our faces. We'd better repeal it as soon as we can, and drop these well-meant but futile efforts to outguess the future."

—*New York Daily News.*

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America—Japan's arsenal.

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WHAT CHURCH LEADERS ARE SAYING . . .

THE JAPANESE TURN TO AMERICA FOR SINEWS OF WAR

"An observer with considerable first-hand knowledge of China writes from Hankow that the Japanese would like to quit but cannot do so without losing face. Japanese officers, he says, are refusing to obey their high command and materials of war coming from Japan are said to be below par, due presumably to the fact that the country lacks raw materials. It is stated further that they would have been compelled to withdraw from China were it not for the materials they have been receiving in increasing amounts from the United States. We shipped them \$85,000 in arms in October last year, with the amount steadily rising until in February we shipped them \$1,184,000 worth.

"The Japanese militarists had planned for a two months campaign, believing they would be able to conquer China in that time. Sufficient oil had been stored to carry on for that period. When the supply was exhausted they turned to us and got 25 million gallons. The next month they got 105 million gallons and the next 337 million gallons. One steel company alone shipped them 844,000 tons of steel in four months. We shipped them more iron in the last four months of 1937 than in the previous six years. Shipments of scrap iron tripled in a year. First we demanded cash, on the theory that otherwise we would become involved in the war. Our money-makers then decided that it would be safe to ask for but 40% payment in cash; now there is talk of a huge credit pool so that we can continue to send the instruments of war to Japan with no cash payments. All of which is done in spite of a so-called policy of neutrality. . . .

"People say it does no good to write letters to the President; to Secretary of State Hull; to Congressmen; to Senators. It does. The Senate's Civil Liberties Committee received its appropriation to carry on its work last week, largely because of letters requesting it. No shipments of the instruments of war, and the materials out of which munitions are made, to Japan would stop their aggression in a short time. Present your demands to your servants in Washington and thus help save China for the Chinese."

—WILLIAM B. SPOFFORD, *Chairman,*
Church League for Industrial Democracy.

SHRAPNEL WITH AMERICAN MARKINGS

“. . . Our missionary workers have even taken from the body of a slain child on a Shanghai street a piece of shrapnel that bore markings showing that it had come from American scrap iron. Stop this trade! It is slaughtering innocent Chinese.”

—MRS. VINCENT T. SHIPLEY, *Chairman of the Women's Committee of the Presbyterian Foreign Missions Board.*

OUR MORAL JUDGMENT IS NULLIFIED

“For nearly a year the conscience of thoughtful Americans has been uneasy, to state it mildly, over the present relation that exists between the United States and Japan.

“I am confident that the great majority of American citizens consider the so-called “undeclared” war between Japan and China to be an unprovoked and brutal war of aggression on the part of Japan. I believe that our country as a whole condemns Japan.

“And yet we continue to sell Japan scrap iron and other commodities for the manufacture of guns and bombs, and Japan pays us through our purchases of her raw silks and other goods. As a result, our moral judgment which condemns Japan for this war is practically nullified by our trade with her.”

—THE RIGHT REV. ALEXANDER MANN,
Bishop of Pittsburgh.

A PLEA FOR ACTION

After the 150th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States ended its sessions with condemnation of the “needless destruction” of lives and property of non-combatants in China and with informal endorsement, through thunderous applause, of a plea to stop shipments of scrap iron from this country to Japan, Rev. Dr. Charles W. Welch of Louisville, the Moderator, said:

“Don't go back to your Presbyteries with big chests, bragging that you are Presbyterians. You are not until you have put into practice what we have resolved to do in this General Assembly.”

CYNICISM, COWARDICE, IRRESPONSIBILITY

"America's peace efforts have been ineffective because they have been in terms of cynicism, cowardice and irresponsibility, instead of terms of expectation, courage and honorable action. They have been war-evading rather than peace-making.

"America is in the position of saying to Japan, 'We hate and despise what you are doing in China. You have broken faith with us, and are undermining world security on which our own well-being depends. But as long as you can pay us we will continue to sell you what you need, and can't get anywhere else, in order to go on doing it.'

"Japan has invaded China not at all because China lacks good government and unity, but because China's remarkable progress in both good government and unity, since 1933, constituted to the Japanese military mind an alarming threat not only to Japan's imperialistic ambitions on China's mainland, but to Japan's dominance in the Far East."

—REV. E. W. LUCCOCK,
Pastor of Shanghai Community Church.

THE GUILTY AND THE INNOCENT

"Sooner or later the American public must realize that it can not remain indifferent to acts of international outlawry; that it must join with other nations in making some distinction in the treatment accorded to the guilty and the innocent. This need not involve the obligation to make war upon the guilty; but it may well involve a determination to cut off all trade relations with a state which violates its international obligations."

—*Committee on International Law and Organization and Joint Policy Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace. Rev. R. A. McGowan is Chairman of the first, and Prof. Charles G. Fenwick is chairman of the second committee.*

EMBARGO AGAINST THE AGGRESSOR

"The World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches shares the well-nigh universal condemnation of Japan in their aggression in China, believing that the difficulties

might have been adjusted by peaceful means, in accordance with the Nine-Power Treaty and the Briand-Kellogg Pact, to both of which Japan, as well as China, is a signatory. . . .

“Since the present neutrality legislation permits no distinction between the victim and the aggressor and tends to quarantine the peaceful nations rather than war, we believe that the present law should be amended so as to provide that, when a nation has violated a treaty to which the United States is a party and opportunity for peaceful settlement has been refused, the President shall have power to lift the embargo from the nation agreeing to accept a peaceful settlement and to apply it only against the aggressor.”

—*World Alliance for International
Friendship through the Churches.*

PENALTY NECESSARY TO PREVENT WAR

“Benedict XV in his great Letter to the Warring Powers, in order to reinforce a program of arbitration, of disarmament and of supremacy of moral right over military power, recommended that penalties be imposed on any government that refuses to submit a national dispute to arbitration or to accept a decision once rendered.

“A penalty short of war is necessary to prevent war. The penalty that is immediately effective in case war threatens or has been declared is the economic penalty of boycotting the nation which refuses arbitration or arbitral decision. If the nations were in earnest to stop a war this would probably be the action decided on in the international consultation which both major parties have agreed should be the settled practice of our country when war threatens anywhere. But unless the United States agrees to a boycott policy beforehand, the air cannot be cleared of fears because there would be no certainty of any effective peaceful action whatsoever. Indeed, unless a different policy is agreed on beforehand, the nations might after consultation even leap to the ultimate sanction of war.”

—*From statement issued by the Reverend Dr. John A. Ryan, Social Action Dept., National Catholic Welfare Conference; Prof. Parker T. Moon of Columbia University, and Prof. Charles G. Fenwick of Bryn Mawr College.*

ARMS EMBARGO ON JAPAN ASKED BY METHODISTS

Foundry Church Acclaims Plea

"A congregation of 800 men and women in the Foundry Methodist Episcopal Church yesterday rose in dramatic acclamation of a resolution calling for embargo on shipment of war materials to Japan. The action followed immediately the Rev. Frederick Brown Harris' stern condemnation of Japanese "ruthlessness," delivered from his pulpit.

"The resolution and its reception are unprecedented in the 123-year history of the Foundry Church," Dr. Harris said. . . .

"It is just as incongruous to maintain relations with Japan," the cleric said, "as it would be to entertain the Cash kidnapper in our homes." He praised the "bravery" of President Roosevelt's Chicago speech calling for a quarantine of aggressor nations, but said the speech had not been translated into policy "because public opinion has not been mobilized behind it."

"Dr. Harris quoted with approval Theodore Roosevelt's statement that he put only one thing before peace—righteousness.

"It is unthinkable," he concluded, "that a Christian nation should stand silent while these wanton attacks continue." . . .

"The text of the resolution adopted by the congregation is as follows:

"Whereas Japan has day after day ruthlessly bombed the undefended city of Canton, resulting in more than 8,000 dead and wounded non-combatants and untold destruction of property, and has announced through Government spokesmen its intention of continuing such action,

"Be it resolved that the Government of the United States immediately adopt the policy of non-participation in aggression by planning an embargo on exports to Japan of munitions and war materials, including oil, gasoline, pig and scrap iron, airplanes and airplane parts, machinery and engines, copper, automobiles and auto accessories and chemicals."

"Dr. Harris told *The Post* he would join a delegation from New York, representing Nation-wide church, peace and labor

groups, in calling at the White House today to urge 'concrete action' against Japan."

—*Washington Post*,
June 12, 1938.

THE PRICE OF OUR FAILURE

"The tragedy is that while the peace forces divide, the fascist war-makers unite. And all the world prepares and thus helps to make more certain the war which their aggression promotes. The price of failure to achieve unity to withhold war supplies from the war-makers is an inevitable universal conflict."

—*The Methodist Federation for Social Service.*

PEACE WOULD BE SERVED

"The tragedy now taking place in China is bound to affect world peace and the spread of the Christian gospel. It is impossible for one to be neutral in the presence of this brutal aggression. Despite my love for both countries, I have been unable to reach any conclusion except that Japan is the aggressor without any valid excuse whatever. To withhold support both in finances and munitions from the Japanese would greatly serve to bring peace in China and restore to power in Japan a liberal and internationally-minded leadership."

—BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE,
Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

A TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

"Because of Japan's continued war upon China, thus violating her agreement with us in the Pact of Paris never to resort to war as a means of settling disputes and her violation of the laws of humanity by bombing helpless civilians in undefended cities like Canton and her announced intention of continuing to do so, I earnestly request you to do all in your power to have an embargo placed upon the export to Japan of munitions and all other war materials as a protest against her international lawlessness. You will have the overwhelming support of the American people in so doing."

—CHESTER A. SMITH, *Chairman of the Commission on Social Service, New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

WHAT CHINA'S LEADER IS SAYING . . .

WITHHOLD MILITARY SUPPLIES

"China is fighting the battle of the United States and Great Britain because she is fighting not only for her national salvation but also for the maintenance of respect for treaties.

"Disturbance of peace in the Far East must necessarily affect American and British interests considerably.

"But what is more important than their national interests is the joint responsibility of America and England, as civilized nations, to uphold justice and the principles of humanity.

"Since hostilities began we have received the sympathy of various nations and we are grateful to America and England for their share of sympathy and assistance. Our people, however, regret to observe that the caution now exercised by the British and American Governments only tends to increase the menace to the cause of peace. What China expects mainly from America, England and other countries is that they give material assistance to China and withhold military supplies from Japan. Only by such measures can aggression be curbed and the civilization of mankind maintained."

—GENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK.

WHAT JAPANESE OFFICIALS ARE SAYING . . .

WHAT WAR IS

"War is the Father of Creation and the Mother of Culture. Rivalry for supremacy does for the state what struggling against adversity does for the individual. It is such impetus, in the one case, as in the other, that prompts the birth and development of Life and Cultural Creation."

—*Pamphlet published from Press Bureau
of Japanese War Office.*

ABSURD RESOLUTIONS

"We must request the League to study the situation still more. Such absurd resolutions as that condemning Japanese airmen

for bombing defenseless cities may not be passed hereafter. But Japan is not a member of the League and what the League does or says politically is no concern of ours. No resolution or action of the League will cause Japan to swerve from her course."

—*Japanese Foreign Office Spokesman.*

AMERICA'S MORALITY

"We Japanese have no fear of any change in America's foreign policy for Americans have no real morality but only pious phrases. What Americans *have* means so much more to them than what they *are* that they will continue to sell to Japan whatever Japan has the money to pay for, regardless of what Japan does with it after she gets it."

—*Japanese representative.*

FROM THE JAPANESE VIEWPOINT

"America's attitude towards the China incident is fair and just."

—FOREIGN MINISTER KOKI HIROTA.

WHAT OTHERS ARE SAYING . . .

A TELEGRAM TO THE PRESIDENT

"In the name of humanity I implore you to take drastic measures to save Chinese non-combatants. The world looks to you as champion of the handicapped and the defenseless. You will justify America as the friend of mankind by placing an embargo on all war materials to Japan."

—HELEN KELLER, *noted blind and deaf writer and lecturer.*

BOYCOTT THE AGGRESSOR

"The best method of preventing these nations from killing defenseless women and children is for the masses of the people to boycott as far as possible . . . that aggressor nation."

—ADMIRAL RICHARD E. BYRD, *U. S. N., retired.*

A MESSAGE TO ROOSEVELT

Everyone I meet seems to be in sympathy with the Chinese—no one seems to have a good word for the Japs. Yet we supply Japan with most of the things necessary to kill and maim the Chinese to whom we, as a nation of citizens, extend our sympathy. Japan continues to violate our rights and do everything in its power to insult us and then says to the Secretary of State, "Sorry, so sorry."

Why does Japan apologize? Because Japan and the Japanese know that without the things they get from us they wouldn't last a month in China. Mr. Roosevelt said, "I hate war." There are more people on relief now than in 1932. The Japan-China war has started since then and it certainly hasn't put our millions of unemployed back to work, so our whole existence doesn't depend on Japan. Why not embargo war materials and stop the war in China? It's a perfectly simple and easy way for a peace loving nation to achieve the desired result and honor and peace at any price. If we don't do it now, we'll have to fight for it later. I'd rather see our people on relief than dead on any battlefield!

—ERNEST G. JARVIS, *President, Niagara Falls Smelting and Refining Corp.*

JAPAN AMOK

"Japan should be considered as having run amok just as a madman and she should be treated as such. What to do? Quarantine her in the same sense that President Roosevelt used the word in his Chicago speech."

—GROVER CLARK, *late Professor of Government at Denver University, noted authority on Far Eastern affairs.*

THE A. F. OF L. ATTITUDE

". . . Because the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor abhor war and regard it as a primitive, brutal and uncivilized process for the settlement of disputes which arise between nations, labor believes that it should utilize the one means at its command to not only voice its protest against war, and particularly against unjustifiable warfare, but for the definite purpose of helping to speed the termination of the shocking, horrible conflict raging in China.

“. . . We realize that unless the democratically governed people stand together refusing to sell arms and munitions or to make loans to any country violating international peace and law, the other countries, whose interests lie in aggression and arbitrary rule, will make common cause with Japan, and protests of individual countries will be useless.”

—WILLIAM GREEN, *American Federation of Labor*.

DAILY SHIPMENTS OF MATERIALS TO JAPAN

“Daily from Baltimore, San Francisco and elsewhere go forth thousands of tons of scrap iron and other raw materials for Japan. Scrap iron to be used for war mechanism, artillery and bombs—bombs which fall on helpless civilian populaces like Canton and Suchow. And why do such conditions exist? How long do you suppose Japan could carry on her military invasion of a poor and helpless people if it were not for the raw materials which we ship her?”

—BENJAMIN R. STICKNEY, JR.

OUR HANDS ARE STAINED WITH CHINESE BLOOD

“When we trade with Japan we help pay for this invasion of China. Our hands that buy and sell are stained with Chinese blood.”

—E. STANLEY JONES, *Noted American missionary*.

GIVE AID TO CHINA

“If we want to sell war materials, let us sell them in wholesale lots to China so she may be more able to defend herself against her barbaric enemy who stops at nothing short of outrage to gain her unrighteous ends. . . . It is high time that all our people should vigorously protest against any aid to Japan.”

—H. B. BRADFORD.

DISGRACEFUL TO DO NOTHING

“I strongly urge immediate adoption of a policy of non-participation in aggression stopping Japan's merciless slaughter of non-combatants. Can not something be done by the United

States to put an embargo not only on airplanes but on gasoline, oil, automobiles, iron, copper and chemicals to Japan. It is disgraceful for the United States to do nothing."

—EDGAR H. RUE, *Secretary, American Committee, Institution for the Chinese Blind.*

How Australian Longshoremen Feel and Act . . .

MELBOURNE, Australia.—The Australian Trade Union Movement was on record today with its affiliates of waterside workers, as opposing the loading of war supplies to Japan.

They have implemented their resolutions with dockside action and dockside workers are now refusing to load war supplies destined for Japan.

"Being opposed to war and the ruthless slaughter of non-combatants arising therefrom," states the resolution of the Australian trade union movement, "we are compelled by conviction and conscience to refrain from loading metals or other products likely to be used in the manufacture of munitions by belligerent nations."

After the Sydney branch of the Waterside Workers' Federation refused to load war materials for Japan on the grounds that "If we hold back the weapons, we hold back the crime," shippers began to send cargoes to Melbourne for loading.

However, the Melbourne branch of the Federation followed the lead taken at Sydney and likewise refused to handle war goods to Japan. Shippers willing to supply Japan with war supplies have been unable to fulfill their contracts with the Japanese munitions factories.

—*Dispatches appearing in the Christian Science Monitor.*

* * *

War in China—Made in Japan.

* * *

WHAT RESOLUTIONS ARE BEING PASSED . . .

Resolution adopted by the National Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Assembled May 10-17, 1938, at Kansas City, Missouri:

RESOLVED, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs in convention assembled, May, 1938, support in principle Congressional legislation to implement the aforesaid non-recognition policy of the United States by empowering the Government of the United States in consultation with other states signatory of the Kellogg-Briand Pact to withhold from the violating state any financial transactions which shall enable it to prosecute the war or to consolidate its gains; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs advocate that whenever the Government of the United States shall find, after consultation with other states signatory of a treaty, that a state is invading another state in violation of the treaty it may be authorized to employ against the invader economic measures, not including war but including prohibitions of loans and credits for war purposes or for consolidation of its gains, and to place embargoes on munitions of war or other material, except food stuffs, as may be used directly or indirectly in the prosecution of the war.

* * *

A PROGRAM FOR WOMEN

In an attempt to make greater progress in the promotion of peace, the Conference recommends to its member organizations for urgent consideration the following subjects judged by the delegates to be, at present, the most essential points of its program:

For Legislative Action:

1. Revision of the neutrality policy of the United States through legislation designed to keep our country out of war and to permit cooperation with other nations to prevent war. . . .
- d. The embargo (including munitions, credits and essential war materials) may be removed by the President from a nation which, as the result of consultation (with other nations signatory to the Pact of Paris), is agreed to be the victim of aggression.

—*National Committee on Cause and Cure of War,
“Program for 1938,” member organizations being:*

American Association of University Women

General Federation of Women’s Clubs

National Board of the Y. W. C. A.

National Committee of Church Women

National Council of Jewish Women

*National Federation of Business and Professional Women’s
Clubs*

National Home Demonstration Council

National League of Women Voters

National Women’s Christian Temperance Union

National Women’s Conference of American Ethical Union

National Women’s Trade Union League

* * *

Action taken by Executive Committee of the Federal Council
of Churches of Christ in America, June 3, 1938.

The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America makes vigorous protest against the continued bombing of the civilian populations of China and Spain. We request that our Department of International Justice and Good Will transmit this action to the President and the Secretary of State.

We also respectfully call upon the Christian bodies in other lands to take similar action.

War cannot be refined of its savage cruelty. There will be outrages against God and humanity as long as there is war. Despite this fact, the Christian Church cannot but lift its voice in protest against the barbaric practices of bombing civilian populations. To do otherwise, would be to stultify its conscience.

At the same time we are humiliated by the fact that Americans are supplying a substantial portion of the essential war materials that make such outrages possible.

We deplore the practice of making profit from the blood and tears of the innocent. To surrender such profit would involve sacrifices by various commercial, financial, labor and transportation interests and by other sections of the population, but we urge that such sacrifices be made for it would go a long way towards restoring a sense of morality in international affairs.

* * *

Resolution adopted by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in session at Birmingham, Alabama, on April 30, 1938.

WHEREAS, it is a matter of common knowledge that the territory of China has been invaded by the armed forces of Japan, and

WHEREAS, it is reliably reported that materials of war and other supplies purchased in America are being used in inflicting great suffering and loss of life and property upon the people of China,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we call upon the President and Congress of the United States to take such action as may be necessary to prevent the material and financial resources of the government or citizens of this country from being used either directly or indirectly to aid Japan in her war of aggression upon China.

* * *

Resolution presented to President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull by delegation representing 124 religious and peace societies, June 13, 1938.

WHEREAS, Japan has ruthlessly bombed day after day the undefended city of Canton, killing and wounding over 8,000 civilians and causing untold destruction of property, and has announced through its government spokesman the intention of continuing such action,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the government of the United States put into effect a "Policy of Non-Participation in Aggression" by placing an embargo on exports to Japan of munitions and war materials, including oil, chemicals, copper, gasoline, pig and scrap iron, airplanes and airplane parts, machinery and engines, and automobiles and automobile accessories.

* * *

Two resolutions passed at the Conference for Boycott of Japanese Goods, held in Boston, Mass., on May 15, 1938, attended by 109 delegates representing membership of 323,718 persons in trade unions, and religious, fraternal, peace, social and racial organizations.

WHEREAS, there exists in the Orient a state of war in which the Japanese nation has become an aggressor upon the territory of the Chinese nation and has slain multitudes of unarmed and defenseless Chinese people, including many women and children,

WHEREAS, the continued exportation to Japan of materials capable of being used in the support of this aggression constitutes a direct aid by the American people in such aggression,

WHEREAS, the Neutrality Act, so-called, fails utterly to distinguish between nations guilty of aggression and those whose defenseless people are left to the mercy of unjustified and unprovoked invasion, thus punishing the innocent as much as the guilty,

AND WHEREAS, the effect of the Neutrality Act cannot possibly be sufficient to insulate the United States from war should the same break out on any extensive scale, but the Act tends to make it difficult for this nation to take part in any preventative measures designed to forestall such outbreak,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the President, the State Department, the Maritime Commission, and all other executive and legislative agencies of the United States government, be called upon to take any available steps through regulation of ports, adjustment of financial and tariff relations, or otherwise, to end the exportation to Japan of materials of war and all materials of general economic use, and to reduce all imports of Japanese surplus goods,

BE IT ALSO RESOLVED, that the Neutrality Act, so-called, be amended in such way as definitely to distinguish between the aggressor nation and the nation subjected to such aggression, to the benefit of the latter, and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that copies of this resolve, together with an organization roster of this conference, be transmitted to the Senators and Congressmen from Massachusetts, the President, the Secretaries of State, War, Navy and Labor, and to the Chairman and Clerk of the Joint Committee on Constitutional Law of the Massachusetts General Court with the request that the latter Committee take cognizance of the conference's action through a Memorial to Congress; and that copies be sent to the press.

Second Resolution

WHEREAS, the present policy of the United States Maritime Commission permits the loading and shipping of war materials to Japan in Maritime Commission ships, and,

WHEREAS, the policy of the consumers' boycott opposes the giving of such material aid to an aggressor nation,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that this conference calls upon the United States Maritime Commission and President Roosevelt to discontinue the policy which thus permits the giving of aid to an aggressor through the use of government-owned ships to carry goods to Japan through conditions more favorable than those otherwise to be secured, and particularly to discontinue the policy of shipping war materials in government-owned ships.

* * *

Resolution adopted at the Annual National Convention of the Young Women's Christian Association, 1938.

WHEREAS, our concern for the people of both Japan and China would lead us to seek means of terminating the current war in the Far East, and

WHEREAS, the United States' position as a major consumer of Japanese goods and as an exporter of war materials to Japan makes it a strategic country at this point,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Young Women's Christian Association, in Convention assembled, commend and encourage efforts to curb shipment to Japan of materials which will be used directly by Japan in pursuing its military invasion of China. . . .

* * *

Resolution passed by 2,000 persons attending meeting outside the Japanese Consulate-General in New York City on June 17, 1938, protesting the Japanese bombings of Canton.

WHEREAS, the United States Government has branded Japan as the aggressor nation in the present Sino-Japanese conflict and has repeatedly protested against the merciless bombings of undefended Chinese cities, the brutal slaying of Chinese non-combatants and the destruction of American missions and hospitals, and,

WHEREAS, the Japanese armed forces have repeated their mass murders of the civilian population in China and other brutal acts, disregarding the basic principles of those standards of humane conduct which have been developed as an essential part of modern civilization, and,

WHEREAS, American raw materials are being used to manufacture Japanese guns, tanks, armored cars, flame-throwers and other weapons of war, American bombing planes are being used to carry American-made bombs for the destruction of Chinese

civilian populations, American shells are loading the Japanese guns and American credits are helping to finance Japan's aggression in China,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that this meeting goes on record as deploring the American policy which makes it possible for certain American interests to profit from the blood and tears of the innocent victims of Japanese aggression,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that this organization urges the Government of the United States to enact legislation to prevent the material and financial resources of this country from being used either directly or indirectly to aid Japan in her conquest of China,

AND BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that this meeting expresses its solidarity with seamen, longshoremen and all other workers and labor organizations which refuse to handle munitions, war supplies and raw materials destined for Japan, and throw its moral support behind financial, industrial and other interests which refuse to lend money, extend credit or sell war materials to Japan.

* * *

Stop Making Uncle Sam a Partner in Aggression!

* * *

Resolution presented by the National Maritime Union of America to the C. I. O. conference in Atlantic City, N. J., October 12, 1937.

WHEREAS, The present invasion of China by the Japanese Military Machine without a declaration of war is an open violation of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact and of the Nine Power Treaty, and

WHEREAS, We believe this invasion not only contains the germ of a new world war, the burden of which must be borne by the workers throughout the world, but is, in its essence, an attack on democratic institutions and a violation of democratic principles, and . . .

WHEREAS, The Maritime Workers, many of whom are affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization, have signified their indignation at being forced, by the very pursuance of

their livelihood, to carry munitions and war materials to the Japanese Militarists for use by them in their attacks on the Chinese people, and

WHEREAS, In a communication to New York Maritime Council, dated October 5th, R. Walton Moore, Assistant Secretary U. S. Department of State, declared that the Department would be glad to accord a hearing to any parties or organizations interested in presenting their views on our foreign policy as regards the Japanese invasion, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the accredited representatives of unions affiliated with the C. I. O. gathered in a national conference, demand of the Federal Government that it immediately take steps to enforce an economic embargo on Japan and to forbid the export to that country of munitions, war materials, or any and all goods which might be used by the Japanese Military Machine in the furtherance of its present attempt to subjugate the Chinese people, and be it further . . .

RESOLVED, That the Federal Government of the United States forbid the importation into this country of any and all goods manufactured in countries or territories controlled by the Imperial Japanese Government, and be it further . . .

RESOLVED, That we call upon all Labor Organizations of the United States and all civil and peace organizations to join with us in our demand on the State Department.

* * *

Resolution presented to Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, by
New York and Washington peace delegations on June 13, 1938.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has designated Japan the violator of treaty obligations to the United States in the present Sino-Japanese conflict and has repeatedly protested against the merciless bombings of undefended Chinese cities, the brutal slaying of Chinese non-combatants and the destruction of missions and hospitals, and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of State, the Hon. Cordell Hull, has expressed the government's disapproval of the export sales of American planes which could be used for bombing civilian populations, and,

WHEREAS, Not only American airplanes but also American airplane parts, oil, aviation gasoline, pig and scrap iron, ma-

chinery and engines, copper, war chemicals and even actual bombs are being shipped in large quantities to Japan, making possible the continued bombings and attacks on Canton and other Chinese cities,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That we urge the Secretary of State to extend the application of his disapproval and to discourage the export to Japan of all these munitions and raw materials, so that American action will have the greatest possible moral and material effect in compelling the Japanese to cease their present atrocious tactics of destroying whole civilian populations.

The delegations included:

- Rev. Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Pastor of Foundry Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C.
Rev. Wilbur LaRoe, Jr., Chevy Chase Session, Washington Presbytery (Chairman, Committee on Civic Affairs, Washington Federation of Churches).
Mr. Olin D. Wannamaker, educational executive and lecturer, New York City.
Rev. H. W. Burgan, Pastor, Hamline Methodist Episcopal Church and Chairman, Committee on International Goodwill, Washington Federation of Churches.
Rev. E. H. Pruden, Pastor, First Baptist Church, formerly on faculty of University of Shanghai.
Rev. J. H. Hollister, Pastor, Chevy Chase Presbyterian Church.
Mrs. L. E. Gilbert, Women's Guild, National Memorial Baptist Church.
Philip J. Jaffe, Managing Editor, *Amerasia*, New York City.
Mrs. Dean Burke, Washington Boycott Committee.
Miss Mary Ross, Berkeley Branch, American Association of University Women (unofficial).
Mrs. Philip Reno, Washington Women's Trade Union League.
Mrs. J. Austin Stone, National Women's Trade Union League (Legislative representative for peace projects).
Dr. R. Morris Paty, Jr., Southern Methodist Mission Board.
Robert Norton, Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression.
Mrs. Eleanor Fowler, Washington Labor Peace Committee and American League for Peace and Democracy.
Mrs. Edwin S. Smith, American League for Peace and Democracy.
Miss Ellen J. Rider, Federation of Churches.
Arthur Clarendon Smith, Washington Committee for Aid to China.
Mr. E. H. Leaf, writer, former North China Manager, United Press Association.
Miss Lillian M. Elkin, Washington Labor Peace Committee.
Irving Aronoff, Memorial Day Youth Peace Parade Committee, representing 104 youth organizations.

* * *

Support a Policy of Non-Participation in Aggression.

* * *

MEMORANDUM TO THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE
WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS—VASSAR COLLEGE, AUGUST 1938.

Approved by the American Youth Congress at Berea, Ohio, July 2-4.
(Commission on Political and Economic Organization for Peace.)

“War is not inevitable” was the declaration of the first World Youth Congress at Geneva in 1936. Today we must modify this statement to read that “War is not inevitable if the peace loving peoples of the world compel their governments to unite against aggression.”

The menace to world peace at the present moment arises not out of the strength of the foes of peace. The enemies of peace are weak, weak in integrity and material resources. Unite the peoples and, through them, the governments who aspire toward peace behind a common international policy of defense against aggression, and the spectre of world war which today horrifies the civilized world will fade.

Wars can be prevented if it is understood that:

1. Peace must be organized internationally. Aggression is not the private concern of the invader and the attacked but of all countries.
2. Nations should not merely re-affirm their support of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact to renounce war as an instrument of national policy but will make this affirmation vital by refusing to supply violators of the Pact with any goods necessary for the waging of the war. . . .

The Congress also voted against participation of American athletes in the World Olympics at Tokyo in 1940 and approved plans for a nation-wide campaign to aid in the raising of relief funds for Chinese youth.

* * *

Oil for the Death of China!

* * *

Resolution passed by the Industrial Council of the Committee on
Industrial Organization, Los Angeles, Calif.

WHEREAS, For the last eleven months the Imperial Japanese Government has been waging an unprovoked and aggressive war of conquest against Democratic China, and

WHEREAS, During this period the innocent and defenceless Chinese populace has been bombed and shelled unmercifully by the Japanese army and navy, and

WHEREAS, Many of the planes, their parts and accessories, bombs, oil to run the planes, have been manufactured in the United States or assembled and manufactured in Japan with materials bought in the United States,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That we condemn these inhuman acts and whole-heartedly support the State Department's protest to Japan, the Pittman Resolution of the United States Senate, the condemnation of American munitions manufacturers by Cordell Hull, who sell planes to Japan, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we support:

1. An official government embargo on shipments of war planes, their parts and accessories, to Japan.
2. An immediate embargo on the shipment of oil, scrap iron and other raw materials of war to Japan.
3. A boycott of articles manufactured in Japan, the sale of which in the United States finances the export of war materials from the United States, and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, That this resolution be communicated to:

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.
Hon. Key Pittman, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D. C.
Douglas Aircraft Corporation, Santa Monica, California
Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, Burbank, California
Northrup Corporation, Inglewood, California
Vultee Aircraft, Downey, California

* * *

Democracies Can Act!

* * *

JAPAN'S PARTNER

JAPANESE DEPENDENCE UPON THE UNITED STATES

BY ELIOT JANEWAY

(Reprinted by permission and through courtesy of Harper's Magazine)

The Japanese government is engaged in a war in which it would be helpless without necessities—oil, steel, munitions, and various commodities—which it imports from the United States. At the same time the Roosevelt Administration has embarked on the biggest naval program ever undertaken by our government at any time, and one of the chief reasons for it is a fear of the Japanese. How does it come about that our government prepares to defend us against persons who would be no threat if American industry did not help them to become one?

This year's great war games in the Pacific are more secret and mysterious than for many years. This year's Congress is being asked to vote a naval appropriations bill that will land America right in the middle of the arms race. . . .

. . . It is Japan, not Germany or Italy, which figures as the possible attacker in the popular mind and in the Navy Department's plans. It is because of Japan that our enormous new battleships will slide down the ways in 1942 and 1943. There it is, the smoke of the "China incident," slowly creeping up from the horizon, a cloud by this time a little larger than a man's hand, and our uneasy people find in it a warning that sometime, from over the world's shoulder, the Japanese guns and battleships may turn against us.

Meanwhile what is Japan doing? That is a fair question because it so happens that she is doing more than bombing Chinese cities. Japan too has plans for 1943. Her immediate problem is of course to supply the armies that are pushing into China; but the program she has publicly announced, and upon which she is now spending every last cent she can find, is not designed merely to supply shells and tanks to her infantry or bombs to her airmen. Japan is beginning a second industrial revolution, the most immediate and obvious results of which cannot be achieved before the early 1940's. . . .

. . . Surely if Japan's new industries are to serve her . . . we can only be delighted at the prospect of Japanese peasants

living an easier life. But this, alas, is not the case, and it seems probable that the Japanese peasant will ride on the new railroads only in troop trains, and will come to have a close acquaintance with automobiles only if he is mobilized into a motorized unit of infantry.

Japanese living standards are falling, not rising, as the blueprints for this program are approved. The textile industry—Japan's greatest employer of labor and producer of wealth—is seeing more and more of its plants close, as foreign exchange to purchase cotton and wool abroad becomes rarer and rarer. Heavier and heavier are the tax burdens falling upon the peasants, and the Finance Minister can only express sympathy for their decreasing incomes but can offer no hope of easier circumstances. The Japanese government itself has sent a good part of the gold reserve which nominally backs its currency out of the country to pay for imports needed for the war.

Not only are these plans being formulated at an inopportune moment, if these new industries are to serve any peacetime commercial purposes, any solvent domestic market, but the development of them is to take place under the ægis of the government. This may not seem remarkable, or out of place. Other governments than that of Japan are taking a hand in industrial planning. But in Japan the government means the Army. Only one point need be cited for proof. The Japanese Army and Navy between them account for seventy-nine per cent of the expenditures under the 1938 budget, a budget that has quadrupled in the seven years since the Manchurian conquest of 1931. Japan's plans for industrial expansion are plans for industrial armament.

This expansion is not confined to Japan proper. Second only to the Mitsui combine in national power is the Manchurian Heavy Industrial Development Co. Ltd., headed by Yoshisuke Aikawa, which is the monopoly for expansion in Manchukuo—in equal partnership with the government (*i.e.*, the Army). The Japanese Army owns large interests in many key industrial ventures, notably the South Manchurian Railway, and is in effect one of the Empire's most important property-owning bodies. . . .

. . . It is certain, . . . no matter how long Japan expects to be formally fighting in China, that the northern provinces are to be incorporated into Japan's long-term plans and to play their part in strengthening her in future campaigns for future prospective conquests. Here the Manchurian Heavy Industrial De-

velopment Co. has its twin in the Kochu Koshi, which is breeding a swarm of "development companies" as subsidiaries. The pattern is identical with that of Manchukuo. Here again is a monopoly company operating in partnership with the government, headed by a friend of the Army, and engaging in long-term Army-inspired projects. . . . North China, still a battlefield, is already, in the War Ministry's careful blueprints, an interrelated part of the cherished plan for Japanese self-sufficiency.

II

It will be worth while to examine a few of these industrial schemes and so get some picture of the immense reorganization and expansion which the Army hopes will make over Japan. By 1941 the steel industry is expected to be turning out twice as much as at present. But not only is Japan's capacity for making steel to be doubled; much of this new capacity is to be for specialized steel, so that Japan can thriftily turn out high-grade steel for machinery, and low-grade steel for office buildings. . . . The United States' capacity, although enormously greater, is almost altogether occupied by filling orders for industry. But Japan's steel will be steel for the Army, whether it goes directly into shells or less directly into machinery to make light tanks. Japan has no need of steel mills to turn out wire for farmers, or light steel strips for refrigerators; for she has no one to buy either wire or iceboxes.

Central agent in the steel program is a government corporation, the Japan Iron Manufacturing Co. . . .

The automobile industry too is facing four years of rapid expansion under government regulation. The present session of the Japanese Diet has included automobiles in the articles important from the standpoint of national "defense" which are subject to complete government control. The purpose of increased production is of course obvious—and is not for growing sale to civilians. . . . Japan's automobile factories, unable to create demand in civilian circles, are working on special orders—for the war. For some time now the Japanese automobile industry has been concentrating on cars using Diesel motors—heavy, expensive, economical only on very long hauls, and thus badly adapted in every way for use by Japan's citizens, but extremely well adapted to the needs of armies pushing into China's interior. . . .

The other method of transport at the Army's disposal, the railroads, is making almost as much trouble. The government authorities used to be of the comfortable opinion that they had plenty of cars and locomotives to handle both peace- and war-time shipments. But they are now finding 100,000 tons of freight going unhandled every day for lack of transport facilities, and new railroad equipment is vital. To complicate the problem are the 1,200 miles of railroad taken over in North China which—perhaps simply to confuse the future conqueror—were built on three gauges, wide, standard, and narrow. So orders are being placed under Army supervision—for 500 locomotives, 1,000 passenger cars, and 10,000 freight cars. The steel is being obtained from our old friend, the Japan Iron Manufacturing Co.

. . . Military expansion for steel, automobiles, and railroad equipment depends on military expansion of the machine-tool industry which fashions steel into parts for these basic steel-using industries. We have the government's guarantee that the machine-tool business can depend on at least two years of military expansion after any need for it in China is over. Is any other evidence needed to show that North China is just another step in what Japan regards as her imperial progress?

Oil is notoriously the weakest link in Japan's economy. Obviously, as this program of industrial expansion goes into effect her fuel requirements will increase. Now unless something is done to permit Japan to lay her hands on oil that is exclusively hers, this whole complicated program will be jeopardized. But Japan's oil deposits are negligible, as are those of Manchuria and North China. Japan, however, is not going to drill for oil, but to manufacture it. She is planning to spend the better part of a billion yen on a project for liquefying coal. . . .

Two commercial commodities have been included in this self-sufficiency program for military reasons. Japan's cotton goods industry needs, when working at top speed, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ million bales of cotton a year. China produces about $3\frac{3}{4}$ million bales, most of it in the North. Japan plans to increase this output by persuading the peasants to give up growing food crops and confine themselves to cotton culture, depending on food imported from other regions. Pulp output, used by her rayon industry, is also to be increased.

For Japan is anxious to maintain her position as a textile exporter, even though at present she is starving out many of her

small textile manufacturers. Textile exports bring her foreign exchange which can be used for the import of goods which her ambitious program demands.

III

Now this is important to notice because it is the first admission that this enormous program, so calmly discussed in Japan, is not self-inaugurating and self-perpetuating. It is dependent on imports. So vital are the imports that the government has had to include in its plans two industries, only minutely concerned with the Army, because they make these imports possible. Steel, automobiles, railroad equipment, machine tools, oil, the plans are smugly and snugly laid for expansion in these fields on a huge scale. But here is the catch. Not only a prostrate China is to contribute to the program. So is Somebody Else, the nation which sells industrial equipment to Japan.

If you are beginning to have a grim suspicion that Somebody Else is the United States—which is boycotting Japanese goods, fearing Japanese aggression, building battleships to defend herself against Japan—you are quite right. You will have heard of our scrap iron shipments to Japan. We are still selling her scrap. More important, we are selling her steel, finished and semi-finished, ready to be processed by her factories into armaments. We are selling her gasoline to fill the tanks of the airplanes that bomb Chinese cities. And most important of all, from our own standpoint, we are selling her the machine tools and metal-working machinery which she is to use in revolutionizing her economy on to a base more nearly comparable with our own. In the 1890's there was a bit of excitement in England over the fact that England was exporting textile machinery to countries, including Japan, though no one thought much about her then, which were substantial markets for English textiles. Little attention was paid to the outcry, and the trade continued. What Japanese textiles subsequently did to English markets is a matter of economic history. Well, that took over forty years and there was never any question of war between England and Japan, nor were the machinery exports for armament use. This, then, is a very minor analogy to what we are doing at present. The great triumph which has made the United States the most powerful industrial nation in the world has been the development of mass production—for peaceful purposes. We are selling Japan the means of mass production for war.

But before we begin to talk about the machinery we are selling Japan for future use it is worth while to put down something of what we are selling Japan to-day for immediate use. For this forms, indirectly, part of her expansion program too. Her program, as we have seen, is based upon the complete control, for her own purposes, of North China. We are helping her to conquer North China by selling her the vital raw materials she needs for armaments.

Steel first of all. In 1937 Japan produced 5.3 million tons of steel. Well over one-third of that steel was made from American raw materials, scrap and pig iron. Besides raw material for her furnaces, the United States sold her 1,000,000 tons of new iron and steel in various unfabricated forms. This was quite an increase from the 1936 figure of 54,000 tons. And Japan bought 75,000 tons of American pig iron alone during the first two months of 1938, and is ordering 100,000 tons more. The same huge rate of increase is continuing in the purchase of steel. Our exports to Japan and Manchukuo in January 1938 were three times what they had been a year ago. A very important point to note in connection with Japan's purchases of steel here is that much of it is specialty steel already alloyed with expensive special metals—copper, nickel, aluminum, chromium, and so on—which Japan is thus spared from buying, and, indeed, which she is still unable to process adequately for modern engineering and armament use. Even so, she bought more than twice as much refined copper from us in 1937 as she did in 1936.

Japan's oil self-sufficiency program, you will recall, will not be completed until 1943, and even then will give her at best but two-thirds of her gasoline requirements, and 45 per cent of her heavy oil needs. During 1937, when this program was merely so many figures on paper, Japan bought 34,000,000 barrels of oil abroad. By October she had already bought 23,000,000 barrels of it from us. This includes special aviation fuel, produced in commercial quantities only by America. This anti-knock gasoline, high in octane content, is the only fuel which will permit some of the American engines which Japan has been buying to develop their full power. Because of its anti-knock qualities too, it lengthens the life of engines, thus saving Japan's under-capacitated engine shops much replacement work. So essential is oil to Japan, and so precarious her present shortage, that Tokyo taxis are being prevented from cruising in order to conserve her gasoline supplies.

But even more important than the crucial oil and steel supplies for immediate use that we are sending Japan is our part in aiding Japan to complete her expansion program. Her expansion program for the steel industry calls for an increase of 2.3 million tons of rolled steel (finished steel rolled from steel ingots). In 1937 Japan contracted for the purchase of three modern American rolling mills having a combined capacity of some million and a quarter tons—almost half of the increase called for by Japan's five-year program. These are the famous new automatic continuous sheet-and-strip mills made only in this country, which eliminate 80–85 per cent of the labor usually needed for rolling steel and which complete the complicated process at the rate of about 1,800 feet a minute, ten times as fast as the old-fashioned mills through which steel was rolled by hand. The steel thus turned out lends itself particularly well to automobile production (another vital part of Japan's expansion program) and, by their labor-saving devices, these mills will ease somewhat the serious Japanese shortage of skilled workmen.

It is not only steel rolling mills which we are selling Japan, but high-speed metal-working machinery of all kinds. We sold Japan \$34,000,000 worth in 1937, more than she had bought from the whole world in 1936, and about two-thirds of her 1937 imports. But machinery imports are much more important than their dollar value would indicate; each machine in its lifetime produces goods worth many times the value of its purchase price. Moreover, the high-speed production and standardization of operations which efficient machinery makes possible is something that cannot be measured in dollars or tons. It is the very basis of mass production and the enormous efficiency that that implies—for peace or for war. Japan's automobile industry, for instance, is faced at present with a confusing variety of machinery and parts: standardization is admittedly its principal problem. Aikawa stated, as we have seen, that two years would be necessary for the installation of modern, high-speed standardized equipment in his Manchurian automobile and aircraft plants. It is because he must have standardized and efficient machinery, and because such machinery for automobile production is made only in the United States, that he is coming here shortly to spend \$300,000,000—almost a third of the total cost of the Manchurian development program—on American equipment—if his sales talk about profits to be made in the development of Manchukuo persuades American industrialists to advance the \$300,000,000 Mr.

Aikawa needs. And if Japan begins to standardize her auto, her steel, her engineering industries on the basis of American designs, she cannot later turn to those of another country; if she did she would simply continue the same old confusion caused by diverse types of machinery, some of them interlocking, others not, which she is trying to get rid of now. Parallel to her auto-equipment buying, purchases of American locomotives and freight cars will facilitate the completion of Japan's continental railway program. Twenty per cent of the new rolling stock Japan needs will be bought here.

Japan's textile exports have traditionally been the most important way in which she has financed whatever purchases of capital goods she has had to make. But textile exports depend upon raw material imports, notably of cotton. Last year, when Japan found that the China incident was developing into something very much like a full-fledged war, she was forced to curtail these imports, sacrificing her cotton textile industry and its exports (its export revenues as well, it may be added) to her need for materials of war. The immediate drop in export revenues, and thus in foreign exchange, forced her to resort to large-scale shipments of gold which cut deeply into her scanty reserves. Altogether she shipped \$250,000,000 in gold to the United States in 1937; and some \$25,000,000 more has arrived in California so far this year, with more promised. Furthermore, she is now debating whether or not to ship every last remaining ounce of gold to us, since her need of manufactured imports is much more vital to her than the farce of a gold foundation for her paper yen.

These gold payments went for armament necessities and for machinery needed by the expansion program. They did not go for cotton. Thus was set in motion the vicious circle which has closed her textile factories, despite her recognition of the importance of export revenues to her present solvency and future plans. By heroic measures, she succeeded since the current cotton season began in August in cutting down her lint takings here to a third of last year's volume. In spite of this, however, she ended 1937 with the enormous trade deficit of 636,000,000 yen. This appalling figure frightened her into cutting down her cotton imports by an additional 180,000,000 yen in January and February, so that her trade deficit for these months was reduced by 75 per cent.

But the unfortunate result was that she found herself without sufficient cotton goods on hand to fill export orders previously

undertaken. To fill these orders, she has had to purchase finished cotton goods here, an unprecedented step; and, however reluctantly, to resume her raw cotton purchases here. And as soon as she resumed her cotton purchases she was compelled to resume her gold shipments as well, to the dismay of what is left of conservative opinion in Japan. But sad as the result has been for Japan, it has been sadder for us. Cotton is the Achilles' heel of our economy. Japan's inability to purchase her normal quota of our cotton has had a most depressing effect on the cotton market and, therefore, on Southern purchasing power. And her orders to our steel and machine-tool industries have been far from making up what her boycott of our cotton has cost us. Similarly, Japan's inability to supply her rayon industry with pulp has hurt our West Coast lumber mills, which suffered a panic last summer when the outbreak of war left them with huge unexportable surpluses on hand. The Japanese purchases that have been outlined here, vital as they are to Japan, were sufficient in 1937 to provide our steel and oil industries with a week's work apiece, no more. They are essential to Japan but unimportant to us, and the long-term program of armament expansion growing out of the war in China which they are making possible has ominous political implications for the United States.

Well, there is the story, a very simple one. Japan is the one nation in the world whose aggression we fear. Japan is the unashamed attacker of a country with whom we sympathize, whose magnificent defensive stand we admire heartily. In this attack have occurred atrocities—the bombing of universities, for example—which shock the world.

American industry is selling Japan the goods which permit her to do this and to rear grandiose schemes for continuing to do this on a scale so huge that all western Asia will be reduced to the level of the Japanese subjects in Korea. Seventy-five per cent of the gasoline Japan used last year, gasoline for tanks and bombers and warships, came from the United States. One-third of the steel she made last year, steel for shells, bombs, dum dum bullets, was made out of American raw materials.

Here, then, is the paradox. The Japanese menace is made possible by American exports. Because of the Japanese menace our government is building battleships with money which might otherwise go for housing or to ease the tax burden of our people. What is to be done about this situation is up to the American people. Here are the facts.

JAPAN'S NEW NEED: AMERICAN STEELS, MACHINES AND OILS

BY ELIOT JANEWAY

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It must have been a good five years ago that some one discovered Japanese purchases of American scrap iron. Ever since that time—and particularly since the beginning of the Japanese campaign in China last year—the United States has been collectively shaken, every now and then, by a spasm of conscience over the scrap iron which is mysteriously being transmuted, under Nippon's cherry blossoms, into bombs to kill Chinese babies. Cartoons decrying this trade, and the trade in oil to turn the wheels of Japanese automobiles, the propellers of Japanese airplanes, and to push her battleships through the Yellow Sea, have become familiar. But the typical American reaction has been the thought that, after all, Japan would make such purchases from Germany or England if she did not make them from the United States; and the trade has gone on.

I want to talk now about a trade with Japan which could be carried on by the United States alone, which no one has cartooned, and which is qualitatively of such vast importance that, without it, the probability is Japan's economy would break down.

This is the trade in machinery and in lubricating oils. Japan is buying from the United States machinery which her German ally and her British ex-ally do not make at all, or do not make in a quantity or quality able to challenge American products. It is true that Japan could buy elsewhere some—but not so much—of the scrap iron and crude oil which bulk so large in her imports. But, now that she has begun to deal in and to depend on American machinery, American machine tools, special American steels, lubricating oils and so on, she *cannot* turn away—unless she starts to build up her heavy industries all over again, and her engineering processes from the bottom, and on a less efficient basis. For Japan has begun to modernize and integrate her industry with the aid of the United States. One of the most important parts of integration on a mass production scale is, obviously, standardization. Because she is using American models now, she must continue to use American models. And in addi-

tion, and in explanation of her natural impulse to turn first to the United States, is the fact that German and British industry, old and expert as they are in engineering skills, do not use those skills in the efficient mass production way which is so typically American, nor are they at present able to employ those skills on engineering goods for the export market. It is in any case absurd to think of Japan's dividing her economy into two or three compartments, modeled by engineering imports from different nations. Since her main line of mass production development in the heavy industries is American, she must either complete her program under American auspices or at great expense scrap the better part of her American engineering models and start all over again on a German or British basis.

Japan's increasing imports of American machinery show how thoroughly her quantitatively larger imports of raw materials are, and will be, influenced and controlled by the machinery which must process them. Thus a qualitative problem has arisen beside her older problem of obtaining raw materials. They must be raw materials of a suitable quality and kind.

Now just what is the importance of machinery to a country? Let us take a very simple case. Japan is capable of turning out 5,000,000 tons of steel a year, when she is buying scrap and pig iron abroad (that is, in the United States) freely. That sounds impressive, but actually it is just a first step. For steel is just so much raw material for modern industry, able to do nothing but rust in a mill yard unless it is handled further. If it is to be useful to modern industries, it must be turned, ground, cut, shaped, welded, treated to resist heat and acid, to cut other steel, to endure enormous pressures and great speeds. In the past five years, machine tools for making machinery out of steel have been speeded up as much as has been the making of the steel itself. Ever more efficient tools have been developed to handle the growing output of the steel mills. Thus, if Japan is to use the steel, she must import the tools, or she will find herself producing steel she cannot process. And to produce and process steel at this pace she is calling upon the engineers and chemists and plants of Detroit and Pittsburgh. So American machinery, in effect, rules the greatest of Japan's empire-building industries.

These empire-building and controlling industries have changed with the empire itself. Japan first of all built up her strength as an island empire. The industries she developed were, naturally, shipping and shipbuilding, and light goods for export, such as

textiles, just like that other island empire halfway across the world, which has prided herself on her textile exports and her sea-going tradition. But now Japan is becoming, and desiring ever more to become, a mainland empire. Her problems are changing. Control of her tens of thousands of square miles of backward territory, peopled by unwilling subjects, raises new questions of continental transportation and communication. It is the United States and not England which has developed the technique of handling industries such as railroad, automobile and aircraft building on a mass production scale, and it is therefore to the United States that Japan has turned for aid in the solution of her new problems; and particularly for the machinery to set American-style assembly lines in motion. It is very evident that an assembly line industry, importing its machinery or at the best the machine tools that make its machinery, is qualitatively dependent for its very life on the engineering skill ten thousand miles away that determined the position of each screw in a certain machine and decided that it should operate at four hundred and fifty revolutions per minute.

Because of this long-distance dependence, Japan needs machinery that is well built and sturdy, since she herself is not equipped to duplicate or repair it. In any case, she must mortgage her industrial future to the nation that supplies her, since replacement must be made frequently. Auto-making machinery, for instance, is subjected to great pressure and must be replaced every three to five years. And there is always the chance of an accident which will hold up an assembly line until repairs—which Japan is ill equipped to take care of—can be made.

Thus far we have been going on the assumption that these complicated machines are imported to handle the 5,000,000 tons of steel which Japan produces yearly. But this is hardly true. For the steel which Japan turns out is, for the most part, heavy and brittle, unsuited for use in high speed and high tension machines and motors. So Japan imports not only American tools but also new American steels alloyed with aluminum, nickel, chrome and other metals, and much lighter and more durable than the typical Japanese product. Railroad equipment is one of the chief products which Japan must turn out. It is obvious that light steel cars, which are yet strong enough to carry a heavy load, are advantageous.

In the aircraft industry this special steel is not simply advantageous; it is indispensable. *The American Machinist*, a trade

paper, mentions casually the composition of steel used in an airplane propeller made by a famous American manufacturer. The propeller is forged from a special alloy of aluminum and steel which has been heat-treated until its tensile strength has become sufficient to enable it to withstand a strain of 55,000 pounds per square inch. It must be able to stand such a strain if it is to serve the powerful engine that drives it. Japan is buying such engines in the United States, and she is purchasing also the machine tools designed to make these propellers. But even when she has installed them she will still have to come to the United States for the aluminum steels out of which the propellers are made.

For in Japan steel is still just steel, while in the United States steel is bought according to specification. The consumer tells the manufacturer what he wants to use his steel for, and the manufacturer melts it accordingly. Japan is finding it as necessary as does the United States to use special, efficient steels for special purposes. She is, for instance, and very immediately, planning to motorize her infantry. She wants thousands of fast, sturdy autos, trucks and tanks, with which to send her troops into China's vast interior. There are no service stations in Shansi, and, if each part of the cars Japan gives to her soldiers is not strong and reliable, the Japanese advance will end only in a bogged down mess of broken cars surrounded by guerrilla snipers. Now, if you want to cut teeth in automobile gears at a mass production clip, the cutting tool you use will have to be fashioned precisely to cut five one thousandths of an inch deep, and at the rate of 425 feet a minute. But no ordinary steel can be handled in this fashion and survive to function as a gear on an automobile. Accordingly, Japan is making her gears with American machine tools. The steel and the tools are useless if they are not used together, the steel because an old-fashioned tool cannot cut it, the tools because they will destroy a less strongly fashioned steel. And still Japan has not remotely begun to approach the American standard of efficiency which grades all steels meticulously according to the uses their compositions permit them to be put to.

Much of Japan's 5,000,000-ton steel capacity must, therefore, be written off as useless in the face of her railroad, automobile and aircraft program. If Japan hopes seriously ever to turn her feudal peasant land into a power comparable to America's industrialized might, she must start from the very beginning to dupli-

cate America's industrial plants. She has, during the past year, begun to purchase modern mills for rolling steel in the most efficient way. And, because of this, she has been forced to increase her purchases of machinery to process this new steel. During 1937 she spent as much on machinery as she spent on her much heralded purchases of scrap iron, and she has bought so far this year at the record rate of \$3,000,000 a month.

But the purchases of machinery in which her purchases of steel involve her have forced Japan also to pay tribute to another industry, unimportant in the extreme as far as quantity is concerned, but qualitatively, again, absolutely necessary once modern industrial methods begin to be followed. This is the American method of lubrication—developed to its height in the machine shops of Cleveland and Youngstown. All of the complicated and expensive machinery Japan imports is fitted with oil pumps, designed to force just the right grade and kind of lubricating oil between metal surfaces at just the right speed, and thus, by preventing friction, to lengthen the life of the tool or the engine. And so Japan must acknowledge the hold over her economy of yet another unique American product, which hardly shows up as a significant item in her list of imported goods and yet without which an integrated modern economy would be out of the question. The steel takes the tools, and the tools take the oils, and Japan must come to the United States for all three.

Every day Japan's war in China makes her need of this American equipment more urgent. The railway problem is typical. Because of a car shortage, 100,000 tons of freight remain unhandled every day. Japan plans to build 500 locomotives and 7,000 freight cars. But her 24 plants dedicated to this purpose must remain idle until the lathes and other machine tools she has ordered abroad, principally in America, arrive. Meanwhile she has placed emergency orders for 20 per cent of this program in America, abandoning hope of supplying them herself. . . .

And so the story, all through the industrial economy that Japan is striving so desperately to modernize and to integrate, is of dependence on American products, on unique American skills, on goods which America alone is producing in quantities sufficient to export. For light, durable steels in mass production quantities; for railroad, automobile and aircraft manufacturing equipment made from these steels and by these tools; and, finally,

for the high-powered fuel needed to run her new American aircraft engines, Japan can go nowhere else. And each of these products is useless without all the others.

What Japan is aiming at—and indeed what these American products are alone designed to serve—is an interdependent, mass-production economy. But what Japan is necessarily and inevitably involving herself in is an economy integrated toward continued imports from one country, interdependent indeed, but far from independent of that country's good will. And that economy is virtually subject to the control, no matter how little her publicists and generals may know it or care to admit it, of the quantitatively small, but qualitatively all-important engineering goods which that country sends her.

SHIPMENT OF STEEL AND SCRAP IRON TO JAPAN

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF HON. BYRON N. SCOTT
OF CALIFORNIA IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WEDNESDAY, MAY 18, 1938

(Excerpts from Congressional Record)

Introduction to article, "AMERICA CAN HALT JAPAN"*

BY PAUL G. McMANUS

Mr. Scott. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article by Paul G. McManus:

The difficulties the Japanese have been encountering in their war against China spotlights what singularly few people seem aware of: That the United States is in the strategic position of being able to cripple Japan's war machine by suddenly cutting off the supply of scrap needed in steel production. This may be illustrated by citing figures for Japan. In 1937 she produced

* For the balance of a closely reasoned article, see *Congressional Record* for May 18, 1938. Space prevents quotation in full.

roughly 5,300,000 tons of steel. In the manufacture of this tonnage over 2,000,000 tons of scrap were used, of which the United States supplied 1,900,000 tons. Thus one-third of the raw material used in Japan's steel industry in 1937 was derived from American scrap. It can readily be seen that sudden stoppage of this flow would adversely affect Japan's ability to produce steel.

The foregoing represents the opinion of no individual. The figures cited are based upon official export statistics compiled monthly by United States Government bodies. The paragraph as a whole is quoted almost literally from a recent speech by E. W. Pehrson, of the Metal Economics Division of the United States Bureau of Mines, before the trade organization of used-material dealers. It constitutes the most direct statement made, since Japan invaded China, of the vital role played in Japan's war economy by American industry.

AMERICAN EXPORTS BOLSTER JAPAN

By T. A. BISSON

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During recent weeks the new military-fascist members added to Japan's Cabinet have demonstrated how the war in China should be conducted. Not content with an intensified drive on the central China fronts, they have instituted a ruthless bombing of Canton which has piled up a total of at least 8,000 casualties, mostly civilian non-combatants. Laying claim to "military necessity," Japanese officials have spurned protests against this barbarity, declared that the air raids would be continued "with even greater vigor," and acted on this declaration. By June 12, as a result, Canton was experiencing its fifteenth successive day of aerial bombardment.

Military inefficiency rather than military necessity—if the realization that a desperate case requires desperate remedies be accepted—lies at the root of this latest exhibition of Japanese "frightfulness." For months Japan's naval planes have been bombing the tracks, stations and bridges of the Canton-Kowloon Railway in an effort to disrupt the munitions shipments which are reaching Hankow via Hongkong and Canton. Japanese

planes have been virtually unopposed in the air; nevertheless, they have failed to interrupt railway traffic. Heroic Chinese repair crews quickly restored tracks or bridges where the raiding planes scored direct hits. Hoping to demoralize the Chinese defense, the new Japanese leadership deliberately resorted to an indiscriminate bombing of Canton. The doubtful efficacy of this weapon has again been illustrated in south China; latest reports indicate that the Canton-Kowloon Railway is still functioning and that munitions trains are still passing north to Hankow.

The raids on Canton are not the responsibility of Japan alone. Americans should face the fact that this country is participating *de facto* in the destruction wrought at Canton. The high-test aviation fuel, which the United States is supplying in large and increasing quantities to Japan, makes this country a participant in the Canton bombardments; so, also, does the \$5,670,237 worth of American aircraft and accessories sold to Japan since January 1938. As pointed out in the *Washington News Letter*, these facts led Secretary Hull on June 11 to reveal that the State Department was taking measures to "discourage" sale of American airplanes to Japan. Airplanes, however, constitute but a small portion of the war materials which American concerns are supplying to Japan. High-grade steels with specified alloys, special types of machinery and machine tools, and certain fuels and lubricating oils—these, and other products, are available to Japan in large quantities only in the American market. When scrap and pig iron, refined copper, petroleum, automobiles and accessories, non-metallic metals, and numerous lesser items are added to the list of American exports to Japan, the full picture becomes apparent. A scientific study of this subject, to be shortly published by the Chinese Council for Economic Research at Washington, D. C., estimates that during recent months Japan has secured 54.4 per cent of its war imports from the United States.

It is clear that Secretary Hull's private warnings to a few American airplane manufacturers do not constitute an adequate answer to the question raised by these facts. The United States, as the chief source of supply of Japan's war materials, has become a silent partner in Japanese aggression. It is not enough to say that this country is also supplying munitions to China. Nor does application of the Neutrality Act commend itself as the proper answer to the situation that has developed. As early as last September the American government explicitly ranged itself

with the League in condemnation of Japan's bombing of open cities in China; in more recent declarations, the State Department has implicitly branded Japan as the aggressor in the current Far Eastern hostilities. Something more than words is required, however, if the United States is not to be accused of transparent hypocrisy. In order to enforce a policy of non-participation in Japanese aggression, the American government must levy a strict embargo on sales of war materials to Japan. At the same time, the Chinese government should continue to enjoy every facility for the purchase of the munitions which it needs to protect China's national existence against an unjustified and ruthless assault. Only thus can the deeds of our government be squared with its words. This policy will demand a price from certain vested American interests, but that price will be cheap compared with the war which looms on the horizon if Japan ever establishes itself effectively in China.

Despite Japan's recent military gains, there is no reason to believe that the Chinese cause is hopeless. Rising waters and breaches in the dikes of the Yellow River have mired the Japanese advance along the Lunghai Railway, and Chengchow is apparently still in Chinese hands. Time is being given for the Chinese forces to reform their lines for the defense of Hankow. Withdrawal of further American aid to the aggressor at this crucial moment would condemn Japan's desperate eleventh-hour offensive to defeat.

* * *

Japan furnishes the pilot—America furnishes the airplane, gasoline, oil and bombs for the ravaging of undefended Chinese cities.

* * *

Stop Economic Aid to Japan . . .

WHAT ORGANIZATIONS CAN DO

The active support of organizations throughout America is needed in order to make effective an embargo upon war supplies from the United States to Japan.

Any or all of the following suggested activities can be carried out, beginning at once, by organizations, national or local, with or without the cooperation of other bodies:

1. Take the stoppage of military supplies to Japan as a leading issue in connection with organizational publications, correspondence, meetings and conferences. Arrange for special gatherings and radio addresses when possible.

2. Send copies of all actions taken by large or small groups to President Roosevelt, to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, to members of the Senate and House Committees on Foreign Relations, to Senators and Congressmen of your state, and to local newspapers.

3. Write individual letters to any or all of the above protesting against American aid to Japanese aggression and requesting that official action be taken to prohibit the export of war supplies to Japan.

4. Form local committees (civic leaders, ministers, members of women's organizations, labor organizations, and peace groups, and other public-spirited citizens) to call on Congressmen, Senators and Congressional candidates, informing them of the opinion of local groups, and urging them to take a position with regard to the issue.

5. If the legislature in your state is meeting this autumn or winter, attempt to secure passage of a Memorial to Congress urging congressional action for withholding munitions, other war supplies and financial aid from Japan for the duration of the war, or withholding economic aid for war purposes to countries which are in process of violating peace treaties with the United States.

6. Express your moral support to industrialists, merchants, and other individuals and to labor and other organizations refusing to cooperate in the manufacture or shipment of supplies for Japan's war machine.

7. Designate one or more persons active in the organization who can devote his time and effort during the summer and autumn to the embargo issue, who will keep in touch with all branches of the organization, with other organizations, and with the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression.

WHAT INDIVIDUALS CAN DO

The actions of individuals are no less significant than those of organizations. To any who feel strongly with regard to the question of American support for Japanese aggression, the following activities are suggested:

1. Send letters to President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Cordell Hull and to Senators and Congressmen from your state, as suggested in third paragraph above.
2. Write the editor of your local newspaper, stating your position and suggesting that the paper lend its editorial support to the policy of non-participation in Japanese aggression.
3. Order and distribute further copies of the pamphlet, "America's Share in Japan's War Guilt."
4. Discuss the question with friends and think of further means toward ending America's support to Japan at this time. Send your ideas and suggestions to the Secretary, American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression.
5. Promote and cooperate in such organizational activities as are suggested above.

American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression . . .

A growing realization that the United States is, in effect, an ally of Japan for her program of conquest in Asia has led to the spontaneous organization of the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression.

Neither widespread sympathy for the Chinese people in their courageous struggle for freedom nor protests over inhuman warfare and the violation of treaties can atone for the positive support which we are lending to the Japanese military machine.

This Committee's reason for existence is to help in bringing the essential facts to the attention of the American people, cooperating with other individuals and organizations that are working to this end, and to investigate ways and means whereby the stoppage of war credits and essential war supplies to Japan can be made effective for the remainder of the present conflict in China.

Significant facts with regard to American aid to Japan will be placed before commercial, industrial, financial, labor and transportation groups. On grounds of both moral responsibility and far-sighted self-interest, the case for non-participation in Japanese aggression will be presented, and public opinion will be invited to lend its support to all who voluntarily sacrifice a share in "profits from the blood and tears of the innocent" in China.

The Committee will endeavor to help in crystallizing public demand and support for governmental executive action designed to check the flow of American credits and war materials to Japan. Study is being made of the forms of effective executive action possible under existing law. Contact will be maintained with the governmental departments concerned.

The Committee will also work toward securing the enactment of a measure at the next session of Congress prohibiting the extension of economic aid for war purposes to a country which is in process of violating a solemn treaty of peace to which the United States is a party.

To insure the more complete effectiveness of any action taken in America, the Committee will collaborate with organizations

in other countries which are working to halt shipments of essential war materials to Japan. Through this means, international action by peoples and governments will be sought.

The central and single aim of the Committee is expressed in the phrase "non-participation in Japanese aggression." Doctrinal isms, domestic issues, and the European situation, however important, are beyond its scope.

Members of the Committee regard this program as a constructive effort in the direction of international peace and justice. They desire the well-being of the people of Japan as well as of all other peoples in the Pacific area. They desire peace and justice for all concerned. They feel, at the same time, that before any just settlement and lasting peace structure can be achieved, Japanese military aggression must be checked. They believe that for this a policy of non-cooperation by the powers together with continued Chinese resistance will be effective, and that the urgent and crucial need of the moment is to withhold economic assistance for war purposes from Japan.

Starting in a small way, this Committee has received an immediate response on all sides. This has led to a more inclusive organization which is still in process as the movement to check the flow of war materials from America to Japan gains rapidly in momentum. The contents of this booklet suggest the contacts which the Committee has made to date and the extent to which the movement has already grown. It is expected that formal organization of the Committee will be completed and announced in the near future, with outstanding citizens among the sponsors.

Far more important than this Committee, however, is the movement of which it is but a part. Not one but scores of organizations and thousands of individuals must unite in common effort in order to make this movement effective.

In cooperation with individuals and organizations throughout the United States, furnishing and receiving suggestions and information, the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression is ready to do its part.

NATIONAL BOARD

INITIAL MEMBERS

- Dr. Edward H. Hume, *Director of Christian Medical Council for Overseas Work.*
- Miss Josephine Schain, *National Chairman, National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War.*
- Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, *Union Theological Seminary.*
- Mrs. Lincoln Steffens (Ella Winter), *Executive Board, League of American Writers.*
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- Mr. Harry B. Price, *Professor of Economics, Yenching University, Peiping (on leave), SECRETARY.*

Membership as individuals

Initial contributions have made it possible to print the first issue of this booklet and to begin the setting up of an office. For the broad program of work needed in order to make effective the stopping of economic aid to Japan, additional contributions will be necessary. Donations sent to the Secretary, American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression, 8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y., will be gratefully acknowledged and conscientiously applied to the enlarging work of this Committee. Contributors and others interested will be invited to cooperate in the efforts of the Committee and they will be kept informed with regard to further developments.



THE "SECOND PHASE" OF CHINA'S STRUGGLE¹

By PROFESSOR CHANG PENG-CHUN.

I WAS at home in China from October 5th to January 6th last—exactly three months—and it may be of some interest to you if I simply relate my impressions of that time. These three months may be considered as very significant in this period of our history. The withdrawal of Chinese troops from Canton and Hankow took place, roughly speaking, around the latter part of October. Then there was a period of about forty days when the country was considering the next step and also preparing for what is now called the "second phase" in our struggle. And the outline of the new plans became clear by about the beginning of December. Towards the latter part of December a certain episode in connection with the sudden departure of Wang Ching-wei from Chungking occurred, and that episode was concluded by the first part of January. So perhaps, as these three months had a beginning, a middle and an end, they may be treated as a unit.

When I reached Chungking on October 10th, I heard that the defence around Hankow was in good condition. With the expected reinforcement, Chinese forces would be able to hold Hankow for quite a long period—at least till the end of the year. However, with the loss of Canton, the defence of Hankow became less significant. Plans to evacuate were put into action around the middle of October, and by about the 24th of October the Chinese forces had finally withdrawn—this time in a much more efficient manner than had been the case in connection with the two earlier experiences, namely the withdrawal from Shanghai and later the withdrawal from the Hsuechow area. The industrial plants in Hankow and Wuchang were dismantled. The man who was responsible for that task told me that roughly about 80 per cent. of the industrial plants in the whole area were systematically shipped out, first to Ichang up the river and then later on to Chungking and other points, to be reinstalled in the western area.

¹ Address given at Chatham House on January 25th, 1939; Sir John Pratt, K.B.E., C.M.G., in the Chair.

Note: Dr. Chang Peng-chun (P.C.) is professor at Nankai University and member of the (China's) People's Political Council

For a period of forty days after the withdrawal from Hankow I should say that on the part of those who were not well informed there was a certain amount of concern as to what would come next. During that period the Generalissimo was inspecting the different places. He visited practically all the troops from Canton and around Canton to the upper part of the Yangtze river near Ichang. The Japanese war-planes followed him on most of these adventures, and he travelled by aeroplane, train and motor and sometimes on foot. On several occasions the Japanese bombers missed him by only a few minutes, arriving either before the Generalissimo had come to a place or else just a few minutes after he had left.

During that period a meeting of the People's Political Council took place in Chungking. As you may perhaps have read, the Council was called together for its first session in July in Hankow. The second session was held in Chungking on October 28th and lasted for ten days. The Council is a sort of gathering of people, representing different parts of the country and different occupations, supposedly having some weight in public opinion in China. It was quite surprising that out of a total membership of two hundred, nearly a hundred and forty came from widely separated parts of the country. Some of them travelled quite a long distance and under difficult circumstances. During the session of the People's Political Council reports were made by the members of the Government concerning economic reconstruction, political readjustment and the military situation, but I think it must be said frankly that there were questions which the Government was not yet prepared to answer very clearly and definitely at that time.

When the Generalissimo came back to Chungking on December 8th the military situation became clearer to the people at the capital. Conferences took place immediately and active steps were taken for the execution of different activities. Now, among the things the Generalissimo did during his forty-day tour of inspection was the calling of a Military Conference at Nanyueh, where practically all of the important leaders and generals were gathered and where discussions took place concerning the next phase of the war. Those things became clear to us in Chungking after the Generalissimo and his staff returned to Chungking, and then we were able to see what was implied in the "second phase" of China's war of resistance.

What, after all, is meant by the "second phase"? What are its special characteristics? How do we distinguish the first

from the second phase in China's struggle? The first phase is usually taken to include the three outstanding battles—the battle of Shanghai, the battle of Hsuehchow, and the battle of Hankow. The battle of Shanghai began, as you will remember, in August 1937 and lasted for more than three months. The battle of Hsuehchow began about March 1938 and lasted till about June 1938. Then the battle of Hankow followed. The chief characteristics of that phase were, first, that the Chinese armies were on the defensive in each instance. Secondly, the Chinese armies were being tried under fire. It was very gratifying indeed to find that the new Chinese forces were able to stand a beating, were able to make tremendous sacrifices, and were able to hold the lines much longer than had been expected by the Japanese or anybody else, including ourselves. Then another characteristic of that phase was the development of guerilla warfare in different parts of the country, especially in the invaded areas.

May I say here that we can now see very clearly the attempts on the part of Japan to subdue China. First an attempt was made to subdue China without having to fight. The Japanese tried that by bringing pressure to bear upon China for a period of six years, roughly from 1931 to 1937. Then came the second attempt which aimed at subduing China by quick action and quick decision. The Japanese announced to the world that they would be able to destroy the main forces of China in three weeks, but they were unsuccessful. In their third attempt they tried in Hsuehchow, and also around Hankow, to surround the Chinese forces and to destroy their effectiveness. Here, too, they were unsuccessful. You know the Japanese have a way of using words from the Western world to signify what they intend to do. In connection with this third method they used the word "Tannenberg" a little too profusely. I think if you followed the news reports of last year you must have noticed that on at least four or five occasions the Japanese proclaimed that they were going to "execute a Tannenberg." But somehow it did not work.

Now the characteristics of the first phase were defence and testing the Chinese forces to see whether they would be able to stand a good beating. Of course we know that in the training of any fighting team it is much more important, especially for an inexperienced team, to go through fire than to strike back. If these new forces, as surely has proven to be true, were able to stand a beating in a valorous spirit, surely the time will come when they will be able to execute some positive action in an effective manner.

Then what do we mean to do during the "second phase"? After Hankow there will be no further opportunity for the Japanese to surround the main part of the Chinese forces and exterminate them, because in future there will be no centre where it will be possible to gather together such a large force. Around the Hankow defence area there was concentrated roughly about eight hundred thousand Chinese troops—perhaps the largest single command that has ever been assembled together in Chinese history in terms of direct control. Of course there have been wars in Chinese history when more people were engaged, but not under one command in one battle area. In future there will be no such large concentrations on the Chinese side, and I think the Japanese High Command is somewhat exasperated by the situation. From now on the Chinese forces will be divided into roughly three parts. One third of them will be engaged in mobile fighting—not exactly guerilla warfare but in mobile fighting in the "invaded" Eastern and Central Provinces. I think you must have noticed I have avoided using the term "occupied areas"? The reason for this is that there are no such areas in China. There are occupied points and also some occupied lines, but there are no occupied areas. One third of the Chinese forces will be sent to the invaded areas behind the Japanese points of advance. They will be in that area near to the Eastern Coast. Another third of the forces will be engaged in the middle of the country to meet the points of Japanese advance, and the remaining one third of the forces will be in training in the western part of the country.

The total number of Chinese forces to-day is about two hundred and forty divisions or two million and four hundred thousand men. Therefore not only has the Chinese army gained more experience through fighting, but there are larger numbers engaged than when the war started. Officers' training corps have been established in different parts in the Western Provinces. At these various centres, roughly speaking, about thirty thousand men are being trained as officers. That is part of the preparation on the training side.

Furthermore, the emphasis will now be on two things. The first is what the Generalissimo calls "making space take the place of time," or "space for time"; the second is characterised by the phrase, "the countryside versus the cities." Now I will explain these two phrases a little. First, "space for time." Those of you who have travelled in China know its tremendous, unwieldy size. Many of us Chinese who lived on the eastern

coast had no conception of the size and potentialities of the western part of the country. But this war has brought all the comparatively modern elements on the seaboard to inland places. It has really given us a sense of space. If China had not had this space, the character of the war would have been entirely different. If the Chinese military leaders had not realised the use of space in this war of resistance, they would not be able to feel so confident as they do to-day. In other words, the emphasis is laid upon mobility and on the tremendous reserves in man-power in a country so large as China. And of course that is annoying to the Japanese. The Japanese army, as we know, was modernised and trained under Prussian influence after the Franco-Prussian War. They learned their lessons rather well, but I think, rather uncritically. They organised their army along the lines of fighting another force with about the same weapons, desiring the same type of objectives, and also employing the same type of psychological tactical moves. They tried it out on the Imperial Russian Army in 1904 and 1905. Fortunately that war was brought to a close quickly, because at that time there was still enough statesmanship in Japan to see that a prolonged struggle would not be beneficial to Japan at all. Unfortunately to-day there is not that statesmanship in Japan. I hope I am not speaking in a partisan spirit. I think that is an objective fact which even the Japanese recognise. There is no clear leadership anywhere in Japan. This military success on the part of Japan surprised the Western world, and gave to Japan a glamour which was perhaps not justified if viewed objectively. But, as you know, glamour has a way of lingering long after the event which gave rise to it. And so the world somehow acquired an idea of the invincibility of the Japanese army.

When this war of resistance in China began, we were therefore in a favourable position, for, you know, it is most comfortable when your friends do not expect too much of you. And so when the Japanese army came, people were sympathetic, but were afraid that we might be beaten "to our knees." We were able to put up some fighting, however, and people thought that after all it was not so bad. Meanwhile, the Japanese army were still using the same type of psychological tactical moves as they had previously been trained to use. In other words, they were trying to strike with a certain degree of speed, a certain degree of what we might call efficient control, and moving the army about with a certain degree of self-confidence. That type of fighting was quite correct, I suppose, when the other side was also

trying to fight with the same type of what I might call "expressive" tactics but not retreating tactics. Now, meeting Chinese resistance is really not like one fist pushing against another; that is an inadequate figure, because the calculation would be along the lines of how strong the other fist is, how hard one fist can push, how the muscles can be organised. In that case, the opponents are of the same type. But in this case I think it is a matter of fighting with a fist on one side, and soft glue on the other. You know, we have had a type of philosophy in China usually called that of Lao Tse. It was not pacifism, or a refusal to do anything to the intruding force. It was a way of dealing with that intrusion. It was a belief that the softer way always conquers the stronger way, which is also stiffer and more brittle. And that philosophy may be used in tactics. As you know, there was a scholar who was quite a good critic of the science of war about 400 B.C. by the name of Sun Tse, and then later on there were scholar-soldiers, two or three of whom may be known not only to students of Chinese history, but to students of Chinese novels—Chu Kuo-liang of the Three Kingdoms period, for instance. Then another who was a great philosopher as well as soldier, in the fifteenth century, was Wang Yang-ming, under the Ming Dynasty. It was his philosophy that inspired great admiration in Admiral Togo, the Japanese admiral at the time of the Russo-Japanese War. If you read Togo's biography, you will find he pays great respect to Wang Yang-ming. In the nineteenth century there was a group of half a dozen soldier-scholars, headed by the famous Tseng Kuo-fan. And our Generalissimo to-day is making use of the distilled wisdom and strategy of this long series of scholar-soldiers. It is very interesting that at the Military Conference which took place in the latter part of November in the southern part of Hunan, he gave the opening address to this group of generals, and more than half of that address had to do with Chinese philosophy and the Chinese philosophical temper. The Generalissimo characterised it by four Chinese words, roughly meaning: "firm," "patient," "humble," and "harmonious." Those are not only moral words, but they are also words that can become concrete and can be made practical in military action. Also we have had the phrase: "A mournful army will surely win." As you see, you have two tempers now fighting. One is the idea of bravado. Usually, I think, it is called now by that hackneyed phrase "inferiority complex" in the sense of trying to bluff—"I am somebody; you respect me." If you watch the Japanese

soldiers marching through Chinese streets, notice them. They do it in a very bombastic manner. And then you find that when they have passed by the Chinese common worker will smile. And that smile means a lot. That is it. They are laughable. Therefore there is no need to waste energy even in hating them.

This philosophy of firm, patient, humble, harmonious control in personal character is very important. It is perhaps curious that the Generalissimo should lecture to his Generals half of the time on personal control, but this is because it is thought that through personal control you can get the Chinese forces working along these lines. Thus the glue will follow the fist, although the fist may feel very proud that it is going ahead. In other words, the glue is going to surround the fist. The farther you go in, the harder it is to get out. So I should not be surprised to find—and I think it has been confirmed by neutral observers—that the Japanese troops are beginning to be alarmed as to when and how they will ever get home. I do not need to tell you of the various incidents, but I think you must have heard news reports of the way in which the Chinese worry the Japanese occupants of these various points and lines, broken lines. One of them is very telling. A group of Japanese soldiers were sent down to guard the junction of the railway south of Peking. At first one hundred went. Then in the night-time somehow just on the door of the barracks appeared Chinese characters saying: "Down with Japanese Imperialism." The Japanese were annoyed and shot some villagers, but the next day again the same thing happened. After a few days they doubled their garrison, but still those things appeared. That is just a little incident, and then, of course, there is the appearance of Chinese guerillas at odd moments—and also the altogether un-understandable stupidity on the part of the Chinese in not pleading for peace. Whenever the Japanese succeeded in getting to a place, they thought that the Chinese would ask for peace, and the Chinese so far have not done so at all.

The other phrase that I used was "countryside versus the cities." I think that if this sort of war had happened in Europe, it surely would not have been possible to carry it on in the same way. I asked one military leader who is very close to the Generalissimo and he put it in a very telling way. He said that one of the fundamental reasons for confidence is the fact that China is backward in most spheres of modern activity. Because our whole industrial system is not yet organised in a modern way, the cities have not developed to such a degree of potential strength

as to control the countryside completely. During this last hundred or hundred and fifty years the cities in modern countries have become so extremely important that the countryside simply cannot live without cities, and thus the cities control the countryside, but it is not yet true of China. Therefore the Japanese may go in and get a few cities and towns, and still be surrounded by the Chinese countryside. Fortunately, during the last two years we have had good harvests, and therefore there is no bother at all about keeping the countryside calm and loyal so long as there is food to eat, apart from the other phenomenon of a new awakening of a national consciousness. You might say that from now on this is to be a war of the countryside against a few cities that the Japanese have so far occupied. So, from the Chinese point of view, we seem to be trying out a new form of strategy. Usually in the Western world two forms of warfare somehow serve as the patterns for the interpretation of fighting. One is the pattern of fronts or positional warfare. That pattern was made especially distinct by the last World War, with trenches running miles long and constituting a front. Then another pattern is the pattern of guerilla warfare which was made so famous by Colonel T. E. Lawrence of Arabia. Now, I do not think anybody can say where the fronts are in this war. There are no fronts. There are Japanese penetrations, yes, but no fronts. But the Lawrence type of guerilla warfare is naturally employed a great deal. From now on it will be made more use of, but nevertheless it will not be effective, as military experts know, unless supported by the regular troops, so regular mobile forces will be used in the invaded areas in order to co-operate with the guerilla activities.

I have so far outlined the general characteristics of the second phase in China's struggle. It will be not only defensive, but also offensive. It will be an emphasis on the countryside in the invaded areas. It will also be an emphasis on political development, because in all the so-called invaded areas very few districts or counties have fallen completely under Japanese control. I have here a table prepared by the Executive Yuan—that is, the Cabinet—based on statistics gathered up to October 1938. In Shantung Province, to take one example, which has a hundred and seven districts, seventy-three of those districts are in complete Chinese control with no disturbances at all. Then in thirty-four of the districts the magistrate of the district was still in the magistrate's city or in a village outside the magistrate's city, so we might call them under partial Chinese control. Seventy-

three plus thirty-four makes a hundred and seven, with not one single district or area under complete Japanese control. Then take another province, Shansi, where a great deal of fighting was done. The Japanese got into different parts of this province, but as a matter of fact a survey of that province has shown that out of ninety-five districts forty-six are under complete Chinese control, and forty-eight districts under partial Chinese control. Only one district is under Japanese control—and that is after a year and a half of war. I will not go through the statistics, but they show very clearly that in all this area already invaded by Japan there are various points of advance, but still the whole countryside remains dominantly Chinese, and the emphasis will be to build up all that countryside with political and educational organisations.

So I may say, then, that up to this point, after eighteen months of war, the core of Chinese national resistance has not been broken and will not be broken, because of this peculiar situation in China. We do not hide the fact that we did not start the war as a modern nation. We were in the process of building a modern nation. Perhaps during the three years before the outbreak of the war we were doing a little too well, and that aroused impatience on the part of those who had designs on us. But whatever the cause, the core is as safe as ever. So long as there will be a Chinese National Army there will be an independent China, and that is definite. How will the Japanese be able to destroy that core? It seems as though it becomes less and less possible. Furthermore, from now on it will not be fighting on a purely defensive basis. It will be fighting on a mobile basis of attacks and counter-attacks, to be followed by a big counter-offensive on a larger scale.

Now, suffering has been tremendous. All of us wish to have a clear idea as to what may happen. When may this terrible phenomenon in human history be brought to a conclusion? I am sure that is what well-disposed friends all over the world are interested in. We appreciate that. We also further realise that it is not a matter that can be settled in one corner of the earth alone, because it is inextricably bound up with affairs in other parts of the world as well. So, in conclusion, may I just venture to propose two hypotheses as to what may come after now?

One hypothesis is that through continued Chinese resistance, through this process of exhausting the Japanese forces, both militarily and economically, a stage will be reached—it is very

dangerous to give a time limit, but I should think between a year or two years at the outside—when a new balance of forces in the Pacific may be attained, when a new Conference of the Pacific Powers following the principles of the Washington Treaties may be called. This hypothesis presupposes, however, that within this period there will be no war in some other part of the world. There are reasons for us to think along these lines. For instance, the balance of forces in the Pacific was made at the Washington Conference in 1921–1922—at that time, really with Japan on one side and Great Britain and the United States on the other. That balance held for a period of nine years from 1922 to 1931. Then Japan broke the balance by striking in Manchuria. At that time, 1931, in certain countries between the winter of 1929 and the autumn of 1931 certain things happened economically—certain very proud currencies went off gold and there was something called a depression practically everywhere. As is now becoming obvious, the Japanese took advantage of that, and the balance of the Pacific was soon at an end.

We can really say, without being too nationalistic, that at the time of the Washington Conference China was not counted as being at all a positive factor. Neither was Soviet Russia so counted in 1921 and 1922. From 1931 to the London Conference at the end of 1935, a period of about four years, there was a continuous growth on the part of Japan in this balance. From the end of 1935 onwards gradually the balance changed in form because the unification of China became significant as a positive factor. It was at the end of 1935 that the whole thing really started. For instance, there was the Chinese currency reform at the end of 1935, and the reception of that currency reform all over China, making the Chinese Government notes uniform and withdrawing the silver coins. Then came the assumption by the Generalissimo of the duties of the Executive Yuan, and then all through 1936 there was a testing of that unity by two great events. One of these events occurred in the summer of 1936, when civil war was threatening between the Central Government and Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces in the south. I happened to be in London at that time. I came here as an exchange lecturer in the Universities, and in about June of that year I noticed in certain newspapers in London the big headlines: "Civil War again in China." It was terribly good news, because that word "again" suggested that there had not been a good show for some time. I did not want to spoil the fun for certain

reporters, so I closed my door and did a little writing, but there was no civil war. Then again another event, also rather badly interpreted abroad, was the Sian affair, when the Generalissimo was forcibly detained. Again the Western world did not know how to interpret it. They called it a "capture," a "kidnapping," and finally some agreed on calling it a "farce." If you go through the newspapers in those days you will see that they did not know exactly what to call it. It was again a peculiarly Chinese affair, and it was settled in the Chinese way, but the settlement showed that the unity of the country was stronger than ever. During this crisis, which occurred in December 1936, I was at home. I noticed the spontaneous expression of anxiety and finally of satisfaction when the Generalissimo came back. As a matter of fact that was a General Election in China, again in the Chinese way. So you might say that the present Government of National Unity in China started from the General Election in December 1936. However, all through 1936 the unity of China became a reality, tested by these two serious events.

So from 1936 onwards the negligible factor of China began to take its place on this side of the scale, in the balance of forces. And of course in 1935 the Soviet Union felt itself safer to sell the Chinese Eastern Railway than to argue with the Japanese. There was China's protest, of course. Through 1936 the Soviet forces north of Manchuria increased. The number was increased from two hundred to three hundred thousand, and to-day it totals perhaps half a million men east of Lake Baikal. So in 1936 the Soviet influence began also to count on this side of the scale. Furthermore, there was your great rearmament programme in 1936 after the London Naval Limitation Conference broke up. That was also in the early spring of 1936, and then the American naval rearmament began, also in the same year.

You may say, then, that the height of Japanese power in the Pacific was reached at the end of 1935. That highest point is now passed. When you actually look at the thing concretely, it is clear that from 1931 to 1935 the Japanese side of the scale tilted heavier and heavier, and then reached its heaviest point at the end of 1935 and the beginning of 1936. Then a little thing, the Chinese factor, became positive and jumped into the scale, so to speak. The Russian factor was slightly shadowy before the end of 1935, but then became more definite, also on this side of the scale. Then the British factor, which because of your desire for peace in the meantime had become smaller after 1922, began to grow in stature. The American side also dwindled

a little bit ; it shrunk quite a good deal after 1922 ; again after 1936 it grew up again. So you may say that this side of the scale, especially with China wearing down Japanese power at the present time, is already coming back and back. And naturally there is less and less fear of the Japanese being able or attempting to bite at anybody else apart from China, and of course in the case of China, it is not a matter of biting at all. It is a matter of pushing the fist into soft glue. So you can easily see that from the point of view of the balance of forces the time will soon come when things will be different, but I am afraid we must do this "gluing" business a little longer, because it is good for the souls of our neighbours. This process will probably go on for a year or two years, and then, when the new balance is reached, we hope it will be a much better peace than the Pacific regions have ever had. That is one hypothesis. But that hypothesis, I am afraid you will say, is a little unreal, because of the threatened difficulties in Europe.

Now, if there should be an open conflict in Europe within the period of a year or two years, what would be the effect on the Far Eastern situation? I think the question would arise as to how the Chinese factor in this larger struggle might be made effective because of the potential power residing in China's human resources. Therefore if there should be a conflict in Europe, I think efforts would be made by the democratic Powers to increase the effectiveness of China as a partner in the larger struggle. So we can easily see two alternatives, and I still hope that the first alternative may be realised, because it involves fighting on the part of China alone. We have, I think, humbly done our share, and we do not wish to pull anyone into the war, but yet if there should be a general war, I think China would also not shun her responsibilities.

In conclusion may I just read one paragraph of a speech given by the Generalissimo? A statement was made by Prince Konoye, the then Japanese Premier, on December 22nd last, and there was a reply by the Generalissimo on the 26th. This is a paragraph from the Generalissimo's statement :

"The aims of this war in so far as China is concerned are to complete the task of national revolution and to secure for China independence, liberty and equality, and internationally to uphold right and justice, to restore the sanctity of treaties and to rebuild peace and order. This is a war between might and right. It is a war between a law observer and a law breaker. It is a war between justice and brute force. A Chinese proverb says : 'The virtuous one is never alone. He always has neighbours.' Right and justice must emerge victorious.

We must hold fast to our stand, fix our eyes on our goal and be firmly determined. The greater the difficulties are the stronger we resist. The entire nation carries on the struggle. The final victory must be ours. I hope our comrades and armies and the people of the nation as a whole will redouble their efforts to attain our goal."

That is the temper of the struggle in China. I have tried to give you some kind of picture of the present situation in China and to suggest two hypotheses along which we might try to seek some sort of pattern for the future.

Summary of Discussion.

MR. H. S. JEVONS asked whether the lecturer had not been rather optimistic in relation to the future having regard to the difficulties of obtaining munitions. He thought all the great ports of China and the coasts were occupied or controlled by the Japanese. It seemed that the only routes available would be from Russia or from Europe via Burma, landing munitions in Rangoon and taking them fourteen hundred miles by road. The quantity which could be taken by this route seemed insufficient for the enormous armies still being kept in the field. What were the facilities for the manufacture of armaments in Chungking and similar places?

DR. CHANG replied that a conservative estimate showed that the stored up arms would be sufficient for a year, after the cutting off of Canton. Some people estimated that the supplies would be sufficient for two years. This was why the Chinese had kept the Canton-Hankow road open for so long, in order to import arms. Now small arsenals had been set up in different parts in West China, some around Chungking. There were factories for the manufacture of aeroplanes, hand grenades and there was also some supply of heavy arms, artillery and tanks. The latter had not been used very much, and were now being withdrawn to areas where their manipulators were receiving better instruction in the use of modern forms of warfare. They would not be needed for six months or a year. Small arms which would be needed could be supplied.

He had himself recently travelled along part of the road mentioned, from Rangoon, and had a map of it with him. Trucks carrying about three tons could travel on the road now, and it was hoped to improve it so that five-ton trucks could be sent later. Of course the rainy season would damage it to some extent, but there were large numbers of workers available to keep it in repair. The north-western route through Chinese Turkestan was open, and a certain amount of arms was coming in that way. Occasionally there would be some shortage in one particular line or article, but this could usually be supplied within two or three months by fresh importations, and there was no real concern over a shortage of armaments.

MR. F. C. JONES said that the lecturer had stated that one third of the Chinese forces would be sent to co-operate in the guerilla warfare, using mobile tactics. This would be approximately eight hundred thousand men. Who would be responsible for their training in mobile fighting? Secondly, how would these troops be fed and receive supplies in the coastal provinces?

DR. CHANG replied that the mobile forces would go into the invaded provinces and would be commanded by regular officers, not of the 8th Route Army alone. The warfare would not consist of strictly guerilla tactics. Their bases would be the mountains in those districts. As to feeding the troops, during the last two years the harvests as he had said had been exceptionally good all over the country and in the cotton-growing areas the farmers had been told not to plant cotton, but to plant grain. The troops could travel from one side of the railway to the other, especially during the night, and could carry a certain amount of supplies with them. Obviously in a final analysis the number of people sent into a district would depend upon the amount of supplies available for them in that area.

QUESTION: Would the lecturer give some explanation of the peace offer which had been made recently?

DR. CHANG said that Wang Ching-wei, although it was variously reported that he was in Hongkong or Shanghai, on January 7th or 8th was still in Hanoi and had not left that part of the world. It would, naturally, not be very convenient for him at present to visit any part of the world where there were large numbers of Chinese. He left Chungking on December 18th and flew to Indo-China on the 19th. Prince Konoye made his statement to the world about the new order in East Asia on December 22nd. The Generalissimo answered him on December 26th. Wang Ching-wei made a statement on December 29th. The statement of Prince Konoye demanded a new order in East Asia under the hegemony of Japan, with China under her control and all trading interests in that part of the world also under her control. The Generalissimo replied that he must fight for an independent China and, as to the Japanese offer not to claim indemnities, he answered that should she conquer the whole of China she would not need them, for the whole country would be hers. Mr. Wang Ching-wei had evidently thought it wiser to make a statement accepting the Japanese terms with qualifications. This seemed to the Chinese rather naïve; it would be like trying to take food out of the tiger's mouth by asking him for something to eat. It was not officially considered that Mr. Wang Ching-wei had definitely committed treason, but that he had made a very unwise and inopportune move. The explanation was most probably that this move had been begun about the middle of November, but in the meantime two things had happened. One was the lightning speed with which reorganisation of the Chinese forces was effected by the Generalissimo's visits. Mr. Wang Ching-wei under-estimated the strength of the Chinese army and he had made his plans at the time when the Generalissimo was still visiting the troops in the field. He had called his Conference on November 27th. The situation had become clear only in early December. During the two weeks after the withdrawal from Hankow there was a great deal of apparent disorder and nervousness. Mr. Wang Ching-wei was afraid that disorder might continue and that the Chinese forces would not be reorganised so quickly. That was one miscalculation. Then another factor which he misunderstood was the attitude of the democratic Powers of Great Britain and the United States of America. As they had not acted before our withdrawal from Canton and Hankow, he thought that after the fall of these places surely they would not act. On the contrary, the democratic Powers had at this moment begun to

take some notice, due to the stupidity of the invading forces on the coast who had gravely disturbed foreign trade. At last they had begun to understand Japanese intentions. So they had taken some action in the form of financial and commercial credits and loans and by a definite statement with regard to the Nine-Power Treaty. Mr. Wang Ching-wei had already gone too far when he knew of the re-organisation of the Chinese armies and the British and American action. The Generalissimo, however, had taken a magnificent attitude and now the whole incident was closed, leaving the atmosphere of determination and confidence clearer than before.

MR. R. T. BARRETT said that the 8th Route Army had excited a great deal of interest, and there were some people who thought that it would be the source of a nationalist movement in China similar to nationalist movements in some other countries. The same people thought that the overture of peace from Prince Konoye had been made on account of his fear of this happening. His retirement had been caused by the extremists under General Araki taking a different attitude and ignoring events in China.

DR. CHANG said that the numbers in the 8th Route Army were not surprisingly large. The national forces were quite large, and it must also be remembered that the 8th Route Army was now a part of a national force. Concerning the influence of the 8th Route Army on Chinese policy, there was not a single Minister in the Government who was a Communist. There was one Communist Vice-Chairman of the Political Training Department under the Military Affairs Commission. He was an old student of the lecturer who had spoken with him recently and had not found him so very "Red." He had told the lecturer to look out in Europe and America for apologists, who would be much more to the Left than the Chinese Communists, some of whom had done much harm. Communist influence in China and its danger lay only in the minds of Japan and her friends. Japan's only aim was to subdue China. There remained, however, the problem of co-operation between the ruling Party and the Communists, and this would doubtless take place along democratic lines. The Communists were few in number, and would not be politically prominent as long as democratic government was maintained.

QUESTION: Would the lecturer give some information about the refugee problem in China?

DR. CHANG said that the refugee problem was tremendous. The National Relief Commission had been able to do something, and the funds received from abroad had greatly relieved suffering and also stimulated the moral efforts on the part of the Chinese. The very disturbed conditions made it impossible for statistics to be taken. Again, China had no Old Age Pensions, no Unemployment Insurance and was extremely backward industrially, but because of this she was able to absorb refugees and unemployed and aged people under the old social system. So to-day the refugees moved about, and large numbers of them appeared and disappeared, cared for by their friends or families. This did not mean that there was not a very great deal of suffering. Different districts and provinces were taking part in relief work and co-operating with the National Relief Commission.

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Special areas had been set aside in the western areas of the country for the keeping, training and rearing of refugee children. In this respect Madame Chiang Kai-shek had been a wonderful leader as well as an admirable help-mate to her husband, accompanying him on all his dangerous exploits and adventures. In the invaded areas the missionaries were doing splendid work, and on his arrival in England the lecturer had been pleased and gratified to hear of the Lord Mayor's Fund and also the work of the China Campaign Committee and other groups working for relief in China. Such work would strengthen the ties of friendship which bound Great Britain and China.

QUESTION: What brought hope to the Chinese? In the terrible and almost hopeless world of to-day there did not seem any reason for anyone to hope: the old reasons for hoping were gone. China seemed to have lived by something more hopeful perhaps than any other country. What was it?

DR. CHANG said that it must be remembered that China was still a child in modern nation-building, and as a child could still conceive of the joy of making something, not yet having enjoyed it. So now they were resisting and nation-building at the same time. They did not conceive this war of resistance as taking place between two formed nations, but as a necessary process in building a Chinese nation. This idea of building a nation helped and supported the Chinese. If it were asked: Why should they want to build a nation? The answer could only be that they were as foolish as anybody else.

QUESTION: What was the position of Russia in the scheme drawn by the lecturer?

DR. CHANG said that Russia had not begun to assist China till after the League of Nations Assembly had taken action in September 1937. The Assembly had asked the Powers not to make Chinese resistance more difficult, and had told them that they might aid China individually. Only after this decision had Russia begun to do anything. She had been very afraid of doing anything by herself. During the last year the Turkestan road had been open and a certain amount of material had been sent from Russia to China. Spare parts had been sent to be assembled in China, and Chinese products, such as tea, had been sent out, and trade had been more or less on the barter system. Camel caravans were used to carry petrol because camels did not drink petrol and trucks did. Russian experts had come to train Chinese pilots in the use of Russian aeroplanes. There was not any real Russian influence. Advice had also been taken from German friends of China, though this might seem strange. The leader of the German military mission to China had only recently made a statement in Berlin that he believed in the ultimate victory of China. All foreign military experts found the Chinese astonishingly stupid in some respects and surprisingly resourceful in others, because at the beginning they had been unable to understand the Chinese way of fighting. Use had been made of their technical skill in training large forces, in providing means of defence, in surveying territory, etc., but when it came to the manipulation and use of the armies, especially when it came to spiritual control, foreign experts agreed that the Chinese Generals were developing a psychological strategy of their own.

BENEVOLENT WORK

(Continued from Page 4)

Medical Missionary Society Dr. Jardine frequently helped Parker in his surgical operations. He had upon one occasion, in order to secure the consent of a man to a life-saving amputation, given the sufferer fifty dollars.

The list of the original officers, directors and members of the Society included the leading British and American officials, business men and missionaries of Canton. Recorded on the mural tablet in memory of the founders of the Society are seen the names of William Jardine, Peter Parker, Rev. E. C. Bridgman, James Matheson, A. Matheson, John R. Morrison, R. Turner, A. Inglis, G. T. Lay, J. Hine, T. H. Layton, J. Archer, E. Moller, Dr. T. R. Colledge, R. Inglis, A. Anderson, C. W. King, and John C. Green.

Universal Benevolence

Howqua, the Senior Chinese Hong merchant, provided the Hospital building and kept it in repair, because, as he said, "My heart likes this business too." The Hospital has been known as the "Pok Tsai Yee Yuen," the Hospital of Universal Benevolence, now a household word through South China. More than one president of China and many Chinese officials have contributed to its funds and eulogised its work.

The history of the Canton Hospital is interestingly told in the volume "At the Point of the Lancet," written by Dr. W. W. Cadbury and Miss Jones, and published by Kelly and Walsh.

Although the Canton Hospital has always been the headquarters, the Medical Missionary Society has conducted hospitals throughout Kwangtung Province, and in other parts of China. Dr. William Lockhart carried the light of medical science to Shanghai and then to Peiping, the Imperial Capital. Dr. James Hepburn, another agent of the Society, later went to Japan as the first medical missionary to the Japanese Empire; so that through this Society modern medicine was introduced into Japan. Dr. John G. Kerr who was for forty-five years in charge of the Canton Hospital, and afterwards founded the first Hospital for the Insane in China, was the first President of the Chinese Medical Association, and the first editor of the *Chinese Medical Journal*. Dr. Benjamin Hobson first made accessible to the scholars and physicians of this vast empire scientific text books in the Chinese language.

Among the men of faith and work in our Hospital we must mention the old "Fa Wong" (King of Flowers) who, after serving zealously as gardener for forty-five years, passed away before the occupation of Canton. He expressed his assurance that the Almighty would not permit the destruction of the Hospital. He began his career as the chair-bearer of the hospital physicians; but his determination to get the doctor to the patient at the earliest possible moment, through the narrow crowded streets of the City of Rams, made him a danger to the populace; for the ends of the chair-poles were tipped with solid brass.

Worked in Partnership

The Medical Missionary Society, while owning and maintaining the properties, has continuously worked in partnership with the Mission Boards, who have provided and maintained the foreign physicians to staff its hospitals. The present hospital site was bought with money given by a group of Americans living in Boston. The property has been registered at the American Consulate General, Canton.

The Medical School is appropriately named for a former student, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. During his lifetime he

always maintained an interest in the School and Hospital, and himself contributed to it. When laying the cornerstone of the new hospital building, a prominent official declared that much of Dr. Sun's dissatisfaction with conditions existing in China, and his new ideas and thoughts, were developed while studying in it. From there they spread throughout China.

A few years ago, a permanent affiliation was consummated between Lingnan University, Canton Hospital, and Hackett Medical Centre, in order to raise the standard of medical education. In those three institutions, Americans, British and Chinese have co-operated in conducting modern, high-standard medical work on foreign-controlled property. These institutions are fine examples of friendly internationalism in science and education. Such institutions are helping to hasten the coming of the Golden Age, when the will of the Father of all mankind will be done on earth even as it is done in Heaven.

Varied Experiences

In preparing the plans for the present buildings of the Hospital and Medical School, the many varied experiences through which the institution had passed through its long and eventful history were considered. Among them were wars, international and civil; boycotts; blockades of the city; and of the Hospital by labour agitators; floods; fires; typhoons; and white ants. But pitiless aerial bombings of an open city and its population were not anticipated. During the past year, hundreds of victims, all civilians, men, women and children, were cared for in the Canton Hospital and the Hackett Medical Centre. Our institutions were fortunately not destroyed by bombs of fire. They are therefore still functioning, though under adverse conditions, full of poor patients, admitted chiefly from the refugee camps. Present operation of the hospitals is made possible only by those who have contributed through the International and the American Red Cross and the Lord Mayor's Fund and privately as well.

Because of the unique status of the Medical Missionary Society, the American and British Consuls-General of Canton have through most of its history, served as trustees of the property. Recently the present Consuls-General inspected the institutions on the Canton Hospital compound and attended a meeting of the executive committee and of the trustees of the Society.

The present officers of the Society are: President, Dr. A. J. Fisher; Vice-Presidents, Dr. J. S. Kunkle, Rev. G. H. McNeur; Secretary, Dr. J. O. Thomson; Board of Trustees, Dr. C. W. Shoop, Dr. R. L. Lancaster, Dr. A. J. Fisher, Dr. T. A. Broadfoot, Prof. C. N. Laird and Rev. A. H. Bray.

The administration is in the hands of a Board of Directors, comprising Dr. J. O. Thomson, (Chairman), Dr. W. W. Cadbury, Dr. R. L. Lancaster (Secty.), Dr. F. Oldt. Dr. Cadbury is Superintendent of the Hospital.

Upon the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary, the British Consul-General, Sir Challoner Alabaster, stated that fifty years later others would be commemorating the centennial of the Society, because of the importance of the institution and its work. At present, during the temporary military occupations of Canton, the city is dead. Therefore the fitting commemoration of the centenary must await the return to normal. We have faith to believe that one hundred years hence, Americans, British and Chinese will celebrate the second centennial of this unique Society.—Contributed.

G. J. O. Thomson

Jan. 21, 1939.

NG POST, SATURDAY,

BENEVOLENT WORK

Founding of Missionary Society of Canton

HUNDRED YEARS AGO

The Canton Medical Missionary Society, originally known as the Medical Missionary Society in China, has now been in existence for one hundred years. The Society was organised in 1838.

The organisation of this Society was a stupendous, an amazing conception, the grandest scheme of benevolence the world has seen attempted by man; a scheme animated by the great heart of Christendom and embracing the whole pagan East.

Three years earlier, in 1835, the Canton Hospital was founded by Peter Parker, the doctor who "opened China at the point of the lancet when foreign cannon could not heave a single bar." In 1935 the centennial of the Canton Hospital was commemorated. The Chinese Medical Association met at the Canton Hospital for this event. The new Canton Hospital was opened, and the cornerstone of the Dr. Sun Yat-sen Medical College was laid.

Object of Society

Dr. Peter Parker, Dr. T. R. Colledge, and Rev. E. C. Bridgman jointly prepared the prospectus of the Society. The object was to conduct the Canton Hospital and to establish and maintain other hospitals and dispensaries throughout the whole of the Celestial Empire; for to them "it was affecting to contemplate this Empire where almost all the light of true science is unknown, and where Christianity has scarcely shed one genial ray—to see the multitudes who are here suffering under maladies from which the hand of charity is able to relieve them."

So in 1838 a public meeting called by Colledge, Bridgman and Parker, was held in the rooms of the General Chamber of Commerce in Canton. Dr. William Jardine, founder of the "princely house" was called upon to take the chair. He explained the purpose, which was to organise a

(Continued on Page 22.)

Examination Hall, North China Theological Seminary
Tenghsien, Shantung, China
January 2nd, 1939

Dear Friends:

This bright winter morning finds 19 students and myself seated in the hall, asking and answering questions in theology. Like Van Oosterzee an endeavor is made to teach practical theology, as a few of the examination questions will show: e.g., "What are the proofs (according to Gillespie, the "marks") of regeneration? What is the essential difference between true repentance and repentance according to the world? Even to the end of life, saints still have the remnants of a corrupt nature. How then at death are they made perfectly holy? This last question may not be as easy as some think. It is true here as it is at home that a spiritual, heart-gripping knowledge is quite different from mere textbook knowledge.

In spite of wars, rumors, and bandits, 28 students showed up at the beginning of the term in September—the number soon increasing to 42. The prospect is that the next term, beginning Jan. 20, will show a further increase, but much depends on the hindrances which the Arch Enemy may put in the way of new students coming and former students returning. It is certain that a number, including one of the teachers, will not be able to pass the military barrier.

The aves diaboli still fly over our heads, but since the city fell into hands of the enemy, we have no fear of any eggs being dropped on us. Should the city be retaken, then we may expect to hear the windows rattle again. When those birds fly in a direct course there is no cause for alarm, but when they begin to circle around, then it is certain that mischief is in the air (literally), and when one dips then all hold their breath waiting for the inevitable explosion—and they don't have long to wait.

Our more recent danger is from the bandits. As I have already written some of you, a well-armed band has not hesitated to enter our premises twice at night and rob the Chinese whom they knew had money. In each case they went direct to the right door which showed inside collusion. One would have thought that none of these refugees who owed their lives to our protection would have been so hardened as to give information regarding their companions; but the love of money is a potent source of evil, and there is no question but that they received a bonus for their dastardliness. Seeing that there was at least one dark angel among the refugees, they were all, with the exception of a few whom we knew personally, excused from further protection. In the case of one man, not a Christian, who was carried off for ransom, it afterwards transpired that among his captors were some of his neighbors, and yet "these people don't need Christianity, their own religion is good enough for them!" Kidnapers, men sold to Satan, do these things in America, but they seldom are one's own neighbors. The religions of the East, amid all their banality, have some striking precepts; e.g., see the Taoist Book of Rewards and Punishments, but they do not seem to have any more restraining power than the dead hand of Gregory. Too often to quote them is only so much waste breath, and the value in which they are estimated may be seen from the remark of an official—a man holding the Hanlin degree—the highest known in China, when coming into my study he found me poring over the Four Books, he asked: "What are you reading those old books for?" According to the late Ku Hung Ming, a graduate of Edinburgh, the Four Books are to the Confucianist what the New Testament is to a Christian.

Thus far a kind Providence has protected our little group of foreigners, fifteen adults and three small children, though we hear that inquiry has been made as to who has the most money. (Solomon says that "the destruction of the poor is their poverty", but sometimes it works the other way.) Recently I saw a statement in an old book saying that constant exposure hardens one to danger, and it is doubtless true in the main for none of us here have lost their equilibrium, or have spoken of fleeing to a safer place. A new danger has just loomed up. New Year's eve a missive was thrust through the door of our evangelistic compound demanding \$5000 and giving directions as to where it should be handed over—the first time that such a demand has

ever been made here, and it will not be met for the obvious reason that the whole community put together does not have that much ready money. (And we would not do it anyhow.)

As the postoffice is in the hands of the "inimici" and we have been warned to be judicious in expressing ourselves on paper, comments on the war are taboo. However we hope and pray that the aggressor nations everywhere will receive the due reward of their iniquity, and that national and individual freedom may be preserved, also that the Chamberlinites may soon awake to their danger and listen no longer to words which "are as smooth as butter." There is no doubt but that the Open Door will be kept open in one direction, but only a very small crack left in other directions. The quiescent nations are blamed for "not understanding the new situation in the East," but we understand perfectly how the new situation was mapped out in advance, just as it was in 1894 and 1931. To both those "incidents" foreign nations meekly bowed the knee with the natural result of increased audacity. There is consolation in the thought that when the aggressive powers find it no longer possible to play knife and fork with weaker nations, or even before that time, they will whet their teeth on each other.

It is a pleasure to turn from these things which are "earthly, sensual, and devilish" to the kingdom of love and peace which is an everlasting kingdom and whose dominion passeth not away. What the final results of the present conflict may be, no one can yet foretell, but it is patent to everyone that a great change has taken place in the attitude of the people as a whole toward those who represent the cause of Christ among them, and who have shared their dangers. We cannot say that there is much appreciation of the attitude of the great democratic powers; on the contrary there has been deep disappointment, but there is a strong approval of the spirit of Christianity. Many have been added to the church—I hope not too hastily, for while a Presbyterian as to doctrine, I am in this respect a Methodist as to practice. Classes have been formed for further instruction—here at least by the request of the inquirers. A hopeful sign also for the future is found in the number of children who are voluntarily attending classes especially designed for them. They may forget much of what has been taught, but the hymns which they have learned to sing will remain with them, just as those which were learned from my mother over 75 years ago have remained with me. Arius almost wrecked the Church with his views as to who Christ was, but he showed wisdom in weaving his ideas into songs for every class of people to sing—"the farmer at his plow, the weaver at his loom, and the sailor before the mast." The above is encouraging, but if the experience of 56 years of Mission work is of any value, it shows that Satan and his assistants will soon devise some counteracting agency. We pray and trust that the Lord will not permit the Gates of Hell to prevail as they are now doing in Korea where the Christians, that is, the genuine Christians, are suffering persecution because they will not unite the worship of the Emperor and the spirits of dead notabilities along with that of Christ. The enforcing of Shintoism is now beginning in Manchuria also. It is the same type of persecution that prevailed in the Roman empire: one was permitted to worship Christ if he worshipped Caesar also, but he was not allowed to worship Christ alone. Some of the wise men—not men of experience—who have recently visited the Orient, say that the Korean missionaries and Christians who refuse to compromise—and pari passu, the Christians of the first three centuries are dead wrong. They might take a leaf of wisdom from the words of Dr. Blodgett, the Nestor 60 years ago of the American Board Mission; "Where principles are involved, compromises are always wrong."

Critics who are always harping on the old tune that Chinese Christians always have some ulterior, low motive in view, may have difficulty in explaining the following. Several years ago, a Chinese military officer, moved by what he had seen of Christian fortitude, resigned from the army in order to become a soldier of the Lord. In course of time he graduated from this Seminary, and, being an outstanding man, was offered a position at a salary considerably above that usually received by new graduates. He refused it, going instead to the coal mines where there was only a small band of Christians, and they poor, nor did he ask or receive any aid from the Mission. Now at the end of his first two years and a half, he has a church of

241 members and over 200 inquirers. Of course he is an exceptionally able man, and part of this ingathering is due to his wife, a devoted little woman who studied here in the Women's Bible Seminary while he was taking his theological course. Personally, I have endeavored to impress the students with the importance of going where the need was the greatest, not where the salary was highest and the work easiest. That is the only genuine "Following in the Footsteps of St. Paul."

It will not be feasible probably to write you again during term time. The Seminary has, under God's hand, been built up by its teaching, and so far as is possible, this one thing I do, though finance, troubles without, and miscellanea all take their quota of time. One of the things which I enjoy most is the questionnaire hour, when the tables are turned and the students question me instead of the usual procedure. No flippant questions are asked, but such as,-- How can the unchangeable God be said to repent?--this seems to us absolutely contradictory. The Bible says, "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God," but again it says, "Whom no man hath seen or can see"; shall we then ever see Him? Please explain the resurrection spoken of in Mt. 27:52-53. I have learned to have questions handed in to me several days in advance--and then, to use a General Assembly phrase, at times have to ask that "the committee be continued!" These questionnaires are valuable to me as they show what the students are thinking about, and bring out difficulties which might more or less, if not solved, engender injurious doubts and distrust. Might I suggest that some of you who are S. S. teachers, give your classes a similar opportunity. Perhaps you do. Of course, being, as I was once told, only a missionary, I would not dare to intimate that it might stir up new interest in the pews (and possible stir up the pastor himself) if, say once a month, he would use such a procedure. If I have spoken too freely, please remember that I am now in my 82nd year, and so take liberties that might be unbecoming in a younger man.

Speaking of age, reminds me that #156 has listed me some time ago as "Retired," which is sadly at variance with the facts. I would agree with Dr. Alexis Carrel in his "Man, the Unknown," in saying that physiological age and chronological age are not the same, and that there are no means of ascertaining at what age a man should be retired. I would add that there are men, like Dr. Hunter Corbett, who are more effective at 70 than some other missionaries are at 30. We cannot measure everything by the clock. I should enjoy hearing from some at least of you, for being few in number we get lonesome. I will not undertake, though, to reply except in these semi-annuals, which I hope to continue until retired by a Higher Power than even our Board Secretaries are.

With New Year's greetings and Christian love to youaall, including "as many as have not seen my face in the flesh," I am

Yours sincerely,

W. M. Hayes

A M E R I C A ' S S T A K E I N C H I N A

EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS OF C. H. FRENCH, VICE PRESIDENT, CHINESE-AMERICAN FOREIGN TRADE COUNCIL 27TH ANNUAL MEETING, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES

Washington, D. C. - May 2, 1939.

A survey of the Far East as a market for American products discloses at once the fact that our export trade with Asia has been - and in all probability will continue to be - largely confined to China, Japan and the Philippine Islands. x x x x

Important as is our present and prospective trade with Japan and the Philippines the potentialities of China are so great as to justify the prediction that (if permitted to retain her sovereignty as contemplated by the nine-power treaty) she will within the next generation, eclipse every other Nation in the World as a market for United States products. I shall return to this thesis later on. For the moment I wish to place before you a few statistics relative to Japan and the Philippines which have a direct bearing upon what I shall have to say regarding China.

Prospectively, there are good reasons for the belief that, even after the Commonwealth attains its independence, such trade will continue to increase in volume (provided the political and territorial integrity of this island Republic remains unimpaired) and that before another ten years shall have elapsed our annual exports to the Philippines will have passed the \$100,000,000 mark. x x I am convinced that the Philippines will eventually excel Japan as a market for American products.

The Japanese Empire has a land area of 263,000 square miles and a population of 99,000,000. The value of our exports to that country during the seven years immediately preceding the outbreak of the present Sino-Japanese war averaged \$172,000,000 a year. x x x I believe that our peace-time export trade with Japan has reached its zenith and that shortly hereafter the tendency will be downward until we arrive at a more or less stabilized level of \$150,000,000 per annum. This view is based upon the fact that the program of intensive industrial development of Japan proper, to which she has been so unswervingly committed since the termination of the World War, has now been substantially completed. In such situation we might justifiably expect our trade with her to continue indefinitely at the high point coinciding with such completion, were it not for the fact that approximately one-third of the value of our annual exports to Japan represents raw cotton - - a staple which she will hereafter be able to obtain from the Asiatic mainland in ever-increasing quantities and at a price which American cotton growers cannot meet. In any case, there is little to support the hope that our trade with the Empire as at present constituted will continue to expand.

Reverting now to the Chinese Republic, it is to be noted that here we have a vast and densely populated country which, under the provisions of the nine-power treaty is to be preserved in perpetuity as a land of equal commercial opportunity for all foreign Nations. Her area is greater than that of the United States; her population is in excess of 450,000,000; her natural resources are enormous; her projected industrialization, as planned by her Government is on a scale comparable to that which has characterized the development of our own country west of the Mississippi since the completion of our first railway to the Pacific.

During the interval between 1911 and 1929 China was reduced to a chaotic condition by reason of constant civil warfare and ever-changing political and military regimes. The succeeding years have been marked by the emergence of the present Central Government, the suppression of the rebellious war-lords, the establishment of law and order in regions formerly given over to anarchy and brigandage, and the adoption of progressive measures calculated to promote the general welfare. The Government is now headed by a group of able Chinese who are sincerely devoted to the task of securing for their country a worthy and honorable position in the Family of Nations.

These truly remarkable achievements by the Chinese Government have an extremely important bearing upon our prospective trade with that country. The value of our exports to China (including Hongkong and Kwantung) during the seven years immediately preceding the Japanese invasion averages \$75,000,000 a year. Now comes what I regard as a significant comparison: From the figures heretofore given we find that, on a per capita basis, the annual purchase of American products by China and Japan amounts to 17 cents and \$2.08 respectively. Examine the question from every possible angle and I am satisfied that your conclusion will coincide with mine, namely: That Japan's per capita demand for foreign products exceeds that of China in almost direct proportion to the degree of industrial development which has been attained by each. Allowing a liberal margin for corrections, I am convinced that the industrialization of China on a par with Japan as planned by the Chinese, will, within the next generation, operate to give to the United States thereafter a steady export trade with China to the value of \$750,000,000 per annum, to say nothing of the enormous quantities of capital goods

which will be required of us in the meantime while the intensive construction program is in process. Our greatest all-time customer in the past has been the United Kingdom, where we now have a well established market in excess of \$500,000,000 a year. America stands ready to fight, if necessary, to protect her trade with Great Britain. Does not every consideration of self-interest demand that we be equally ready and prepared to protect our trade with a country which, if permitted to retain its sovereignty, is destined to become our greatest all-time customer of the future? It is not a question of incurring risks for the purpose of protecting American investments in China which, after all, amounts to only \$250,000,000; it is a question of incurring whatever risks may be necessary to protect a prospective market in China and the Philippines of not less than \$1,000,000,000 per annum. Weigh this against America's problem of present and future unemployment and overproduction, and decide for yourselves what the risk is worth to the United States in terms of public welfare! x x x x I wish to make it clear that all my predictions up to this point are based upon the premise that China is to emerge from her present ordeal with her political and territorial integrity unimpaired. Before concluding my remarks tonight, I shall have something to say relative to what we may expect in case such premise should prove to be unfounded.

It is in order to comment briefly upon the status of China's commerce during the war-interval. Roughly speaking, the entire Eastern third of the country is under the military control of the Japanese; the middle third is a no-man's-land of raids and counter-raids and guerilla warfare; while the Western third is securely held and defended by the Chinese. In this situation the Chinese have been forced to abandon, for the time being, that part of their contemplated industrial program which relates to areas occupied by or accessible to the enemy, and to concentrate upon the immediate development of an inland empire inaccessible to Japanese warships and too far distant for effective attack by air. Securely entrenched behind the great natural barriers of Szechuan in a region selected by their leaders some five or six years ago in anticipation of the possibility of being obliged to wage a war of attrition against the expected invader, they are actively engaged in the task of building up this great area. The completion of the Burmah-Szechuan Railway (now under construction) will give a tremendous impetus to every class of enterprise throughout all of this virgin territory. America has not thus far made any effort to participate in this extensive market.

As regards Japanese commercial tactics in the regions under their control, it is to be noted that Japan has resorted to every device within her power (short of overt and acknowledged hostility) to exclude other nations from direct participation in trade with the Chinese. To this end she has erected trade-barriers in the form of great subsidized monopolies invested with quasi-sovereign power over the foreign and domestic commerce of the aforesaid regions. The will of these monopolistic organizations over all matters relating to trade is absolute.-- they being authorized to call for naval and military assistance to enforce their arbitrary decisions. In this connection I have recently received letters from various members of the Shanghai American Chamber of Commerce from which I quote as follows:--

"Japanese commercial vessels are operating every day on the Yangtze and Pearl Rivers, but nobody else is permitted to do so. Foreigners are not even allowed on the Japanese boats, unless they have all kinds of passes and special permissions -- which they cannot secure.

"In the occupied territory the Japanese have seized all means of transportation, communications, public utilities and all industrial undertakings. They have also seized all natural resources such as mines, etc. Merchants in the interior are not allowed to stock or sell imported goods other than Japanese, and farmers are not allowed to sell their produce except to Japanese or Japanese-sponsored concerns. From these facts you can readily see what chance the foreigner has, especially when he is not even allowed to visit his customers. The Japanese are making a few purchases from foreigners but this is only because they cannot get supplies from Japan, and they tell you quite frankly that as soon as supplies are available from Japan they will not want any foreign goods and that as soon as they have things going properly in China, they will have all the raw material they need."

When Nations go to war with each other, we as neutrals must, of course, expect that our trade with the belligerents will be dislocated during the war-period. We cannot, however view with equanimity any organized attempt on the part of either belligerent to exclude us permanently from an area wherein our trading rights have been so and so justly established as in China.

It remains for me to comment upon Japan's objective in her war upon China, and the extent to which our future trade position in the Orient is thereby menaced. There are some here in America who hold that the conquest and complete subjugation of China by Japan would benefit the United States, both politically and economically. In support of such doctrine they argue that Japan would thereupon revert to the arts of peace and that our loss in trade with China would be more than compensated by the resultant increase in our trade with Japan. Far from subscribing to such views, I am convinced that a strong, free and independent China is our best assurance of lasting peace within

America's sphere of interest in the Pacific, and that our prospective trade with the Orient will suffer irreparably in case Japan should succeed in imposing her will upon the country she has so ruthlessly invaded.

I wonder to what extent the American public has read and pondered upon the contents of the Tanaka Memorial in the light of the unprovoked war which Japan is now waging against China. A translation of that sinister document has been issued in pamphlet form by the Columbia Publishing Company of Seattle, Washington, and is now available to all who may care to acquaint themselves with the "MeinKampf" of Japanese imperialism. It warns us that the present invasion has for its objective the creation of a super-state that shall rule the Pacific. It describes in detail the procedure to be adopted with this end in view, and portrays with disquieting accuracy the methods which have thus far characterized the piratical campaign now in progress. It gives the lie to current assurances of goodwill and frankly discloses the intention of its followers to crush China, take over the monopolistic control of her economic resources, and convert her man-power into an invincible Japanese-owned instrument of aggression. A well known foreign statesman and diplomat says of this document:

"General Tanaka's famous Memorial of 1927 set forth a program of Japanese expansion, involving the defeat of America and Russia, in which Japanese imperialism is raised to the height of insane megalomania. It is an astounding document. Official Japanese claims that the Tanaka Memorial is a forgery do not weaken its persuasive force by one iota. THERE IS NO FORGING SUCH A TEXT! IN ANY CASE, JAPAN'S POLICIES DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS SUPPLY IRREFUTABLE PROOFS OF ITS AUTHENTICITY."

Surely there is nothing here to indicate that, following the conquest of China, Japan intends to keep the peace of Asia!

The courageous and sustained resistance of the Chinese is a factor which neither Baron Tanaka nor the present Japanese warlords anticipated. The Chinese armies may well be regarded as America's first line of defense against the menace which threatens us in the Pacific. In this situation the United States is confronted with two alternatives. We may passively continue to cherish the hope that China will eventually repel the invader and thereby "keep us out of War" or, on the other hand, we may take immediate action to convert such hope into a certainty. The trend of our Government toward the latter alternative meets with the unqualified approval of every well informed American citizen. Our future security in the Pacific is at stake and any policy of appeasement can serve only to add to the measure of our ultimate humiliation.

Adherence to the Open Door agreement constitutes an insuperable obstacle to Japan's objective, hence she insists that the nine-power treaty is obsolete. She needs time, however, in which to construct a substitute to her liking, and during the preliminary stages of the work she must be at peace with the United States. It is, therefore, to be expected that she will seek to convince us of her honorable intentions by making a persuasive appeal to our cupidity. She will gladly agree to guarantee to us in perpetuity three times the volume of our present trade with China, if only we will agree in our turn to forget about the Open Door and appoint her trading monopolies in China as our sole agents for the sale of American products to the Chinese. However tempting the bait, we may rest assured that it conceals a hook. We are not blind to the potentialities of this great undeveloped field of trade. Let us have free access to the China market under the terms of the nine-power treaty and we shall not only benefit in terms of national prosperity beyond anything that Japan can offer but we shall also have been instrumental in forestalling the development of a Frankenstein among the family of nations.

Should Japan succeed in her designs upon China, we stand to lose not only our China market but also our trade with the Philippines. Moreover, we shall in such case eventually be obliged to wage a war of self-defense infinitely costly to us in both blood and treasure.

I venture to assert that there is no other foreign country wherein America has so much at stake as she does in China, and that nowhere else in the World do we find ourselves confronted with such impelling reasons for taking immediate and effective action to safeguard our interests.

FAR EASTERN NEWS AND THE AMERICAN PRESS

The curious and sometimes shocking apathy of the average mid-westerner towards Japan's war upon China, including a certain indifference to the question of America's vital economic support for the Japanese warmakers and even the cool unconcern over the suffering of 50,000,000 human souls in the Chinese interior, was made the subject of a recent study by a public opinion expert.

The first fact discovered was that the response of the people in various sections of the country to relief appeals was in direct ratio to the volume and type of news appearing in the daily press of those sections. It was learned that people living in the areas covered by newspapers like the New York Times, New York Herald-Tribune, Chicago Daily News, Christian Science Monitor, Washington Post and Star and other newspapers printing a substantial volume of news from both China and Japan gave the greatest response to appeals for medical aid to the victims of Japanese aggression and most actively supported the movement to end American aid to Japan. The least response came from the South and Mid-west where the newspapers printed the least news from China but a substantial volume of news emanating from Japanese sources.

The people of a city like Wichita, Kansas, are not more callous to human suffering than others, but they can hardly be blamed for thinking that China's resistance ended long ago and the Japanese are now merely "mopping up bandits" and "reconstructing" the Chinese countryside. The Wichita Beacon, selected as one of the typical newspapers to be analyzed, published 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ columns of news from Japan and the Japanese-occupied areas (all such news being subjected to Japanese censorship) as compared with a total of one inch from all of free China (under Chinese censors), during the first quarter of 1939.

The four typical daily newspapers selected for the survey were the Wichita Beacon, Kansas City Star, Arkansas Star and Daily Oklahoma.

The most significant and startling discovery was the proportion of news printed in those newspapers from the Chinese side and the Japanese side. All four newspapers subscribe to the Associated Press and the Wichita Beacon also subscribes to United Press and International News Service (Hearst).

The volume of news and feature stories emanating from China's war-time capital, Chungking, almost negligible. For example, the Kansas City Star published 294 column inches from Japan proper, 400-1/2 inches from Shanghai and other centers of Japanese military operations in occupied China -- and 36 inches from Chungking and other cities of free China! The ratio was about the same in all other newspapers analyzed.

Not all the dispatches from Shanghai were pro-Japanese, of course, but they were preponderantly so. Correspondents send out truthful and accurate cables but the Japanese censors work them over and the stories quite likely may be slanted towards the Japanese viewpoint by the time they get into type over here. Typical heads over Shanghai stories were:

JAPS DEFEAT CHINESE ARMY
BIG CHINESE ARMS SUPPLY DESTROYED
CHIANG ARRESTS 200 CHINESE LEADERS
CHIANG DEALT SEVERE BLOW
JAPS TRAP CHIANG'S ARMY, etc.

CHINA GETS SOVIET ARMS
HUGE PURGE OF CHINESE OFFICIALS CLAIMED
GUERRILLA CLEAN-UP NEAR END
BIG CHINESE LOSSES TOLD

This has been going on for more than a year and doubtless is responsible for the insouciance of the average middle-westerner towards China's resistance, if he is not already convinced that China lost the war long time ago and doesn't know when she is defeated.

The presence of some news favorable to China under Tokyo and Shanghai datelines indicates, not so much that the Japanese censors are generous or careless, but that correspondents have ways and means to "smuggle" uncensored news from those places just as they have from Chungking or elsewhere. The American reporter is unbeatable. It may also indicate that the press associations frequently "bundle up" all their Far Eastern cables under a single dateline regardless of its origin. For instance, the cable desk in New York, receiving separate cables from Shanghai, Tokyo, Tientsin and Hongkong on the same day, might include them all in one story on which he has placed a dateline arbitrarily, perhaps Shanghai, perhaps Chungking. Although this might occur in numerous instances, the fact still remains that despatches from Shanghai, Tokyo, Peiping, Canton and other areas under the Japanese censorship, are overburdened with tales of more Japanese victories, of disastrous Chinese defeats and such kind of news.

The analysis of Far Eastern news appearing in the four newspapers during the first three months of 1939, shows the following results:

KANSAS CITY STAR

<u>JAPAN</u>		<u>OCCUPIED AREAS</u>		<u>JAPAN AND OCC.</u>		<u>FREE CHINA</u>	
Tokyo	290 $\frac{1}{2}$	Shanghai	329 $\frac{1}{4}$	Japan	294	Chungking	18 $\frac{1}{2}$
Osaka	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Canton	63-3/4	Occ.	400 $\frac{1}{2}$	Eweilin	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<u>294</u>	Canton	1 $\frac{1}{4}$		<u>694$\frac{1}{2}$</u>		<u>36</u>
		Peiping	3 $\frac{1}{2}$				
		Tientsin	2-3/4				
			<u>400-1/2</u>				

Twenty inches equal one column. Hence: 34-3/4 columns of news from areas under Japanese censor; less than two inches from free China.

OTHER DATELINES: Washington 433"; Local 42; Editorials, 153; Miscellaneous American cities, 257-3/4; Paris, 17; London 44-3/4; Geneva 6-3/4; Manila 250; Berlin, 1-3/4; Rangoon, 2-1/2, etc.

WICHITA (KANS.) BEACON

<u>JAPAN</u>		<u>OCCUPIED AREAS</u>		<u>JAPAN AND OCC.</u>		<u>FREE CHINA</u>	
Tokyo	236-3/4	Shanghai	168-1/2	Japan	240-3/4	Chungking	1
Osaka	4	Peiping	1-1/4	Occ.	169-3/4		
	<u>240-3/4</u>	Hankow	2		<u>410-1/2</u>		
			<u>169-3/4</u>				

Equals 2-1/2 columns from Japan and occupied areas; one inch from China.

OTHER DATELINES: Misc. American cities, 19-3/4; Paris, 13-1/2; Hongkong, 1-3/4; London, 22-1/4; editorials 135-3/4

ARKANSAS GAZETTE (Little Rock, Ark.)

<u>JAPAN</u>		<u>OCCUPIED AREAS</u>		<u>JAPAN AND OCC.</u>		<u>FREE CHINA</u>	
Tokyo	253	Shanghai	330-1/2	Japan	258-1/2	Kweilin	23
Osaka	5-1/2	Nanking	1	Occ.	356-1/4	Chungking	16-1/2
	<u>258-1/2</u>	Hankow	2		<u>614-3/4</u>	Kweiyung	3-3/4
		Peiping	21				<u>55-1/4</u>
		Tientsin	1-3/4				
			<u>356-1/4</u>				

Equals 30 columns of Japanese-censored news and less than three columns of Chinese censored news. OTHER DATELINES: Moscow, 22-1/4; Local 95; Editorials 32 $\frac{1}{2}$; Mis. American cities, 67-3/4; Geneva 12-1/4; Paris, 19-3/4.

DAILY OKLAHOMAN (Oklahoma City, Okla.)

<u>Japan</u>	<u>OCCUPIED AREAS</u>	<u>JAPAN AND OCC.</u>	<u>FREE CHINA</u>
Tokyo 182-1/2	Shanghai 197-1/2	Japan 186-3/4	Chungking 11-1/2
Osaka 4-1/4	Peiping 10-1/2	Occ. 213-3/4	
186-3/4	Hankow 5-3/4	500-1/2	
	213-3/4		

Equals 25 columns from Japan and occupied areas; 11-1/2" from Free China.

OTHER DATELINES: Washington 136-3/4; Moscow 22-1/2; Local 53-1/4; Mis. American cities, 83; Paris, 28; London, 19-1/4.

It was not the intention to "prove" that the American press is pro-Japanese, for it is not, but only to reveal the extent of the evil situation that has been allowed to exist with respect to providing the readers of the American press with a fair and unbiased news report. The analysis indicates that the press agencies and newspapers may not be giving a true picture of developments in the Far East.

Only one flagrant case of an American newspaper deliberately presenting a pro-Japanese version of Far Eastern developments was discovered. The Chicago Tribune, shortly after outbreak of the war, discontinued the services of its excellent correspondent in China and has not employed a representative in China at any time since then --- but it does maintain its correspondents in Tokyo, a Japanese, long known as one of Japan's most able propagandists. It could not be ascertained whether the Tribune pays for the services of its Japanese representative but at least it does print his stories regularly.

SUMMARY OF CHINA NEWS (continued from cover page) "the nature and significance of the subsequent developments in their broader aspects" seriously concerned the United States. This statement was looked upon as a reminder to Japan that the United States would not surrender its rights in China. On June 21, Eugene H. Dooman, American Charge d'Affaires in Tokyo, made emphatic representations to Japan concerning the U. S. rights at the International Settlement at Kulangsu Island, off Amoy. On June 22, American Consul at Tientsin, John K. Caldwell, told the Japanese authorities that he insisted that American rights in Tientsin be protected and that Japan would be responsible for the loss. On June 22, Admiral Yarnell, Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Asiatic fleet, refused to move American destroyers from Swatow harbor, after the Japanese demanded the removal. Ships remained anchored to protect American life and property in Swatow.

INTERPRETATIONS - These actions may be, in part, an effort on Japan's part to scrape together whatever anti-foreign or anti-British sentiment it can among the Chinese living in the invaded areas. It looks like a move of desperation. Japan has not succeeded even yet in conquering the areas which it has ostensibly taken. By anti-British moves, she may hope to win the confidence of some of the Chinese. On the other hand, it may be a move to bluff Great Britain and the other neutral powers into submission within the invaded areas. The Foreign concessions are still sore spots to Japan, for they furnish economic strength to the Chinese government.

Dr. P. C. Chang, member of the People's Political Council of the Chinese Government, who is traveling in the United States at present, has pointed out the relationship of present events to a prediction made last fall by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. At that time, immediately after the fall of Hankow, the Generalissimo predicted that further action taken by Japan would be more injurious to the Neutral Powers than to China. Events of the last two weeks, Dr. Chang points out, have established the truth of this prediction.

The play for Chinese sympathy was evidenced in the Chengtu bombing, where leaflets, dropped from Japanese planes, were found after the bombing, urging the Chinese people to turn away from Chiang Kai-shek, and telling of Japan's fondness for the Chinese people. According to the N. Y. Times reporter, F. Tillman Durdin, the leaflets made little or no impression upon the inhabitants of Chengtu. The bombings they will never forget.

Whatever Japan's strategy, she has succeeded definitely in furthering China's cause. She has done much within the past two weeks to push a popular desire for economic sanctions against her. If the sentiment causes action in the democracies Japan has put her own head in her own noose.

EVEN THOUGH NEUTRALITY REVISION MAY BE BLOCKED THERE
IS A BETTER CHANCE THAN EVER TO WITHDRAW
OUR PARTICIPATION IN JAPANESE AGGRESSION

While there is great difference of opinion concerning the embargo issue in Congress, there seems to be more of an opportunity than before of getting something done at this session in regard to our responsibility in the Sino-Japanese conflict. The following address delivered by Senator Lewis B. Schwellenbach of Washington State on the "Chinese Question", over the National Broadcasting Network, from Washington, D. C., July 7, 1939, states the case in a most concise and effective manner:

"I have no desire to duplicate Orson Welles fright-producing efforts in his radio drama portraying the conquerors from Mars (H. G. Wells' play "The War of the World"). However, in order that you may fully appreciate the situation in the Far East, let me present it in this way.

"Suppose that tomorrow morning your newspapers should carry the story that your Government had decided to go to war? It had no provocation for this war. In fact, the war would be a direct violation of the treaty to which this nation had solemnly obligated itself. Suppose that the governmental dispatches stated that it had no intention of declaring war as required by recognized rules of International Law. It was to be a war not of defense but of conquest. However, we were not to partake of any of the conquered territory. We were to ally ourselves with one of the principal aggressor nations of the world and assist in an attack upon one of the most defenseless nations in the world. The nation attacked, incidentally, was to be one which had always been friendly with us and which had relied upon our friendship to such an extent that it was in no measure able to defend itself. Our allies had demonstrated in the past that they were fierce fighters, ruthless and destructive. They never had any regard for even those slight principles of decency which had governed international conduct in times of war. They assured us that their methods in this war were to be the most frightful ever known. However, this was to be a safe war so far as we were concerned. None of our boys would be killed. None of them would be wounded. None of our property was to be destroyed. Our part of the war was to make money out of it. Huge profits were to go to our citizens and our corporations which furnished the necessary supplies for the conduct of the war. All we needed to do was to furnish the supplies and to take the profits.

What would be your reaction to such a news dispatch tomorrow morning? Would you approve of such conduct on the part of our government? I have no doubt that if these radio airwaves could be reversed from each of you listening to me back into this broadcasting station, the reverberations of the "No's" thundered in answer to that question would drive me out of the station. You, individually, would disapprove of it; the American people as a whole would disapprove of it; the Nation would disapprove of it.

Yet for all practical purposes, the situation I have described unofficially exists today in our relationship with the Japanese conquest of China.

We, more than any other nation in the world are directly assisting in the continuation of Japan's activities in China. Were it not for the assistance of the United States, Japan's Chinese campaign would probably have collapsed many months ago. Japan is a nation without the necessary materials of war. The whole purpose of her Chinese conquest is to acquire territory from which she may secure resources for further extension of war. We speak of her as having Germany and Italy as her allies. The fact is that we are her most important ally. Japan has no oil with which to operate her airplanes, her tanks, her trucks, her automobiles or even her

battleships. We furnish 65.57% of that which she secures from the outside world. She must have scrap iron and steel with which to manufacture her munitions. We furnish 90.39% of that. She must have copper for her munitions. We furnish 90.98% of that. She must have other metals and alloys and we furnish 99.33% of those. She must have metal-working machinery. Our contribution is 67.9% of that. We furnish 64.67% of the automobiles and parts which she is using in China. We furnish 76.92% of the aircraft and parts with which she bombs the hospitals, schools and missions in which the Chinese people seek shelter. There never has been in the history of the world - civilized or uncivilized - a more ruthless and frightful campaign of conquest than that which Japan has been waging in China during the last two years.

We have been told that the next war will be a war against populations and not between armies. If this is true, Japan is certainly furnishing a hideous sample of what we may expect. The murder of the old and young non-combatants, the destruction of schools and places of worship, the humiliation and ravishment of China's womanhood all paint for us a picture of lustful aggression gone rampant. The experts tell us that Japan has in adequate quantity only 2 of the 26 materials necessary to carry on modern warfare. Of the most important of the other 24, I have given you the figures as to the extent of our participation. If the writers of history in the future actually know how warfare was conducted in 1939 through the use of necessary materials, they will write down a description of China's conquest not by the Japanese but by a Japanese-American alliance, the Japs taking the conquered land and the Americans taking the profits from the sale of our raw materials.

We criticize the Japanese for not making an open declaration of war on China. Perhaps we should pause and wonder whether we are more than slightly less guilty.

To make this situation even more humiliating, it is in direct violation of treaty obligations upon our part toward China. We criticize Germany and Italy for their attitude toward treaties. We criticize England and France for their attitude toward Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia. In the proposals before the Congress that we should name the aggressor nations, the distinction which we are urged to accept is upon the basis of treaty violations. Yet we are just as effectively violating a treaty as any of these nations ever have. It is true we send no enlisted American troops. We send only the materials for use by Japanese troops. We provide no drivers of trucks, or tanks or pilots for airplanes. We just furnish the gasoline which propels these trucks and tanks and airplanes. We don't even take the chances that the Japanese take. All we do is to take the profits that we can make.

What treaty are we violating? In 1921, in an endeavor to reduce naval expenditures among the great powers, the Washington Conference was called. It had the leadership of the then very able Secretary of State and now revered Chief Justice Mr. Charles Evans Hughes. Its chief purpose, in the beginning, was the limitation of naval armaments. The most important accomplishment of the Conference, however, was the adoption and signing of the Nine-Power Pact. The purpose of this Nine-Power Pact is stated in the treaty as follows:

"To adopt a policy designed to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to safeguard the rights and interests of China, and to promote intercourse between China and the other powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity."

This was not the first contact our nation had had with China. For 125 years we have been sending over missionaries, to open schools, colleges, hospitals and churches. It might be said that that would create no obligation upon our part. So far as the Chinese were concerned, it did create an obligation. The trust which the

Chinese people had in American missionaries, doctors, nurses and teachers was transferred to the American people and the American nation as a whole. In 1899, we intervened in China and insisted upon the Open-Door policy. We insisted that our rights in China be recognized and that no other nation could create a sphere of influence there. After the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, we again bound China to us by refusing our indemnities. Such was the feeling of the Chinese people towards our country that in 1911, when the new Government was set up, ours was taken as the example and model. We encouraged such an attitude upon the part of the Chinese people. During the world war when the rest of the world was busily engaged, Japan made an effort through her twenty-one demands to destroy the territorial integrity of China. In that she was blocked by Woodrow Wilson. In return for this China readily complied with President Wilson's request and declared war upon the Central Powers shortly after we entered the world conflict. When that war ended, however, China profited not at all. The net result so far as China was concerned was that her old rival and enemy - Japan - was given all the German rights in China in addition to many other rights in Shantung which was China's sacred Province. In retaliation of that and with disappointment with the way she had been treated by her allies, the Chinese people commenced their effective blockade against Japanese goods. It was an effective blockade. Its success struck vitally at the economic structure of Japan. It must be remembered that then Japan did not have her diversified foreign trade, her merchant marine had not been built to the strength that it now occupies. To Japan, Chinese trade was of vital importance. By the time of the Washington Conference on Armistice Day, 1921, the Chinese blockade had reached a state of well-nigh perfection. In that Conference, we asked Japan to agree to a naval program which meant economy for us and also lessened the danger to us in the Pacific. In consideration of Japan's agreement in the naval side of the Conference, we induced China to discontinue the blockade. In payment for this action on China's part, we wrote into Article I of the Nine-Power Pact the agreement "to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China."

All nine of the nations agreed to it. So solemn was the declaration on our part that President Coolidge proclaimed:

"To the end that the same and every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof."

China, relying entirely upon her trust in us, surrendered her most effective weapon. China believed her sovereignty and independence, administrative and territorial integrity would be respected by the nations of the world. Did she not have the strong arm of her American friend to uphold her? Yet today China suffers and her independence and her territorial and administrative integrity are being destroyed. We, for the filthy profits involved, are aiding, abetting and cooperating in that destruction.

What right have we to point the finger of scorn at Germany, Italy, France, or England when they regard treaties as scraps of paper? Contemporary historians of these days are striking a saddened note describing this era as one of treaty-breakers. Can anyone doubt that our oil and our copper and our scrap steel and iron are the most effective agents in this violation of a treaty that this era has yet seen?

So far as China and Japan are concerned, it isn't a matter of us getting into the war. We already are in the war. We are in the war in violation of a treaty which we signed in order to gain an advantage which we sought. The background of our relations with China should make that treaty the most sacred of any ever written.

The Courts of Equity place upon the individual who has gained the respect and confidence of another individual a much higher duty for the faithful performance of

an agreement than upon one who is dealt with at arm's length. The same rule should apply to nations. So far as we are concerned, it should have particular application in regard to China.

There is another aspect of this problem which we must discuss. It involves the relationship between the Far East and Europe. Japan's conquest of China has a direct bearing upon the possibility of war in Europe. One need only to review the events of the past two years to reach this conclusion. Certainly, the events of the last two weeks have cinched the conclusion. No person with his eyes open can escape believing that there is a direct relationship between the situation in China and the situation on the continent of Europe. It may be that the Roman-Berlin Axis has not been extended in military form to Tokyo; no well-informed person will deny that the Tokyo end of the alliance does directly cooperate with Rome and Berlin. It is no coincidence that every time Mr. Hitler has decided to seize more territory in Europe the attention of those who might oppose him has been distracted by annoyances from Japan. What other explanation can be given to the Tientsin incidents of the past few weeks and of the outbreaks between Japan and Russia upon the Mongolian border? Japan certainly doesn't today desire to add to its opposition. Japan's armies and its resources are fully occupied by the Chinese controversy. Yet deliberately it chooses, from time to time, to provoke unnecessary conflicts with England, France and Russia. Such conflicts uniformly come simultaneously with threats of further acquisition of territory by Germany and Italy. No more decisive steps could be taken by a nation desiring to prevent war in Europe than those which would prevent Japan from rendering indirect assistance towards furthering of a war in Europe.

We in Congress are in the midst of vigorous debate over what we should do in event war comes to Europe. We have no treaty obligations in Europe. We do have most definite and sacred treaty obligations in Asia. Yet, we almost completely neglect consideration of them even though respect for them would probably materially lessen the chance of the European war we so much fear. In my opinion, every consideration of logic, justice and responsibility requires that our first step should be to get out of the present war in which we are so effectively participating!

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THE SCHWELLENBACH-WALLGREN BILL IN RELATION TO WORLD PEACE

The purpose of the Schwellenbach-Wallgren bill is to bring about our compliance with our Nine-Power Treaty obligation. "To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China." The effects of the bill, if enacted, will be: (1) To withdraw us from participation with Japan in her assault on China's sovereignty, through supplying her with munitions and materials. (2) Without these munitions and materials available to Japan, China's sovereignty will be preserved, and freedom of trade assured, with equal opportunity, to all nations alike. (Competent authorities estimate our prospective trade in a free China at \$750,000,000 per annum, or fifty per cent more than our present best customer, the United Kingdom; this not taking into account the almost incalculable sum for reconstructing the war-devastated country.)

In Aid of World Peace. (3) To contribute to averting today's prospective world war by withdrawing our support from the present vulnerable member of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo triangle; thereby permitting Britain and France to strengthen their position as balancing powers in Europe. (4) With peace in Asia and tranquility in Europe will come a period of world repose, giving opportunity for adjustment of international inequities which have contributed to the present world dilemma.

Looking to the future, immediate and remote, the Schwellenbach-Wallgren bill is

therefore entitled to consideration as one of the most important measures to come before the present Congress. It has been judicially recorded that: "The main object of a treaty is to avoid war and secure a perpetual and lasting peace, and to promote a friendly feeling." Tucker v. Alexandroff, 183 U. S. 424.

In Shameful Aid of Japan. Yet today we are knowingly permitting export of supplies for an attack on a sovereignty we are under treaty obligations to respect. "It is with shame that most Americans learn that American metal and other war goods have been available to Japan during these last twenty-four horrible months." (Editorial, The New York Times, July 7, 1939.)

Japan a Serious Threat. The seriousness to us of Japan's control of China is not left to conjecture. Available Japanese official documents announce her purpose to acquire China's materials and man power for the production, among other things, of wool, cotton, tobacco, leather, canned products of all kinds (to quote from one of these documents) "for exporting to Europe and America.....Being self-sufficient in food-stuffs and raw materials.....the Yomato race is embarked on the journey of world conquest....For the sake of self preservation...we must fight America sometime."

Japan is today more definite on this last assertion made in the foregoing quotation. The New York Times carries in its issue of July 7, 1939, a dispatch from Tokyo quoting Lieutenant General Seishiro Itagaki as follows: "Japan's immediate enemy is not Chiang Kai-shek alone. Chiang is still registering Japan in complicity with third powers who have ambitions in East Asia. These third Powers must be crushed in order to give the final blow to Chiang Kai-shek. That is the key which will bring the war to an end."

This is the latest of Japan's repeated declarations of her world conquest purpose. In possession of China's vast and varied raw materials, and in position to enslave her labor -- which she is even now, in her controlled territory starving into narcotic addicts -- how can we expect to compete with her? Convincingly apparent is that Japan's subjugation of China will reduce our labor to choice between unemployment and degradation to Asiatic standards of wages and living conditions.

A Peace Measure. The Schwellenbach-Wallgren bill is a typical peace measure, being (1) in compliance with our treaty engagement; (2) withdrawing us from a war in which we are now participating; (3) being limited strictly to regulation of our own conduct, with no provocation against any nation. This, based upon the high principles of Christianity and morality its enactment and enforcement will bring lasting benefit to the world, and reflect honor upon ourselves.

"A treaty depends for its enforcement upon the honor and interest of the parties to it." Edye W. Robertson, 112 U. S. 680.

"Mr. President, there is a law stronger than Constitutional law, stronger than legislative law, and that is the moral law, and it finally wins." Senator William E. Borah, addressing the Senate, Sept. 26, 1921, on the Versailles Treaty.

And when honor and interest and morality coincide with Constitutional and legislative law, our duty is clear. "The best hope of keeping the United States at peace does not lie in attempting to isolate it from the consequences of a world catastrophe it lies rather in a foreign policy which will make such a catastrophe less likely." Editorial, The New York Times, July 2, 1939. Appropriate to this policy, with promise of results, is the Schwellenbach-Wallgren bill.

WIRE OR WRITE SENATORS SCHWELLENBACH, PITTMAN, SECRETARY HULL AND THE PRESIDENT.

JAPAN AND THIRD POWERS

Worthy of the notice of every American is the statement of Japan's Minister of War, Lieut. Gen. Seishiro Itagaki, quoted in the article by Hugh Byas in the NEW YORK TIMES, July 7:

"Japan's immediate enemy is not the Chiang Kai-shek government alone. Chiang is still resisting Japan in complicity with third powers who have ambitions in East Asia. Those third powers MUST BE CRUSHED in order to give the final blow to Chiang Kai-shek. That is the key which will bring the war to an end."

349 RAIDS IN 3 MONTHS

A report to the League of Nations shows that during the first three months of 1939 there were 349 Japanese air-raids in China, in which 11,705 bombs were dropped. There were 5,603 civilians killed and 6,833 wounded, while 19,170 houses were destroyed. During the first two raids on Chungking, early in May, 5,000 civilians lost their lives, 2,500 were injured and 2,391 houses were destroyed. (N.Y. Times, 7/7)

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In a letter from Chengtu, dated June 18th, gives the following report on the raid there on June 11th: Houses bombed or burned, 2,700; families homeless, 6,700 plus; killed, 240; injured, 380. The missionary who sent the letter wrote: "One young mother with her little baby at her breast sat beside her husband lying in a twisted heap. Here on my desk is a piece of scrap-iron from the bomb. It reminds me of the man, his young wife and baby. The scrap-iron came from America, and was wrought in Japan for the New Day in the Far East." (See account of raid sent by George Fitch.)

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The editorial writer for the New York Times in "Two Years of War in China" (July 7) expressed the reactions of the majority of Americans when he wrote: "IT IS WITH SHAME THAT MOST AMERICANS LEARN THAT AMERICAN METALS AND OTHER WAR GOODS HAVE BEEN AVAILABLE TO JAPAN DURING THESE LAST TWENTY-FOUR HORRIBLE MONTHS."

AMERICAN SENTIMENT

A straw ballot conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion showed a vote of 74 percent in favor of China, 24 percent neutral and 2 percent for Japan. Are you one of the 74%? If so, write your Senators, Congressmen, Senators Pittman and Schwollenbach.

JAPANESE WANT PEACE

An Associated Press dispatch in the New York Times for July 8th states "The attitude of the people (Japanese) is one that implies resignation. It does not mean approval. Many seek eagerly some sign of peace and, finding none, they plod on, trying to forget higher taxes, increased living costs, restrictions on manners and customs, the deaths of sons, fathers, husbands. Relatives who long ago went to cheer the departing hero now get his ashes in a white box. . . . A widow, accompanied by her other children, came to take the box that bore the name of her eldest son. When his name was called she stepped forward. The officer bowed, saluted and handed it to her. She held it in her arms for a moment as though it were an infant. Then her mouth opened in a soundless scream and she threw the box at the officer's head."

CHINA INFORMATION SERVICE

HELEN M. LOOMIS, SECRETARY

945 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, NORTHWEST - WASHINGTON, D. C.

Issue 27, July 31, 1939.

ABROGATION OF THE TREATY OF 1911 WITH JAPAN PREPARES WAY FOR NON-PARTICIPATION

On July 26 the State Department notified the Japanese government that this country is abrogating the American-Japanese treaty of commerce and navigation signed in 1911. Six months' notice is required for abrogation of this pact. This action came as a surprise. Earlier the same day the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations gave consideration to but took no action on a resolution by Senator Vandenburg to abrogate the treaty.

Our government's action is in line with the opinion of American people, and clears the way for an embargo on American war supplies to Japan when Congress convenes for another session. All of us who have been concerned over our country's participation in Japan's aggression in China should express our appreciation of the step which has been taken. This action was made possible by our expression of opinion and by that of our friends. However, we must realize that this is just the beginning of activity to end our part in this shameful affair. There will be psychological and moral results for good from the abrogation of this treaty--but as yet nothing has been done to stop the shipment of American war supplies to Japan. We must continue to work toward that end.

We have protested against Japanese interference in American interests and rights in the Far East. We have yet to end our SUPPORT of Japan's interference with Chinese interests and rights in China.

WHAT CAN WE DO NOW?

1. Write to the President and Secretary of State expressing your appreciation of the action which has been taken, but urging further action to stop the supply of war materials to Japan.
2. Whenever the issue arises, protest the purchase by this country of gold and silver from Japan.
3. Support special action which may be suggested--regulation of the export of scrap-iron, levying of import duties on materials from Japan.
4. Urge Members of the House and Senate Committees to take action as soon as Congress convenes.

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TEXT OF HULL NOTE

Following is the text of the note by Secretary Hull to the Japanese Ambassador, Kensuke Horinouchi, on July 26th, terminating the 1911 treaty of commerce and navigation with Japan:

"During recent years, the Government of the United States has been examining the treaties of commerce and navigation in force between the United States and foreign countries with a view of determining what changes may need to be made toward better serving the purposes for which such treaties are concluded. In the course of this survey, the Government of the United States has come to the conclusion that the treaty of commerce and navigation between the United States and Japan which was signed at Washington on February 21, 1911, contains provisions which need new consideration. Toward preparing the way for such consideration and with a view to better safeguarding and promoting American interests as new developments may require, the Government of the United States, acting in accordance with the procedure prescribed in article 17 of the treaty under reference, gives notice hereby of its desire that this treaty be terminated, and, having thus given notice, will expect the treaty, together with its accompanying protocol, to expire six months from this date.

"Accept, excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration!"

CORDELL HULL

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BE PREPARED TO FIGHT PREJUDICE, IGNORANCE AND SHORTSIGHTEDNESS

Newspapers on July 30 carried an Associated Press story and chart to show that U. S. investments and trade are greater in Japan than in China. This is exactly the sort of "information" we who protest the present participation of the U. S. in Japanese aggression are compelled to face and combat. The figures given are for 1936, a pre-war year in which Japan was definitely preparing for war. Figures are figures but they do not tell the whole story. Reports have come to the effect that for a number of years some Pacific Coast shippers who found they could not make profits using American ships have yielded to a practice, against the law, of giving the business to Japanese ships on the condition that goods be consigned to Japan--the rest of the journey to China to be arranged by the Japanese. Such goods have been included during these years in "exports to Japan." Another factor is that some 90% of the goods now shipped to Japan is war material. In 1936 the situation was not much different. Another consideration is that brought out in the address by C. H. French, Vice President of the Chinese-American Foreign Trade Council, at the last annual meeting of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce (see CIS, Issue 26, pages 1-3). "The value of our exports to China (including Hongkong and Kwangtung) average \$75,000,000 a year... examine the question from every possible angle.... I am convinced that the industrialization of China on a war with Japan as planned by the Chinese, will, within the next generation, operate to give to the United States thereafter a steady export trade with China to the value of \$750,000,000 per annum, to say nothing of the enormous quantities of capital goods which will be required of us in the meantime while the intensive construction program is in progress." "The value of our exports (to Japan) averaged \$172,000,000. . . I believe that our peace-time export trade with Japan has reached its zenith and that shortly hereafter the tendency will be downward until we arrive at a more or less stabilized level of \$150,000,000 per annum.

SHALL U. S. TRADE POLICY BE SHORTSIGHTED FOR THE IMMEDIATE GAIN OF A FEW.
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE (GALLUP POLL) SAY NO.

JAPANESE MILITARISTS ARREST CHRISTIAN LEADERS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORY

The following letter is from a missionary in a city of one of the occupied provinces. It tells the tragic story of the arrest and imprisonment of a large group of Chinese Christian leaders, a story that is being duplicated in many other places. The names of the city, the missionary and the Chinese leaders are omitted below, but the account is absolutely authentic. - - Frank W. Price.

"We cannot write of our trouble in letters that have to be mailed here for letters are strictly censored. I will send a copy of this by a friend going out hoping it will reach you.

"Pastor---was arrested on May 11 and is still in prison. On May 5 the blow fell. Before that a coolie from --- had been arrested; he was not regularly in mission employ but had been used to carry letters through the country field. We thought he was held because he came from a place closely linked with the guerillas. Mr.--- went to the police station but was not able to see the boy. He was terribly tortured, beaten and burned, and he made many statements under torture about the church leaders. The plan of trial is to make a charge against a person and beat and torture him until he will confess that the statement charged against him is true. He gave under torture a long list of Christians who he claimed were in a plot against the authorities. Of course not a word was true but that is all the evidence the police needed. On May 5 they arrested ---, the son of our preacher, and brother of the hospital evangelist. They tried to arrest the evangelist but he was not at home, so they got his wife. The next morning he gave himself up and asked that his wife be freed. She was kept in prison 29 days and has just been released.

"On May 7 at 3 a.m. the police went to the homes of Pastors --- and ---, Elders --- and ---, and arrested them. Elder ---'s son was also taken. Pastor ---, Dr. --- and we missionaries did all that we know to do, our men went to see the higher officials, we bore witness to the fact of the innocence of the arrested men, but it did no good. On Thursday Pastor --- was taken, a few days later they sent for the two hospital doctors but they had already gone to the country. Altogether over twenty have been arrested and imprisoned.

"The strain has been terrible for nobody knows who will be taken next. We think now that this attack was caused by jealousy. The churches have been a great blessing to the people all through the field, thousands have been saved in refugee camps and church attendance has been larger than ever before. We think the enemy are trying to broak the prestige of the church. The police have been going to the homes of the people all over the city asking, "Are you a Christian?" It scares the people for they think if they answer "Yes" they may be arrested also. In other places there have been similar experiences but not so severe. In the station east of us Pastor --- and two elders were taken.

"The men have been without doubt beaten and tortured. We heard this from many different sources. We tried again and again to see them, but this has not been allowed. We have tried to send them clothes and other things but without success.

"The case seems to be at a stand-still now. Everything we know to do has been done, so we must wait and see what the authorities will do. The country Christians have been meeting daily for prayer, and in many places in the city daily meetings have been held. While our hearts have been almost broken as we think of our beloved friends enduring such suffering yet we know that God will be with them in a special way. We pray that they may soon be released."

June 11, 1939.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE CHENGTU RAID

June 11, 1939

THE DEADLY PARALLEL

From LETTERS of JAPANESE CONSUL-GENERAL to AMERICAN CONSUL-GENERAL AT SHANGHAI REGARDING THE BOMBING OF CHENGTU, June 11, 1939.

"The main objective of their (the Japanese bombers') attack were the headquarters of the 28th Army and the offices of the Provincial Government, and they were satisfied to note that most of the bombs fell directly on or very close to the objectives.

"However, one of the bombs, unfortunately went astray and hit a building situated in the central part of West China Union University by mistake.

"...On approaching the town, the air units were met by a number of Chinese pursuit planes and also by barrages of fierce anti-aircraft fires, thus obliging them to carry on the bombardment at the same time dodging shell fire on the one hand and fighting with the Chinese planes on the other."

"...In view of the fact that the region subject to aerial bombardment usually extends along the course of the flight, they (the Japanese planes) chose such a course along which it would be least probable that any of the bombs would fall in the premises of the University."

From REPORTS of BRITISH and AMERICAN EYEWITNESSES and VICTIMS OF BOMBING

Neither of the objectives mentioned was either hit or in any way damaged. The nearest bomb was 400 meters distant (438 yards)

At least four bombs went sufficiently "astray" to hit or damage the campus. That two of these were duds can hardly be considered intentional. Moreover, at least ten more bombs fell outside the city and in the vicinity of the University.

A considerable number of British and Americans who watched the Japanese fly in and over were utterly unaware of any anti-aircraft fire until after the bombing. Nor were the raiders attacked until after they had loosed their bombs. Reference to their "dodging" does not do justice to the unbroken formation the Japanese planes maintained while over the city.

Whatever the original plan, the word of eyewitnesses and the evidence of bomb craters prove that the line of flight was directly over the campus. The campus was not on the fringe of a nearby area but an integral part of the area bombed.

EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS WRITTEN JUST AFTER THE BOMBING OF CHENGTU

LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE (University of Nanking)I checked up on the work of our Chengtu International Relief Committee that we had organized in May. Some funds had been raised locally but the money from the American Church Committee for China Relief we had been promised from Chungking had not arrived yet! In other words, American war supplies sold to the Japanese reached here first in the form of deadly bombers and bombs. The same was true in Chungking in the raids of May 3 and 4. Millions were subscribed instantly at the time of the Tokyo earthquake, but funds to relieve the Chinese suffering - partly caused by war supplies we sell Japan rather than by "an act of God" - are painfully slow in coming.

Well, it is the old story I wrote about in September, 1937, running an ambulance to the foot of the cliff instead of building a fence at the top of the cliff to keep people from falling over. We collect millions from Japan's aggression in China and then send a few dollars to salve our consciences and patch up a few of the mangled bodies. Instead, we should say, "We will have no part in Japanese aggression. We will send no more war supplies to such an aggressor nation. We will loan them no more money for carrying on this bloody war. Rather, we will loan funds to China to help her defend herself."

Is it any wonder that a Chinese student who used to be head of the young peoples' society in the Drum Tower church in Nanking came to me one Sunday afternoon here recently and said, "How can I answer the charges of non-Christians that Christ is the 'front' given to aggression by foreign nations in China?" In other words, Christians and missionaries talk about love and peace, but their brethren at home profit on Japanese aggression.

.....As I passed cave after cave (for protection in time of air raids) in my recent visit to Chungking and heard of the cave cities in the Northwest, I again wondered if we were returning to the cave age! The kind of civilization we are building is only safe for human beings who live in caves -- above the level of poison gases! There is no use in whining about it; let's get busy and build a different and better world.

.....The picture is not all dark....As one distinguished visitor from America remarked: "It is a race between destruction and construction. While the Japanese destroy by the yards the Chinese build by miles." Two years ago when he passed through Japan they said, "The Chinese will never fight." When he came through two months ago, the Japanese said, "We don't believe the Chinese will ever stop fighting!" But given a chance, every Chinese would prefer to continue building a better country rather than fighting. However such building would be impossible under Japanese domination...."

DRYDEN L. PHELPS .. I found Dr. and Mrs. Ih and their year old son and brought them home with me. They had been bombed out in Nanking, Changsha, and here. Their only remark was: "We are so sorry to cause you all this trouble." ...The next morning I went over to the Administration Building. The killed were dumped in a heap, the way we used to have to do with them in France in our haste. The wounded and dying were scattered on straw over the floor. Soon they were all borne to the city hospitals, the floors scrubbed, and Senior examinations begun. One young mother with her little baby at her breast sat beside her husband, lying in a twisted heap. Here on my desk is a piece of scrap-iron from the bomb. It reminds me of the man, and his young wife and baby. The scrap-iron came from America, and was wrought in Japan for the New Day in the Far East.....

THE NANKING POPULATIONEMPLOYMENT, EARNINGS AND EXPENDITURES

A survey conducted by Professor M. S. Bates on behalf
of the Nanking International Relief Committee
Winter-Spring, 1939

Descriptive Summary

In its effort to keep in close touch with the actual economic problem of the common people, the Nanking International Relief Committee carefully visited every fiftieth house number within the city wall. Reports were secured by experienced investigators from 1,706 families, comprising 7,161 persons. The collected data cover age, sex, and family relationships; employment; earnings; expenditures.

Gradually relaxing from the terrible winter of 1937-1938, Nanking has attained a certain low level of economic and social life from which further improvement will be difficult under present military and political conditions and economic policies. Some real advances have been made by the authorities, but the inherent negations are too strong.

The Chinese population within the wall is estimated as nearly 360,000 at the beginning of this year; for the Municipal Area, 500,000. It is tending to increase at the rate of several thousand per month, mostly refugees from the country.

The population shows great deficiency in the productive ages, particularly of men; with corresponding excess of children, aged, and women. Now the men 15 to 49 years are only 22 per cent of the whole population. By the most closely comparable Nanking figures, they were 30 per cent before the war - fully one-third more. In the age-group 20 to 29 years, we find only 65 men to 100 women; whereas in various statistics of pre-war years there were from 126 upward. Now there are only 94 men of vigorous age to 100 families; then there were 130.

The average size of family is 4.2 persons, approximating that of poor sections of the city in normal times. It is below that of the whole population before the war (4.9), and that of the emergency period in 1938 (4.7) when there were many combined families.

An abnormality in family composition is the serious excess of broken families (from which husband or wife is missing), now 17 per cent of all families as against 13 per cent in the best pre-war figures - an increase of three-tenths. Yet more critical is the doubling (16 per cent to 8 per cent) of the families without male head. There are now 14,100 of such families, usually without any adult male.

There has naturally been a big improvement in employment since the paralyzing terror of the early occupation. Yet the present employment rate, 27 per cent of the total population, needs to be increased by one-half to approach normal. Moreover, the current figure is not so good as it seems. Tens of thousands are newly driven into crude labor and meager peddling. Correspondingly, there is relatively little manufacture even on a domestic basis, and professional or skilled tasks of any sort are few.

The employed person makes on the average of \$0.49 per day, about 40 per cent of his reported former earnings. This is equivalent to \$0.55 per family, \$16.50 a

month for 4.2 persons. Traders are making just about the general average, counting wretched vendors along with moderately flourishing shopkeepers. Ordinary laborers get \$0.26 a day, under \$8 a month. Almost half of all employed persons make less than \$10 monthly; only 4 per cent, above \$30. There is still a vast reservoir of desperately poor persons without work, and inflow from the country continues. Improved earnings are not to be expected without the great change implied by peace and free opportunity.

The inexorable injuries of the war situation would be bad enough. But beyond them are other troubles that keep men poor. It is better not to discuss here the enforced use of military notes, the havoc wrought by opium and heroin, the continual interference with personal liberty and private property; because they are so closely linked with military procedure. They are, however, important bars to economic improvement. Apparently less politico-military and more largely economic in their working, are the general monopolistic and restrictive controls.

Chinese business men are throttled by the monopoly of transportation and the discriminatory use of it to control all wholesale trade. They complain bitterly that they and their people are reduced to the status of coolies and shop-boys for an alien economy. Specifically, they point out monopolies or discriminatory control in such varied lines as the following: coal, salt, banking cotton, metals, cement, lime, electric and water installation. Furthermore, they assert that when a Chinese business is painfully developed after the general experience of burning, looting and confiscation of commercial sites, it is frequently threatened and hampered until it accepts a Japanese partner; who then provides the ever-necessary permits and a measure of security, in exchange for a first claim on returns and a managerial voice that can summon bayonets at will. Under such conditions there cannot be much revival of Chinese commercial and industrial enterprise.

One-fifth of all employed persons are women. Of these 20,000 women now employed, only 1,800 were working before the war. The average daily wage for women is now \$0.18 or \$5.40 per month. Comparatively few are servants with the extra benefits secured thereby; a majority are general laborers and helpers in domestic industries or shops.

One-sixth of all families have no current earnings; an additional 24 per cent make less than \$10 monthly; 36 percent between \$10 and \$20; 14 percent, \$20-\$30; only 9 percent above \$30. The same population before the war showed one-seventh with no current earnings (i.e. none by people now alive and in Nanking); an additional 7 percent with less than \$10 monthly; 26 percent, \$10-\$20; 25 percent, \$20-\$30; 23 percent above \$30. The fall even for this remnant population is disastrous.

For 22 percent of all families, life is maintained on an expenditure of less than \$10 per month; for 53 percent, on \$10-\$20; for 18 percent, on \$20-\$30; for only 6-7 percent above \$30. Thus three-fourths of all families run below \$30 both in earnings and in expenditures, with earnings tending to lag far behind expenditures in the general record. 52 percent of all families report themselves as partly or wholly unable to live upon current earnings, which they supplement by "borrowing" and use of "savings" (both of doubtful character in many cases), and by receipts of relief; rarely by rent, remittances, and sales of personality. This situation may be compared with the composite estimate made in October last by thirty selected persons, that 44 percent of their acquaintances could not get through the winter without help. By mid-spring, the International Relief Committee alone had given some small measure of aid to over 130,000 persons, a third of the city's population; and the Municipality had also done widespread relief work, besides the efforts of other private agen-

cies. The situation is greatly worsened since the winter investigation, by increases of 25-35 percent in the price of rice, and other important foods.

Only 14 percent of all families live in owned quarters, and an additional 43 percent dwell by the sufferance of others without paying rent. The remaining 43 percent average less than \$2 per month for family rent. Houses are generally in bad condition, and owners cannot rent for enough to provide minimum repairs.

The average monthly expenditure per family is \$16.62 (compare the \$16.50 independently reported for current earnings); under \$4 per capita. For the average family, \$11.15 went for food, 67 percent of the total; and another 9 percent for fuel, devoted almost entirely to cooking. Compare the frequent 40 percent for foods in the charity budgets of western countries. The Nanking families used only 2 percent of their expenditures for clothing and 5 percent for rent. Miscellaneous items rated rather high at 17 percent, covering light, water, cigarettes, household equipment, narcotics, besides luxuries like education, baths, and maintenance of property. The picture of the population as a whole reveals the grinding poverty that requires almost all resources for food, and is similar to survey reports of the poorer groups in other Chinese cities. These averages are a composite of variations not seldom cruel, though the total range is small compared with that of more prosperous days.

RECENT LETTER FROM EMORY W. LUCCOCK TO W. D. MAXWELL,
CITY EDITOR, CHICAGO TRIBUNE

This is a personal letter, but it is concerned with a matter that to my mind is so important that I will appreciate it if you will share it with others concerned.

For a number of years the Chicago Tribune had one of the ablest and most competent newspapermen in the Far East as special correspondent. The man's name was J. B. Powell. In ability and reliability, he ranked along with Steele of the Chicago Daily News, Timperly of the Manchester Guardian, Harris of the Associated Press, and a number of others who were genuinely superior in their ability to keep newspaper readers here in the States well and constructively informed on what has been taking place in China.

When I returned to the States and located here in the Chicago area, I was astonished and disappointed to find a newspaper that pretends to be "great" badly betraying its trust in its accounts of what is going on in the Far East, by having, so far as I can find out, no correspondent in China, and by having as its correspondent in Japan, Mr. Kimpei Sheba, who is well known in the Far East as a puppet spokesman for the present militaristic government in Japan.

It seems to me that with Japan's invasion of China as significant as it is for us here in the United States, your newspaper ought to be doing much better by its readers than it is in this matter of reporting events from that area. If you have enough interest in this to talk with me about it (as the editor of the New York Times asked me to talk with him about Mr. Hallet Abend, their senior correspondent in China), I will be glad to try and find a time and place convenient to us both. One of my American friends in the Far East went so far as to suggest the possibility of a connection between the kind of "news" the Tribune is bringing us from the Far East, and the fact that the Japanese Consulate is renting an entire floor of the Tribune Tower. Whether or not there is any truth in that, the fact that your only Far Eastern correspondent is a Japanese national, strikes me forceably as a serious miscarriage of responsible newspaper ethics. I would like to talk it over with you, and others concerned.

BREAKING THE CYCLE OF AGGRESSION
Extracts from an address by Dr. P. C. Chang
July 5, 1939 over Station WEVD

It is very well known that the cycle of aggression, that has brought about the unsettled conditions in the world in recent years, started with the invasion of Manchuria by Japan on September 18, 1931. When other powers which should be vitally interested did not feel advised or ready to do anything effective at that time to stop the act of aggression in Manchuria, the wildfire began to spread to other parts of the world. Thus Japan initiated a move which, by its profitable results, decidedly gave impetus to other powers with similar ambitions of aggression.

After Manchuria followed Abyssinia, Austria, Spain, Czecho-slovakia, Memel, Albania, and - perhaps Danzig. Danzig is in the very delicate balance of the forces at play at this very moment. So far the aggressive powers have been able to win wherever and whenever they wish to make a move. Where is Abyssinia now? And where are Austria, Czechoslovakia, Memel, and Albania? Yet we must take courage because China has resisted and is still resisting. The cycle that started with the invasion of China, I am confident to predict, will finally be broken in China.

There is to-day a special urgency why something should be done and very soon. Japan is undertaking to oust all legitimate third power interests out of China and out of the western Pacific and the South Seas. The Tientsin concessions have been blockaded for three weeks and the bombing of American missionary, medical and educational institutions - properties and personnel - is being carried out almost every day. A practical policy should naturally take in cultural economic, and political interests not only as they are but also their potentiality in the future. After all, is it wise and practical for this country to help building up a fanatically militaristic empire on the other side of the Pacific? If Japan were allowed successfully to enslave one-fifth of the human race and to exploit the inexhaustible resources of China, would this country feel at ease in considering the outlook of defense and of commercial competition? I would leave the answer to you, my friends.

China is carrying on. The success of China's resistance concerns all peace-loving peoples in the world, especially the friendly American people who have traditionally maintained the doctrine of the Open Door and upheld the integrity and independence of China. The cycle of aggression in the world must be broken and the strategic point is in China today.

JAPANESE VISITOR

Mrs. Constance T. Gauntlett, internationally known Japanese woman, who is a British citizen, arrives soon on the Tatsuta Maru. Her trip is sponsored "unofficially" by the Foreign Office in Tokyo "to undo some of the harm of some non-English-speaking envoys". However, the reason made public for her trip is her attendance of two meetings in connection with the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference, one in New York and one in New Zealand. She will drive from the West Coast with her son, who accompanies her, to be present at the Pan-Pacific Interim Committee meeting, in preparation for the meeting in January in Auckland, New Zealand. Mrs. Gauntlett's trip includes a short visit in England, but she will spend the greater part of her time between now and December in the United States.

The American giving the information says: "After being cognizant for many months of the terrible massmurdering of the Chinese by the Japanese Militarists, and also having a full knowledge of what Japan intends to do to America when the time is ripe, I cannot keep still and allow even Mrs. Gauntlett to invade my Native Land under falsepretenses (as a Britisher and on a so-called mission as 'a good-will envoy') wholly for Japan's best interests."

SUMMARY OF CHINA NEWS

TOKYO PARLEY - With Great Britain's virtual recognition of Japanese "rights" in China on July 25, world attention was focused on the Tokyo parley between British Ambassador Sir Robert Leslie Craigie and Japanese Foreign Minister Hachiro Arita. The announcement that Britain had accepted Japan's demands, with slight variations, came as another Munich shock to the democracies.

The Tokyo agreement came after more than two weeks of Japanese inspired anti-British demonstrations throughout the Japanese invaded sections of China and bitter anti-British demonstrations in Tokyo.

The demonstrations were considered by observers to have been definitely approved, if not fostered, by the Japanese high command. Hugh Byas, writing in the New York Times on July 13, said, "In a well policed country like Japan, where speech is systematically controlled, official acquiescence in such agitation is tantamount to approval." British dignity was not only threatened by the demonstrations, but also by the stripping and slapping of British women in Tientsin, by the placing of blame upon British missionaries for a cholera epidemic in Hankow, and by the barring of British ships from entering the harbor of Swatow -- all Japanese acts.

In the Tokyo accord, Great Britain recognized that "Japanese forces in China have special requirements for the purpose of safeguarding their own security and maintaining public order in the regions under their control and that they have to suppress and remove such causes or acts as will obstruct them or benefit their enemy." This was tantamount to a recognition that a state of war exists, though it protected Japan from having to declare war and thereby cut herself off automatically from American armament supplies. It was, moreover, accepted in Berlin, as well as in Tokyo, as a victory for the aggressors.

If the agreement in Tokyo was designed by Britain to allay anti-British feeling, British diplomats must have felt a bad headache coming on when on the day following the signing of the agreement, Japan decided to block the Canton River, thus making it impossible for British controlled Hong Kong to trade with Canton.

U. S. ABROGATES TREATY - In contrast to British appeasement policy, was the United States' announcement on July 27 of abrogation of the 1911 U. S. Japanese trade amity treaty. The treaty, according to official U. S. notice to Tokyo, will go out of effect six months hence. This was generally interpreted as a preparation for a later embargo of war materials by the U. S. against Japan.

The American decision followed upon the heels of several weeks of bombings and even deaths, as well as personal indignities, perpetrated by the Japanese military in China upon American citizens. The United States had sent formal protests after the killing of two American missionaries, the bombing of American owned institutions in Chungking, the attack on an American warrant officer.

Tokyo was reported "shocked" by the treaty abrogation. But on the day following the announcement Japanese authorities were reported to have sent out orders to all Japanese officials in China to treat Americans and their rights with the utmost respect.

MEANWHILE Mongolians continued to keep Japanese troops busy fighting on the borders of Outer Mongolia. Tension developed over the half Soviet, half Japanese

island of Sakhalin when Soviet authorities threatened to confiscate Japanese controlled oil fields (which were on the Soviet half of the island) after accusing the Japanese of refusing to abide by union labor regulations. The Japanese yen was revealed to have dropped in exchange value along with the Chinese dollar. Japan's hope has been, according to reports, that the drop in the Chinese dollar will mean acceptance of Japanese currency in Shanghai. David Kung, son of Finance Minister H. H. Kung, reported that the drop in the Chinese dollar has hindered Japan. The Japanese were following "nefarious practices," he said, "to obtain exchange requirements in order to purchase war material abroad by purchasing exchange with Chinese dollars. Therefore, the slump in the Chinese dollar has caused the Japanese heavy losses." Young Kung is head of the China Trust Company in Hong Kong.

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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN WARTIME CHINA
(Condensed from Tien Hsia Monthly, April, 1939)

by Lowe Chuan-hua

To see the economic developments in wartime China in their proper perspective, it may be well to review China's economic prospects before the Japanese resumed their invasion in the summer of 1937.

Prior to the War, a new China was already emerging. The country was rapidly becoming unified, and after more than a decade of civil strife the Central Government in Nanking was enjoying greater influence and prestige than ever before. Government finance was being steadily improved. Currency reforms had been carried out successfully. At least 112,000 km. of highway had been completed, while the mileage of railways had increased from a few thousand kilometers in 1927 to nearly 12,000 in 1937. A five-year programme calling for the building of 8,500 km. of new lines was being pushed ahead. For the financing of this construction program, large loans had already been secured or promised by various firms in Europe and America.

Two of the most important lines, the Canton-Hankow railway and the Hangchow-Nanchang railway, had actually been finished ahead of schedule. Noteworthy progress had also been made in education. Special emphasis was being laid on rural reconstruction. The rural cooperative societies had increased from a few hundred in 1923 to more than 26,000 in 1937, while a national network of farmers' banks had been inaugurated. With good crops in 1936 China was quickly developing a volume of foreign trade in the following year that would have exceeded the record made in 1931, were it not for the Japanese attack in July. In short, China was beginning to offer a fairly profitable market for Western goods and was thereby helping Europe and America in solving their problem of economic depression. The United States, having jumped from the third to the first place in China's foreign trade since 1931, had good prospects of retaining that premier position if peaceful conditions were allowed to continue.

CHINA RESHAPES HER ECONOMIC DEFENCE

But the Japanese invasion has obliterated this hopeful panorama, at least for the immediate future. Instead of peace and prosperity, there is today indescribable agony and devastation in the war-torn districts. However, positive measures for strengthening China's economic front have not been neglected. The Chinese government and people alike are exerting their utmost in replenishing their losses with new energy and resources. It is said that time and space are China's greatest allies in the present fighting. Indeed, in the southwestern provinces the Chinese have found new hope for national regeneration. With an area twice the size of Japan and a population larger than that of the United States, the southwestern provinces (Szechwan, Sikong, Yunnan, Kweichow, Hunan, Kwangtung and Kwangsi) contain almost unlimited manpower and inestimably rich natural wealth, in addition to vast fertile lands.

The importance of this southwestern area may be easily realized when it is remembered that in the six provinces above mentioned there is a total reserve of 15,535,000,000 tons of coal of all descriptions. In Hunan, Kwangtung and Kwangsi may be found some 90% of China's total reserve of manganese. In Yunnan, Szechwan, and Kweichow are found China's sole copper producing regions, turning out 480 tons a year. Lead and zinc are being mined in Hunan, Yunnan and Szechwan which produce

altogether 6,600 tons of lead and 13,000 tons of zinc per year. China's total reserve of tungsten is estimated at 950,000 tons, of which Kwangtung and Hunan contribute 300,000 tons. In the production of tin Yunnan ranks first, followed by Kwangsi, Hunan and Kwangtung - these provinces being able to put out about 7,400 tons a year. China also holds the world's leading position in the production of antimony. Of the world's output of 20,000 tons, China is accredited with 12,000 tons and about 90% of this output comes from Hunan. Gold and silver, as well as many precious stones, are found in large quantities in China's southwest. With such an enviable supply of minerals, the Chinese government may well take a confident attitude in its policy of carrying out a decentralization and westward movement of Chinese industries.

DEVELOPING NEW LIFE LINES

To develop this new economic base, means of transportation are being built to link the leading southwestern cities. Up to the summer of 1938, the Ministry of Communications has completed no less than 3,224 km. of new roads in southwest and northwest China, besides repairing and modernizing many old caravan routes. Of these, the most important is the 850 km. highway from Kunming, capital of Yunnan province, to the border of British Burma, which was opened for transportation last winter. Another important road which is being improved is the 4,400 km. highway between Sian, capital of Shensi province, and Tahcheng in the western part of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. From Tahcheng, the highway (known as the old silk route) extends into Soviet Russia and is connected with the Turk-Sib railway. These two international highways, now form the main arteries of transportation between China and the outside world.

But many of these motor roads are not built for heavy and speedy traffic. The National Government of China is, therefore, rushing a comprehensive programme of new railways, including the Yunnan-Burma line (on which construction work began in November, 1938), the Hengchow-Nanning line, the Nanning-Chennankwan line, the Yunnan-Kweiyang line, the Chungking-Kweiyang line, the Paochi-Chengtu line, the Chengtu-Chungking line, the Chuchow-Kweiyang line, the Szechwan-Sikong line and the Liuchow-Kweiyang line. Altogether between 6,000 and 7,000 km. of railways are being surveyed or in the process of construction.

The Hengchow-Kweilin section of 354 km., which will be extended to Nanning and eventually to the Kwangsi-Annam border at Chennankwan, was completed in 394 days and was opened for traffic late in September, 1938. Thus Kweilin, the capital of Kwangsi province, is now connected by rail with Kinghua in Chekiang, a total distance of 1,150 km. These new life lines will not only give fresh energy to China's struggle for emancipation but also provide a nucleus for rehabilitation after the war.

MACHINERE FOR WARTIME ECONOMY

Besides the development of communication facilities and in conjunction with this construction programme in the southwest, the Chinese government has been promoting a series of industrial, commercial and agricultural improvements with a view to obtaining new ways and means for carrying on the war of attrition. For this purpose, several "wartime economy" organs have been inaugurated and are functioning with varying degrees of success. In addition to the National Resources Commission, the most important organs which have direct and specific responsibilities in improving and developing wartime economy are the Industrial and Mining readjustments Commission and the Agricultural Readjustments Commission formed under

the auspices of the Ministry of Economics, and the Trade Readjustments Commission organized by the Ministry of Finance in February, 1937. To finance the work of these three Commissions, the Ministry of Finance has already appropriated \$60,000,000.

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS

Chief among these agricultural improvements are the introduction of better wheat and cotton seeds and improved silk-worms into the southwestern provinces, the advancement of the wood oil and the tea trades. The production of wood oil in China reaches more than 1,250,000 quintals a year, and, the export of this product takes a leading position in China's export trade. Of the total output, between 60 and 70 per cent is sold to the United States. In 1937, for instance, its total export value amounted to \$89,840,000; of which \$63,000,000 went to the United States. With the help of the Trade Readjustments Commission and utilizing Hong Kong as the chief outlet, China's wood oil exports further increased in 1938.

Another important product in China's export trade is tea. It is well-known that during the last few years Japan has been trying hard to oust China from the world's tea market. To promote the exportation of tea on a national scale, a China National Tea Corporation, affiliated with the Trade Readjustments Commission, has been formed. Agents of this company have been buying up tea from Chekiang, Anhwei and Kiangse for "centralized and controlled" exportation, and in 1938 China exported a total of 91,767,000 lbs. of tea compared with 89,634,000 lbs. in 1937; i.e. an increase of 2,133,000 lbs. Considering unfavorable war conditions, this increase, though small, is quite significant, particularly when Japanese tea exports during the same period show a drop of 17,156,000 lbs. as reported by the International Tea Committee in London. The importance of tea as a source of revenue to China may be easily realized when it is remembered that the total value of tea exported in 1938 was also increased by more than \$6,000,000 over the figure for 1937.

An increasing output of cotton is also expected in the southwestern provinces of Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow and Kwangsi where, after the outbreak of war, efforts have been redoubled to promote and increase cotton plantation. According to a survey made in November, 1938, there were already 540,000 mow of cotton fields in Szechwan, 81,000 mow in Yunnan, 43,000 mow in Kweichow and 12,000 mow in Kiangsi - a total of 676,000 mow.

Raw silk has always been a big item in China's foreign trade, its annual value amounting to tens of millions of dollars. Hitherto Chekiang and Kiangsu have been the chief silk producing centers, with Szechwan, Shangtung and Kwangtung following in order of importance. Now new silk producing areas are gradually developing in West China to fill the position once hold by Chekiang and Kiangsu.

The Chinese government has, therefore, spared no efforts to keep domestic economy on a firm basis and, as much as war circumstances permit and through government control, to maintain an uninterrupted flow of imports and exports.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROL

Simultaneous with the enforcement of state control of the leading import and export activities, the Chinese government has been carrying out a policy of foreign exchange control. Since the summer of 1937 and despite war conditions, free China has managed to sell far more than she has bought. In the second half of 1937, for instance, China's favorable trade balance amounted to more than \$40,000,000. This

propitious phenomenon continued during the first five months of 1938 when the favorable trade balances totalled about \$75,000,000. Not until the middle of 1938 (particularly not until the fall of Wuhan and Canton) did China again suffer from an unfavorable balance of trade, at least according to Customs returns.

Throughout the first eight months of the war China had remarkably maintained the free convertibility of National currency at the pre-war stabilized rates. However, the adoption of a strict policy of foreign exchange control became quite imperative in March, 1938, when the Japanese inaugurated a bogus "Federal Reserve Bank" whose uncovered note issues and insidious operations were designed to cripple the Chinese legal tender system and thereby endanger China's financial and credit standing. In order to prevent the Japanese and their puppets from getting foreign currencies through the sale of Chinese national notes forcibly collected in the occupied areas, the Chinese Ministry of Finance on March 12th, 1938, promulgated a set of regulations regarding foreign exchange. These regulations, no doubt, would also reduce the flight of capital and help balance China's international payments.

Among the measures now being enforced by the Chinese government are: (1) government absorption of foreign exchange and centralized control of foreign exchange allocations for trade and other legitimate demands; (2) negotiation of credit loans with sympathetic foreign countries on the strength of Chinese cash reserves already deposited abroad; (3) government transactions with foreign firms for the exchange of staple products or execution of barter agreements; (4) restricting the withdrawal of bank deposits and (5) limiting the outflow of Chinese national currencies.

Due to the rapidly increasing demand for foreign exchange, a "black market" for exchange transactions has arisen and through this channel numerous demands, legitimate as well as illegitimate, have been met outside the Chinese machinery for foreign exchange control. However, with the inauguration in March this year of the \$10,000,000 Chinese Currency Stabilization Fund, Chinese currency will be further stabilized and the demand for foreign exchange for private hoarding and speculation will probably decrease with time.

HELP FROM OVERSEAS CHINESE

In the remittances from overseas Chinese, the Chinese government has found a most heartening source of foreign exchange and financial support for its wartime requirements. It was estimated that the total remittances amount to nearly \$300,000,000 a year in peace time, varying in accordance with business conditions in the South Seas Islands, Siam, Philippine Islands, America and other regions where large Chinese communities exist. Since July 1937, millions of dollars have been sent back for relief work and for purchasing National Bonds. In 1938 alone the total amount is estimated to have reached nearly \$600,000,000.

INDUSTRIAL MOBILIZATION

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek once declared that the basis of success in prolonged resistance against Japan is not to be found in the big cities, but in the villages all over China. In line with what Generalissimo Chiang has remarked, the Chinese government in July, 1938, inaugurated an Industrial Co-operative Movement. The purpose of this Movement is to build up new industrial bases in the scattered villages through the formation of producers' co-operative societies, which are to undertake industrial production to satisfy local needs as well as to form an industrial defence system against the Japanese economic offensive.

This Movement has been granted an initial capital of \$5,000,000, out of which loans ranging from \$500 to \$3,000 (or even \$10,000 in special cases) are being extended to farmer-producers' co-operatives to finance various small scale industries. A large number of experienced co-operative workers and modern trained engineers, including several foreign experts, are being employed to promote this Movement which, it is hoped, will result in the establishment of 30,000 producers' co-operatives in the interior provinces of China. With head office in Chungking, the Movement has set up four directing agencies - in Paochi, Shaoyang, Kanchow and Wanhsien - around which branch units will be gradually organized. From these four regional centers co-operative workers and engineers are sent to the surrounding districts to enlist the support of the local authorities, to survey the natural resources, to conduct educational work amongst the peasants, and to help them organize co-operative societies.

It is hoped that the extension of the Industrial Co-operatives Movement will, to a considerable extent, help solve the enormous refugee problem now prevailing all over China.

The Industrial Co-operatives Movement intends to utilize what China still has (manpower, natural resources, limited but unused capital, and experienced and patriotic social workers) to develop a new type of industrial economy to replace the productive power in the large cities already impaired by the Japanese invasion, and through the adoption of which may be rightly called guerilla tactics in economic warfare, to render further Japanese onslaughts ineffectual.

SUPPORT FROM THE WEST

For a year and a half, China has been fighting Japan singlehanded and not until the granting of export credits of \$25,000,000 by the American Export-Import Bank and of £500,000 by the Export Credits Department of the British government in December, 1938, did she receive any large scale material support from the Western democratic sympathizers. Indeed, China would have found her task of resistance much easier were it not for the lamentable fact that her opponent has for more than a year been able to count on American and British sources for replenishment of war supplies such as airplanes, iron, copper, oil, automobiles and motor accessories. Consciously or unconsciously, the United States of America has served as Japan's leading arsenal, and, together with Great Britain, has been an indirect financial aid to the recognized aggressor. Had the United States government (which has openly declared its sympathy with China) refrained from helping replenish the Japanese war chest by instituting an embargo on Japanese goods and had it prohibited its armament industries from dealing with Japan, the present aggression on the Asiatic continent would have met with serious difficulties long ago.

CHINA'S CHANCES TO WIN

It is true that Japan has not yet been crushed on the economic front, and it is certainly no exaggeration to say that from the standpoint of endurance and resources, the ultimate result of the conflict at this writing appears far more favorable to China than it is to her enemy. As a German military adviser has well said: "Militarily, Japan can never win the war, as she has utterly failed and has no chance to annihilate the Chinese forces; economically, she is losing the war because of her ruinous military expenditures and the disruption of her peace-time trade and industry; and politically, she has already lost the war, having achieved little success in her attempts to establish political suzerainty in the occupied regions." On the other hand, China, the same foreign observer declared, has not been defeated but is growing in military strength; economically, she may yet win the war if she continues to develop her vast and rich hinterland; and politically, she has already won the war inasmuch as she has become more united than ever before.

EXTRACTS FROM

LET'S DO OUR PART

By William Stuart Howe
(From Young Republican, April, 1939)

I have not the space to consider our various concrete policies, but I should like to say a word in connection with one which I think is perhaps the most important and controversial.

THE OPEN DOOR

Our American Far-Eastern policy, usually summed up in the phrase "open door," was conceived by a Republican Secretary of State, John Hay, in 1900. It was based on the idea that any conquest and domination of the 400,000,000 Chinese by an outside aggressive power would not only remove from the field of American trade and commerce possibly the greatest undeveloped market but would also constitute a distinct menace to all our interests in the Far East and, to some extent, might threaten our interests in other parts of the world. The Open-door sought a fair field for all trade and commerce in China, with no special favors, and provided for the preservation of China's "territorial integrity," which would safely guard her political independence.

This policy was adopted by all administrations thereafter. During the World War, the Japanese took advantage of other powers' preoccupation elsewhere to make a series of aggressions and demands upon China. In 1922, the Harding Administration set about restoring the traditional American policy. The Washington Conference was called, and the chief American delegates were Republicans--Charles Evans Hughes, now Chief Justice of the United States; Elihu Root, and Henry Cabot Lodge. Elihu Root drafted a treaty which was signed by nine powers including Japan, and which formally and unequivocally restated the American position. Largely in return for this agreement, America deliberately gave up her predominant naval power, scrapped the latest battleships she was building, agreed not to fortify any islands in the Western Pacific, and practically gave over to Japan naval and military supremacy in the Far East.

You all know what is now happening in the Far East. Not only is it a catastrophe for China, but the interests of our businessmen are being destroyed; the beneficent work of our missionary and educational institutions is being eradicated; and there have been repeated insults to Americans and to the American flag, with apologies for some of these and not for others.

We cannot maintain an attitude of indifference to this callous violation of the treaties we were instrumental in having adopted; to the loss of American trade and the disappearance of hope that in China we might find a vast market for our capital goods, which would be of economic benefit to millions of our wage earners; to the danger involved in the political domination of China by an aggressive military power with limitless ambitions for further conquest; and to the loss of the opportunity to win a quarter of the world's people to the cause of democracy. The present Chinese government is largely administered by groups of young men and women who are imbued with democratic ideals and have come under the influence of American thought and method through contact with American educators or missionaries or through direct education in this country. The supplanting of their control by Japanese power, whether exercised directly or through puppet governments, is a tragedy for the future of mankind.

POSITIVE PRESSURE

There is evidence in the President's speeches and in the attitude of our State Department that the Administration would like to put some positive pressure upon Japan and do this in conjunction with other powers such as England and France. I believe the Republican party should back this policy. To obstruct it would be a repudiation both of the principles which we originated and the work of some of our greatest leaders. Our sales of scrap iron, oil, tools, trucks, cotton, etc., to Japan are furnishing her the means successfully to violate the treaties for which we were mainly responsible. This certainly does not make sense. If the Administration should go so far as to suggest economic measures even in the form of boycott or embargoes against Japan we should not hinder but assist. Our last Republican Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, is one of the leaders in this movement and there is no man in the country better informed or of broader vision.

In the Far East, as well as in other regions, a policy of drifting is very apt to involve us in war. Wise and far-sighted action means a better chance for peace. It is certainly a fact that, if we are involved, the struggle will be much more severe if we wait passively on the side-lines until the forces of darkness have gained general supremacy. In internal questions, as in domestic questions, an ounce of prevention may be worth a pound of cure. It would take an article in itself to illustrate this principle, but I am profoundly convinced of its truth.

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SPECIAL LEGISLATION

It is increasingly felt that the Far East can best be dealt with by FURTHER SPECIAL LEGISLATION. Two Senate proposals are now receiving most serious consideration: (1) S. J. Res. 123 introduced by Senator Key Pittman, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, which would authorize the President, after notification to Congress while in session, to place restrictions upon trade (except agricultural products) with countries which violate American rights and interests under the Nine-Power Treaty; (2) S. J. Res. 143 introduced by Senator Lewis B. Schwellenbach, a leading member of the Foreign Relations Committee, which would authorize the President to withhold from export all materials (except agricultural products) which there is reason to believe will be used to violate the sovereignty of any nation whose "sovereignty, independence, or territorial or administrative integrity" the United States is obligated by treaty to respect. This also would be applicable only under the Nine-Power Treaty.

One of these proposals, or its equivalent, may be expected to come to the fore in the near future. It is recommended that both be strongly supported in principle until decision with regard to a single Resolution is reached in Committee. Interest in Congress is steadily increasing. Developments in the Far East favor action. Whether such legislation is passed depends to an important degree upon the volume and strength of fresh support given now to the stoppage of American exports of war materials to Japan.

PROFESSOR LEWIS S. C. SMYTHE REPLIES TO EDITORIAL IN THE LIVING AGE OF FEBRUARY, 1939.

Dr. Smythe is Professor of Sociology at the University of Nanking, now located in Chungku, Szechuan, China. He was in Nanking during the siege and for some time after and is well-qualified to speak with authority on conditions.

The editorial in your issue of February, 1939, regarding "Chiang Kai-shek wiping out the Chinese people" has some most astounding figures in it. I never thought I would have to defend the Chinese "scorched-earth policy," which at the beginning of the war I personally disliked very much. But the misinformation upon which your statements are based calls to high heaven for a reply. Having participated in J. L. Buck's survey of the 1931 flood in China and having conducted the surveys of war damage in and around Nanking in 1937-1938, I realize how exaggerated the reports you used must have been.

I was in Nanking in December, 1937, at the time that city fell to the Japanese and participated in the negotiations for the Safety Zone there. While there were some officials in the Chinese Government who opposed the idea on the grounds that the Chinese people should "take it" just the same as the soldiers, the very fact that the negotiations were completed within four days approved by Chiang Kai-shek himself, and vast food supplies and 80,000 Chinese dollars were turned over to the International Committee composed entirely of foreigners, shows that the leaders of the Government were anxious to do all they could for the welfare of the Chinese people who for various reasons could not leave the city before it fell. And as late as May, 1938, the National Government of China sent Chinese \$ 100,000 to the same International Committee for relief work among the people in Nanking - after the Japanese had been in occupation of the city for six months. Moreover, they gave the International Committee full discretion in the use of those funds for humanitarian purposes and there was no effort to use the money for any propagandistic purposes.

It is true that the general policy of the Chinese Government has been to look upon the Safety Zone with disfavor, largely because of the way the Japanese violated the civilians in the one at Nanking. But the Chinese Government has had an alternative plan which was to evacuate all the civilians from the areas threatened by the Japanese. It is only the physical impossibility of carrying out these plans with the transportation facilities available and the natural unwillingness of many Chinese to leave their old homes or parents that have prevented the rescue of more civilians from the approaching Japanese terror.

I cannot speak for other areas, but at Nanking the value of property burned by the Chinese was about equal to that burned by the Japanese. (I know the Nanking case the best and it has been the most carefully investigated of any of the unfortunate cities to fall into Japanese hands). But the areas destroyed for defense purposes by the Chinese (which were all outside the city walls and largely industrial property at Hsiakwan) could have been rehabilitated much more quickly if it had not been for the disorder and further burning let loose by the Japanese after they had full possession of the city, when any excuse of "military necessity" was no longer possible. As to the loss of lives, in our surveys (War Damage in the Nanking Area) contrary to your figures that nine-tenths were caused by the Chinese we found no reports of any civilian having been killed or injured by the Chinese army even in full retreat. As far as the inside of the city was concerned, the Chinese army marched out in good order on the night of December 12. Among many foreigners from various parts of China I have not heard one say that the retreating Government or

army had "destroyed whole civilian populations", or in fact report any deliberate killing of civilians.

As for people that had to be left by the retreating armies, the fact that they suffered and remained "refugees" for so long after the fighting was over was the result of the inability or unwillingness of the Japanese to assume responsibility for their protection and to allow, much less promote, the resumption of normal economic functions. While millions of refugees have been reported by official circles, these have not been left to "starve" by the Chinese authorities. On the contrary, every effort has been made to help them move westward and find new work and land, or to feed them while destitute. Contrast this with the almost complete lack of any relief work amongst the civilians in areas occupied by the Japanese. Pictures of Japanese soldiers giving Chinese children candy were staged on the streets of Nanking, but the basic relief work had to be carried out by the International Committee, two-thirds of whose resources came from the Chinese Government and the remainder from Western countries. (I know that another Ch\$ 100,000 was given to a foreign relief committee in Amoy by the Chinese Government, and that the International Red Cross in Shanghai received over half of its two million Chinese dollars for relief in 1937-1938 from the Chinese Government).

As for crops destroyed in Central China, it is true that in some areas west of Hsuechowfu the fighting came at the time of the wheat harvest. But we found at Nanking in the fall of 1937 that the crop losses were ver slight in proportion to the losses due to buildings burned by the Japanese. (Crop losses amounted to 1.9 per cent of all losses on farms as compared with 58.8 per cent for buildings. See War Damage in the Nanking Area, Table 18.)

Your figures that 750,000 Chinese peasants perished in the flood that resulted from the opening of the dikes in the Yangtse River are five times the total deaths caused by the 1931 flood of the whole Yangtse and Hwai River valleys in five provinces or 87 hsien (counties)! (You say "Yangtse" although the Yellow River case was more completely a military measure while the Yangtse was largely seasonal flooding). And this in spite of the fact that the Chinese peasants in the areas flooded south of the Yellow River in the summer of 1938 were notified and told to move out before the break was made in the dikes. It is very difficult to get reliable estimates of losses in these matters and scientific surveys usually show much lower figures than such guesses. Will you please publish, along with this reply, your sources for the number of people starving in Central China and lives lost in the Yangtse or Yellow River floods. From a military point of view the breaking of the dikes has been considered a great tactical success. Such action has long been approved in such cases as Holland in Western traditions.

Another consideration should be noted: it is not a comparison of suffering resulting from such flooding with perfect conditions; rather it is a comparison of the effect of flood and the effect of the Japanese! In the flood of 1931 the death rate was 22 per thousand in the areas flooded; during the same period of time (100 days) after the Japanese took Nanking, the death rate in the country districts was 29 per thousand. (Compare annual death rate in rural China of 27.1 per thousand). In other words, the Japanese were thirty per cent more destructive of life than was the flood! And in the flood only one-fourth of the deaths were from drowning while 86 per cent of the war deaths were due to violence! So you might even claim that the flooding of the areas probably reduced the number of deaths within three months after the event by one-fourth because it prevented the Japanese from over-running the areas.

Anyone who reads carefully will note that the list of structures to be destroyed given in the Communist party organ you published did not include homes of civilians. The burning of Changsha civilian homes on November 13, 1938, was in direct disregard of instructions from higher authorities and the three men chiefly responsible were executed for that act. They had been authorized to destroy only public buildings - which we observed in Nanking were almost entirely taken over by the Japanese and proved of no further benefit to the Chinese civilian population remaining in the city. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek hurried to Changsha immediately after learning of the calamitous fire and not only punished those responsible but initiated relief and rehabilitation measures immediately.

In the recent case of Chungking, the bombing of which by Japanese planes on May 3 and 4 caused 5,000 casualties, the Chinese Government has been trying since January to get a large part of the population to move out. But they did not want to. Furthermore, a start on eight fire lanes had been made but without ruthless confiscation such action is difficult to carry out quickly. After the raid Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek were personally active in relief work, all Government and private cars, trucks and boats were commandeered to get civilians out of the city. As a result of this prompt action over 200,000 persons were able to leave the city during the following three days.

May 11, 1939.

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FRANK PRICE WITNESSES CHUNG KING AIR RAIDS

May third was an unusually clear and bright day, after weeks of cloudiness. I was flying in a small Stinson mail plane from Chengtu to Chungking, an air distance of 172 miles. Near the end of our journey I noticed the Chinese pilot and his radio assistant conversing rather excitedly. The speed of the plane was increased. After an hour and forty minutes in the air we landed on a long river flat.

First Bombing. I was in Chungking to attend meetings of two relief committees and to meet various groups and individuals. At 12:50 p.m. a first warning siren sounded. We waited in suspense. Nine Chinese planes were circling in the sky above. After twenty minutes we heard a hum and then a roaring of planes coming from the northwest. At a great height I could see a semi-circle formation of over thirty machines. We ducked into little dugouts. Later we learned that two Chinese planes and one Japanese plane fell.

From the porch of the McCurdy home we could see seven fires in the direction of the Yangtze River, already burning firecely. . . Stretcher bearers were already beginning to carry the wounded to Red Cross Stations and to hospitals. . . They were horrible looking cases. . . One bomb had fallen within seventy yards of the Friends Mission, making a crater a hundred yards across and reducing all houses in the spot to splinters. Here I found George Taylor of Yenching University who was visiting in Chungking, and also Tillman Durdin, correspondent of the New York Times. Durdin had had a narrow escape.

Soon the streets were full again of people and shops not in areas endangered by fire were reopening. How amazingly the Chinese come back after disaster! The Japanese did not destroy a single military objective in this raid. The only effect of the bombing was the destruction of many business buildings, some unimportant Government offices and hundreds of civilian homes. . . . The fires were not brought under control until after dark. I returned to the Hospital. . . I found over forty seriously wounded cases had been admitted. Four died after reaching the operating room. It was a pitiful scene, the wards full of moaning men and women and crying children. After supper I went in a Relief Unit to see the refugees along the Yangtze riverbank. Houses belonging mostly to the working and poorer class for the distance of a mile were demolished or burned, leaving thousands homeless. In one lane I

counted fifteen bodies charred beyond recognition, people caught by the sudden blaze. A ferry pier had been struck and a junk full of people was sunk. The destitute throng was sleeping in the open. Then came an eclipse of the full moon, making the scene seem almost unreal. But no, it was real, stark tragedy.

Second Bombing. The next day was also very clear. There were three alarms during the day. . . . When the unmistakable hum of bombers was heard I joined a group going into the Methodist Hospital dugout which accommodates more than two hundred people. Then "bomb, bomb, bomb" louder and louder, nearer and nearer, until we thought they were falling just above us. . . . Five minutes and it was over. The Japanese planes had attacked in the late afternoon so that they could take advantage of moonlight to escape pursuit and return to their base.

The first bombing was only a practice game compared to this one. Scores of demolition and incendiary bombs (total of 131) were let loose in deliberate and murderous fury upon business and residence section. It was a rain of death. We could see fires in all directions. Bombs had fallen within a hundred yards of us and there were fires on three sides of the Methodist Mission. Fortunately for us, unfortunately for others, a light wind carried the fires in other directions from us toward the heart of the city. All night long the large streets near the Mission, with fine shops, banks, newspaper offices and many homes, were a raging inferno. We could see six very large fires in other sections.

It was a night of horror. I joined a group helping to bring wounded off the streets or from stretcher bearers into the Hospital. There were people wounded from falling roofs, from shrapnel and flying debris; there were armless and legless people; there were cases of severe burning and profuse bleeding. One type of wound I had never seen before, splinters of rock and wood driven deep into faces. One little child of six was brought in with two large wooden splinters buried in its eyes. Nothing could be done. It moaned all night and died the next day. Altogether over a hundred seriously wounded were brought in during the night.

The hospital staff was cut in half, for many doctors and nurses were out looking frantically for their families. Electric lights were off. The waterworks system was damaged. Soon there was not enough water even to wash the blood off the victims. . . . The sky was lit until morning. . . . At two o'clock we saw flames lick up the Red Cross Hospital a mile away. The Municipal Hospital was struck by a bomb. I walked out. . . . one small street were a score of charred bodies, on another bodies torn into ghastly shapes by explosion. An incendiary bomb had fallen on the house next to the Friends Mission. We heard that bombs fell on the grounds of the British Consulate. Debris fell on part of the Canadian Mission School.

At eight o'clock in the morning I kept an appointment for an interview and during the day I met with various groups as planned. Many foreign visitors happened to be in Chungking. All were sending out special reports and letters. The British Ambassador witnessed the bombing. I cabled brief message to my brother Harry Price, Secretary of the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression, to the American Church Committee for China Relief, and to the Christian Century. The Government authorities handled the situation boldly and effectively. Generalissimo and Madame Chiang and Dr. H. H. Kung themselves inspected the ruins and the refugees. All cars and buses were commandeered to help carry refugees from the city. Casualties were estimated at 5,000, the homeless at 60,000 to 100,000. A week later the following official figures were published: over 3,000 deaths and a known total of 5014 killed and wounded.

I returned to Chengtu by air on the morning of the sixth as planned. A recent letter tells of the third bombing on the 12th. The number of casualties was much less than in the first two raids. China is ready to endure even greater pain for the sake of her national freedom.

An Embargo on Japanese Goods?

Senator Pittman Urges Congress to Take Such Action

By Henry H. Douglas.

In the hearings on neutrality legislation, just completed by the Senate and House committees yesterday, the matter of separate, specific action in regard to Japan has been the subject of much discussion.

It seems, that short of action having to do with the outbreak of a general world-wide conflict, in which Japan would necessarily be involved, there is no suitable single solution, with respect to Europe and the Far East. Realizing that such is the situation, Senator Pittman, on April 27, introduced a resolution based on violation of the Nine-Power Treaty, under which the President, with 10 days notice to Congress, may embargo the shipment of goods to Japan, as well as, impose restrictions upon monetary exchange and credits.

Coffee Bill Called for Embargo

To achieve the same purpose, on March 29, Congressman Coffee introduced a bill, clearly and unmistakably worded, for the application of an embargo. The bill has been designated as the Japanese embargo act of 1939, and as specifically stated, covers not only scrap iron and finished munitions, but all metals, oils, machines, engines, and any other commodities being used, or capable of being used, for military purposes.

Strong sentiments for an embargo have been expressed in the hearings, and the various barometers of public opinion definitely indicate that the great majority of the people of the United States favor such a step. Senator Norris, commenting a few days ago on the situation, said he thought there was a widespread fear, but which he did not share, that any embargo on Japan would bring a Japanese declaration of war against the United States. He further said he "would place embargoes against Japan in a minute if it could be proved that it would not constitute an act of war."

In contemplating the application of an embargo on the shipment of goods to Japan there are three practical considerations which inevitably arise, one of which has been expressed by Senator Norris.

I. Would such an embargo be effective?

II. What would be the cost of such an embargo to the United States?
 III. Would the application of such an embargo lead us into war with Japan?

These questions will now be considered in the order stated.

Would Embargo Be Effective?

The following table, compiled from United States Department of Commerce data, shows the actual value of war materials shipped to Japan by the United States.

Dutch India	7.4	8.0
Germany	3.8	3.7
Belgium	2.0	1.3
China	1.7	3.0
Soviet Union	2.2
Norway	.3	.1
Switzerland	.0002	.3
Total	87.1	86.4

The estimate to date for America's proportionate share of goods furnished to Japan in 1938 will somewhat exceed her share for 1937.

	Eleven months ending November 30th			
	1938	1937	1938	1937
	Value (Millions)	Per Cent of Total	Value (Millions)	Per Cent of Total
Total	\$141.9	100.0	\$157.2	100.0
Petroleum & Products	45.4	32.0	38.4	24.5
Iron & steel semi-manufacturers	30.1	21.2	70.2	44.7
Metal-working machinery	21.4	15.1	9.4	6.0
Nonferrous metals	20.5	14.4	19.3	12.3
Arms, ammunition & implements of war	10.2	7.2	2.1	1.3
Automobiles, parts & accessories	9.1	6.4	13.3	8.5
Hides, skins & leather	2.5	1.8	2.6	1.7
Ferro-alloys	2.2	1.6	1.2	0.8
Internal combustion engines	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2

The figures below, compiled from data furnished by the United States Department of Commerce, and Monthly Returns of Foreign Trade of Japan, giving the share of the United States in Japan's essentials for war purposes, speak for themselves.

COMMODITY CLASS	PERCENTAGE (1937)
Copper	92.9
Automobiles and parts	91.2
All oil	60.5
Pig iron	41.6
Other iron	59.7
Machinery and engines	48.5
Zinc	20.4
Total in aggregate	54.4

Thus it is clearly seen that iron and copper, machinery, engines and parts, and a large share of the oil, all come from the United States. These figures demonstrate conclusively Japan's dependence upon the United States for supplies absolutely essential to her in the prosecution of the war.

To add to this, let us show (in relative percentages) where Japan gets her supplies.

Contribution of Nine Principal Countries to Japan's Essentials for War Purposes—by Countries (Manchukuo Not Included).

Principal Countries	1937 Share in Aggregate	1936 Share in Aggregate
U. S. A.	54.4	47.9
British Empire	17.5	19.9

Here, then, is the answer to the argument that if Japan could not get supplies from the United States she would get them elsewhere. Great Britain supplies only one-third of the amount furnished by the United States, Dutch India less than one-seventh, Germany only a very small amount, and Italy nothing.

The countries (Germany and Italy) to which Japan would naturally turn in such a situation, are not able to furnish anything. They are struggling desperately to supply their own needs. What other countries are there which could, or would, supply Japan with the needed materials? A definite stand on part of the United States would materially strengthen the hand of the British and the Dutch in their dealings with Japan.

Equally significant, or even more so, is the fact that Japan's whole mass production industry, the functioning of which is absolutely essential in the prosecution of the war, is geared to American machines, American techniques, American machine tools, special American steels, and American oils. Practically all the gasoline for Japan's high speed motors comes from the United States.

She cannot turn away—unless she starts to build up her heavy industries all over again, and her engineering processes from the bottom, and on a less efficient basis. Japan's heavy imports of metal-working machinery are designed to overcome her technical weakness in this respect, so as to provide an adequate basis for her armament industries.

The strategic importance of the United States as a supplier of machine equipment to Japan can hardly be overemphasized, because

Would Be Heavy Blow To Japan's War Industries

the United States not only makes machine tools of the highest quality, but also because it is the only country at the present juncture that is in a position to deliver orders for machine tools within the short period of time these are needed by the Japanese.

Evidence for these statements is the fact that Japan in 1937 purchased from this country \$11,904,342 worth of metal-working machinery, while for 1938 the figure was \$23,537,919 at somewhat lower prices. And, further, this item alone is more than double the total value, for the same period, of all arms, ammunition and implements of war bought from us by Japan, \$11,162,842. At the same time there has been a significant drop in her purchases from us of motor vehicles, parts and accessories, and an even greater drop in her purchases of iron and steel semi-manufactures. (Figures for the latter are: 1937, \$72,062,152; 1938, \$33,313,016.)

A degree of mechanical self-sufficiency on a war-time basis has already been attained—with the help of the United States. So the United States has been actively preparing and assisting Japan in the execution of her program of aggression.

In some quarters Manchukuo is now considered a good market for American goods. It is, at the moment, a good market for materials of use to Japan in the war against China, and for machines and equipment which go toward building up Japan's mechanical self-sufficiency for further military conquests. As soon as this self-sufficiency is attained, Manchukuo as a market for goods of the United States will cease to exist.

The above figures and conclusions rather definitely demonstrate that an embargo by the United States on the shipment of goods to Japan would be effective.

Cost of Embargo To United States

What would be the cost of such an embargo to the United States?

Our total trade with Japan for the first eleven months of 1938 was

\$158,332,555. The total trade for 1937 was \$167,963,893. This difference, however, is obviated by a lowering of prices in 1938 which would approximately equalize the total amounts. The total physical volume of trade did not decline. It is significant to observe that of every \$100 the United States received from exports to Japan in 1938 the sum of \$67.30 was in payment for war materials, as compared with \$57.80 in the previous year.

Would Embargo Lead to War?

Would the application of such an embargo lead the United States into war with Japan?

The writer's answer to this question is an emphatic no. Japan's economy and even her reserves are under such a severe strain that she could not possibly engage any other

power in conflict, let alone a nation with the might of the United States. We are prone at present, it seems to this reporter, to greatly overestimate Japan's threat to the United States; but on the other hand we greatly underestimate her future threat to the peace and security of the United States and the world if we continue to unreservedly assist her in the building up of a machine which will eventually dominate the entire west and

south Pacific areas, as well as all of East Asia. Also, our trade with this part of the world, which under Japanese domination would be completely closed to us, is a very large item.

If it is to be argued that in retaliation against an embargo, or to obtain new resources, Japan would seize the Philippines, it may be answered that she is very likely to do that anyway, and is even surer to do so if the growth of her mili-

tary and naval might is allowed to go on unchecked. Japan could do nothing in retaliation which she is not now doing, or which she is not extremely likely to do in the future.

The application of an embargo on the shipment of goods to Japan would in no way be a declaration of or an invitation for war. Not one battleship, one man, or one dollar need be sent to the China Sea. All we need to do is to stop sending American products there.

Note 1 - An increase in metal-working machinery; a decrease in iron and steel semi-manufactures. A degree of mechanical self sufficiency on a war-time basis has already been attained--with the help of the United States. So the United States has been actively preparing and assisting Japan in the execution of her program of aggression.

Note 2 - Leaving entirely out of consideration the possibility of diverting some of this trade (i.e. products handled in normal peace-time commerce) to other countries, the sacrifice in trade, in terms of separate comparative figures, on the part of the United States, would be 6.3% of her 3,345 million dollars of export; 0.3% of her 1937 national income, estimated at \$67,500,000,000; 18% of the \$1,166,000,000 big navy program; or 0.77% of the \$27,234,000,000 expenditures incurred in the world war. It would hardly seem that the 0.3% of our national income for a limited period would be too great a sacrifice for us to make. A considerable portion of our trade with Japan, under fairly normal conditions, would inevitably be resumed sooner or later.

Article from WASHINGTON POST, May 7, 1939 with notes by author reprinted with his permission.

Our Interests in the East

They Are Held to Be of Greater Moment Than Affairs in Europe

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The future course of international relations is being determined today on two main fronts, the one in Europe, and the other in Asia. There is a close connection between the two series of events which are determining the shape of things to come. It is of the utmost importance that American observers present happenings in their proper perspective. However, in late months there has been a tendency to focus our attention on what is happening in Europe, and to a large degree to overlook the significance of events in Asia.

This is a dangerous situation which may lead to misfortune. Although there can be no question about the importance of European affairs, there seems to be little that we can do to prevent that continent from reverting to type and descending into one of its periodic orgies of bloodshed. We are intimately concerned with helping to postpone such an event as long as possible; it is also to our interest to see to it that the least reprehensible ideology survives.

But America's main interest is in the Far East. The Pacific area is the great treasure house of the world. There lie the greatest undeveloped resources on earth, and immense markets which have been barely touched. In the Oriental peoples there is, in spite of their long history, a freshness and vitality which

may produce great good for mankind.

The present danger lies in the possibility that we may blindly follow the lead of Britain.

A grave situation is arising in the Far East. The Tories have consistently sabotaged China. For a long time they have blocked every suggestion for major financial assistance to the Chinese Government. They have secretly supported Japan on at least two grounds: first, by so doing they have hoped to alienate Japan from the Rome-Berlin Axis; and secondly, they have trusted that they would be admitted to their share of the fabulous spoils which presumably would follow a Japanese victory.

British policy in the Far East is completely at variance to that of the United States. The former is postulated on Japanese ascendance and Chinese subjugation. This has been true for a generation. The British have had it in their power since 1931 to place serious obstacles in the way of Japanese expansion, and to support the Chinese national renaissance. They have failed to do so at every turn, and have blocked every attempt of the United States to do so.

The two small concessions recently made to China in the form of a five-million-pound loan and the meager facilities for the transport of supplies over the Burma road have apparently been motivated, first, by a desire to ap-

pease American opinion, second, by the desire of the City to profit as much as possible by China's predicament, and third, by the desire of the government to slap Japan's wrist subsequent to her seizure of Canton.

American policy has consistently postulated an open door for China and an opportunity for the Chinese people to work out their own salvation. It is to our interest to maintain this policy without change. From a purely selfish standpoint, it is definitely to our advantage to preserve the balance of power in the Far East. Japan has proved that where she controls the mainland of Asia our trade is doomed. On the other hand, our relations with China have been increasingly friendly. Our trade with her previous to the war was growing rapidly, and from every standpoint we would benefit greatly through the resurgence of a powerful free China.

There is strong evidence that Britain is willing to buy off Japan by giving her a free hand in China. In return, British financial interests would presumably salvage a portion, at least, of their investments, and also would share in the spoils after Japan has won. It is time for us to consider the international situation in its proper perspective.

OLIVER J. CALDWELL.

Floral Park, N. Y., May 5, 1939.

From North China Daily News, Shanghai, Feb. 27, 1939.

JAPAN EVADES AMERICAN BAN ON AEROPLANES

American Engineers Employed in Japan Constructing Machines; New Types Being Built

Tokyo, Feb. 25.

Japan, cut off from the purchase of American aeroplanes through the usual channels, is employing American skill and engineering experience in a hurry-up effort to develop a large scale aviation industry of her own.

In the seven months since United States Secretary of State Mr. Cordell Hull, intervened to stop shipments of war planes to this country, a corps of American aircraft engineers has come to Japan on a mission which, if successful, will largely circumvent Mr. Hull's endeavors.

The job of these American engineers, who are working under the Japanese army, is the maintenance, assembly and construction of American engines and aeroplanes to be used as transports, bombers and fighters either in China or in any other campaign on which Japan might embark.

They have come under an arrangement with the Japanese Government which places them, through their association with Japanese aircraft corporations, under the orders of Lieutenant-General Eiki Tojo, former Vice-Minister of War, former chief of staff of the Kwantung Army and now in supreme command of Japan's military aviation.

A "Manager of Industrial Engineering" from the Lockheed aircraft Corporation at Burbank, California, an engine expert from Wright, and an engineer from the Douglas factories are representative of the type of American technicians now working for Japan. In addition to the salaries they receive from the Japanese, most of these experts are still on the pay rolls of their respective companies in the United States.

Fastest Transport Planes. The Lockheed industrial engineer is here to help to build and put in working order a factory for the mass production of his company's Model 14, said to be the fastest transport plane in the world and capable of flying more than 276 miles per hour. Japan not only bought the design rights of this model, which was used by Howard Hughes in his round-the-world record breaking flight, but 25 completed ships as well.

It is a simple engineering job to turn these fast transports into speedy bombing planes. The "skin" is pierced for a "bomb belly", machine gun mounts are installed, and the transport becomes a bomber.

The Douglas representative is stationed at Tachikawa airport, one hour by train from the heart of Tokyo. There, under the supervision and surveillance of the Showa Aircraft Corporation (Japanese), he is assisting in the assembly of aeroplanes. Japan has bought design rights for the DC2 model, another transport which may easily be made into a bomber.

A Warning From Lindbergh. In Fukuoka, before an audience of Army, Navy and civilian fliers, a representative of Curtiss-Wright is now giving lectures on the maintenance and operation of Wright engines.

The Americans work at a disadvantage because they are not permitted close contact with the aeroplane factories. Japan worries a great deal about espionage and its authorities are ever fearful that its industrial processes, many of which were copied from other nations, will be seen by foreign eyes.

The American aeroplane engineers, therefore, are not allowed to gain thorough knowledge of Japan's aeroplane manufacturing capabilities. The Japanese have heard that Col. Charles A. Lindbergh gave valuable information on the German aviation industry to the United States government and they want nothing like that to happen in this case.

Most of the experts do their work from rooms in Tokyo's Imperial Hotel, writing speeches, planning and designing with high Japanese military officials. Even the Douglas man, who works at an airport, is constantly surrounded and prevented from seeing too much.

Otherwise, the American experts are treated generously. One expert who is working with the Okura Aircraft Corporation had a typical experience. His Japanese salary was doubled and his room rent at Tokyo's Imperial Hotel, most expensive in the capital, was halved--all on the same day. The Imperial is controlled by Baron Okura, who also owns the aircraft factory bearing his name. That same engineer is given about \$20 per day for "expense" money.

Japan is paying a comparatively small price for American help. The engineering cost on a modern type plane is nearly two million dollars. These men come over here in Japanese ships, live in Japanese hotels and are paid expense money in yen. In fact, most of them receive their Japanese salaries in yen and under present regulations it is impossible, without special permits, to take more than 1,000 yen out of Japan. Nor is it possible, under existing strict exchange control regulations, to use yen in buying dollar currency or traveler's checks in any appreciable quantity.

Generously Financed. Japan's air industry is generously financed and is the beneficiary of privileges, not granted other Japanese enterprises, through the media of two important bills and a host of ordinances.

The "Machine Tool Industry Law" and the "Aeronautical Act" enable manufacturers of aeroplanes to evade partially all land levies, import taxes on raw materials and parts capital taxes and the dreaded Article XI of the National Mobilization Bill--an article which prohibits dividend payments of more than 10 per cent in companies capitalized at more than 200,000 yen, and restricts the building of new plants and expansion of old ones.

The reason for Japan's recent speed-up of construction and the resultant importation of American experts may be found in a recent answer of Lieutenant-General Itagaki, War Minister, to a Diet interpellation.

Said the War Minister: "Japan must be prepared to fight two wars at the same time--against Chiang Kai-shek and the Soviet Union".- United Press.

SIXTEEN MONTHS AFTER JAPANESE OCCUPATION
NANKING

Mr. _____ is going to Shanghai tomorrow, so I will take this opportunity to write an unexpurgated letter. I haven't done so for some time, so you will not have had an accurate picture of 'occupied' territory and probably think that while it doesn't exactly resemble a bed of roses, it isn't such a bad place to live. For ourselves we have, so far, had little to complain of: we have our little circle; it is only a little way to my work, and as I go the back way, I do not run into any Japanese on the way. We occasionally go out in the evening, usually walking to and from, and rarely meet any Chinese on the street after dark.

The Chinese, however, have no such easy existence. They are completely, body and soul, at the mercy and whims of their conquerors. All sorts of little methods of oppression are used to make them uncomfortable. One of the most serious menaces as you no doubt have heard, is the opium and heroin game. Under the thinly veiled guise of an "opium suppression" system, they are distributing opium far and wide and enslaving thousands and thousands of the poor people. The opium is brought in from Manchuria and the city is divided into districts. There are now one hundred and twenty-six "licensed" opium dens, besides hundreds of private means of distribution. As you will see from the book SECRET AGENT OF JAPAN - Vespa, which I insist you get, the idea is to gradually eliminate the Chinese people and replace them with Japanese. The opium is perhaps the chief means to this end. Its other purpose is to provide revenue for the conquerors. It is the quickest and easiest way to get rich and is about the only source of actual revenue in occupied territory except for direct extortion. This latter system is employed frequently; they arrest a wealthy Chinese and let him go for some odd thousands of dollars.

There is a grengarmerie headquarters opposite the American Embassy which Mr. _____ can observe all day. From morning till night, women who go by there are molested. They are first made to submit to a search outside the gate of the premises, then are taken in and raped. If they do that right under our noses, we can only imagine what is going on where we can't see them. The same headquarters is used as a center for bringing Japanese loot, a process that seems never ending. Only the other day they brought in six pianos in a single day. Other items of furniture and valuables come in by trucks daily. Any house that is Chinese owned is commandeered. Only the other day -----'s house was seized. He had asked us to see what I could do to protect it and had made it over to my name but----- has to be careful in such instances and could not lend their protection to it. The Japanese spoke to -----'s cousin who is in charge of the house and told him not to tell anyone. He came to me begging me not to do anything since if I stirred a finger they would take off his head.

The event that has come nearest to our hearts concerns our own hospital evangelist. The Japanese had the idea that the hospital was a center of anti-Japanese activity and they had their eyes on him as a ringleader. Apparently someone told them that in his prayer he had been so indiscreet as to ask the Lord's blessing on the Generalissimo.

They made inquiries and found he was soon to leave us and so watched the gate day and night, not wanting to cause international trouble by coming on to the property. He had received an offer of a teaching position in the Foochow Theological Seminary, and had obtained his pass to go. He left the hospital one morning

at five o'clock to go to the station. This was about three weeks ago. Two other hospital people were with him. They saw a car start out after the carriage, and soon several plain-clothes men arrested him and took him off. We have not heard from him since. There have been several rumors that he has been tortured and killed. We found that he had been taken to the gendarmerie headquarters, the former Ministry of Justice. Representations through the Embassy and through Chinese friends in the "New Government" have been fruitless. Our only ray of hope has been through the intercession of a Japanese Christian pastor who has been constantly on his trail. The gendarmerie were surprised and considerably put out that we knew where he had been taken, as they had been careful to be without uniform and had not let a word leak out. We do not hold out much hope for him. The rest of our staff, of course, are terrified. It is said that several more are marked for arrest and they don't know which ones they are. No Chinese can call his soul his own.

The Japanese have been 'buying' up most of the rice in the district and shipped it out. I should say they have taken the rice, buying is not quite correct. The result is a shortage of food that has made prices go up and the poor people can't afford to eat. The relief Committee has been distributing more and more rice and hundreds are daily helped at their headquarters.

The poor Puppet Government, of course, has nothing to say or do. All this you hear of Anti-British propaganda which has not turned to Anti-British-French-American propaganda, ostensibly because these nations help the Central Government, is, of course, written by the Japanese. They put it in the mouths of the puppets and then they come out with strong endorsements of the puppet attitude. Read this book, Secret Agent of Japan, and you will get a good picture of what we can expect as long as these "friends" are here.

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AN "OLD STORY" - BUT THEY KEEP COMING IN
From A Missionary

One of our pastors recently told me that in his town the Japanese soldiers are very friendly toward the people now. A Japanese officer urged him to reopen the church, promising full protection. One is glad to give wide publicity to all good reports. But the report here given by another pastor is not pleasant reading. It helps one to understand the 'true situation'. I have heard of these things but they seem more terrible in a town where I have several times preached and conducted the Communion Service.

In the fighting near this particular town the Chinese lost one hundred soldiers while the Japanese lost fifty or sixty. All buildings fronting the main canal running through the center of the town were burned by the Japanese. About one-half of the stores and dwellings were thus destroyed. Houses on three sides of the church building were reduced to ashes but it escaped. A one-legged church member was left in charge when the pastor and his wife, suddenly forced to flee, managed to escape by jumping out the window. Church members, comparatively speaking, fared well. Only three families lost their homes. One man was taken off, never to be seen again. Two members were shot as they rowed frantically away but their injuries did not prove fatal. Only two were raped by Japanese, the daughter of one church member and one woman inquirer. The actions of the invading soldiers were unbelievably barbarous. Three hundred private citizens were slaughtered. I asked the pastor if he knew some of them and he replied, 'Oh, yes, neighbors all around my home were victims. For example, the barber who was too poor to escape to the hills.' On the first afternoon, even before Chinese troops had come to defend the town any man found with money on his person was despatched offhand. If he had no money he was let go. I suppose money was supposed to indicate that he was paid by the local militia.

That first afternoon, also, seven or eight women were taken, with hands bound behind them to a little glade. One or two were old ladies. At daybreak they were all killed 'as sheep aro' to use the pastor's too expressive phrase. I can not bring myself to depict the actual method.

When residents returned to the town they were horrified to find the bodies of some children in the canals.

A month after the first attack the Japanese soldiers went to the nearby hills and shot down all the people they could find, even ten year old boys and girls collecting firewood, as one so often sees them in the country. Forty thus perished. At times men pumping water to irrigate their fields have been mowed down by machine guns from passing Japanese launches.

"They (the Japanese) are a strange people" remarked my informant. "They don't seem to mind raping in the fields or wherever they find their victims." Then he told me of the experience of four women belonging to wealthy and well-known family in the nearby city, relatives of a man I know, one of the most prominent in that city. Fleeing from the soldiers they found themselves cut off by canals on every side. One young mother with a babe a year old jumped into the canal up to her neck and stayed there. The seven Japanese soldiers who had surrounded them laughed and clapped their hands at the sight, then did as they wished with the other three. "It was pitiable to hear afterwards the stricken cries of the four women". After some hours in the water the fine looking baby had died. Sometimes, if they could not catch escaping women they shot them down. Later, when the canals were flooded many were drowned as they tried to escape by leaping into water that proved too deep.

IF A BABY STARVES, THAT'S A MILITARY VICTORY

We have been hearing a great deal lately about "totalitarian" war, in which there are no noncombatants. Japan has just illustrated the meaning of the phrase by a new official order barring the American Red Cross from sending food or medicine to the starving people of the town of Ningpo, about 100 miles south of Shanghai.

Three hundred bags of rice have been held up. Japan informs the world that no relief organizations will be permitted to help the people of towns under attack--Ningpo is being bombarded daily. The deadly cruelty of this order is but a local extension of the kind of maneuvers brought into being during the World War--poison gas, air bombings, Big Bertha guns. These weapons were based on the idea that civil populations were no longer immune from attack, since to crumple morale was as important as to shatter the walls of a fortress. This is the outstanding contribution of our age to military theory, and the most barbaric military innovation in the history of the world.

Even the plunder of civil populations by the armies of ancient Rome had more justification, as a rough-and-ready means of paying off the army and of collecting indemnity. The new totalitarian war is a negation of every decent human instinct of consideration for children, the sick, the aged.

No nation in the world is completely free of the sins of totalitarian war. We, as one of the Allies, helped win the World War by starving out Germany, leaving a mark of malnutrition on a generation which was to turn to Hitler for revenge.

However, the Japanese gesture is the high mark, so far; the first time in half a century that the Red Cross has not been recognized on the battlefield.

* * * * *

It is because totalitarian war is the deadly, murderous thing it is that we anti-interventionists look with such suspicion on the efforts of those who would take us into Europe's quarrels. Our people can stay out of it, and we want to see them do so.

MINUTES OF MEETING
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
ASSOCIATED BOARDS FOR CHRISTIAN COLLEGES IN CHINA

10:00 A.M. Friday, February 17, 1939
Room 900 - 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

List of Members

Cheeloo	George T. Scott	*S. M. Milliken	*Mrs. C. K. Roys
Cheeloo W.C.	Mrs. J.M. Avann		
Fukien	Amy O. Welcher	*W.C. Fairfield	*F.T. Cartwright
Ginling	*Margaret E.Hodge	Mrs.F.J.McConnell	Mrs.T.D.Macmillan
Hangchow	George T. Scott		
Hua Chung	*John W. Wood	*E.C. Lobenstine	*Oliver S. Lyford
Hwa Nan	Mrs.T.Nicholson	Mrs.D.Diefendorf	*Faye H. Robinson
Lingnan	Edward H. Hume	O.D. Wannamaker	
Nanking	John W. Decker	*R.E.Diffendorfer	Lloyd S. Ruland
Shanghai	C. E. Maddry	L.Howard Jenkins	Mrs.H.W. Smith *G.B.Huntington
Soochow	A. W. Wasson	W. G. Cram	
West China	James Endicott	John W. Decker	*F.T.Cartwright J. H. Arnup
West China W.C.	Mrs.G.D.Atkinson	Mrs. C. H. Sears	
Yenching	*George G. Barber	*Eric M. North	*F. D. Gamewell E. M. McBrier
Yenching C.C.	*Mrs.J.H. Finley	*Mrs.C.C. Parlin	
Coopted	*F.T. Cartwright	F. W. Padelford	*Mrs.C.K. Roys *Samuel Thorne
Ex Officio	*R.E.Diffendorfer	E. M. McBrier	

Those whose names are starred were present, as were also Dr. E. E. Walline (alternate for Dr. Ruland), Mr. B. A. Garside, and the Secretary.

Dr. Milliken presided until the arrival of Mr. Barber, who then took the Chair.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Dr. Huntington.

APPROVAL OF MINUTES

The minutes of the meeting of December 9, 1938 were approved. Minute E-893, which was circulated to the Executive Committee for vote on December 27, 1938, was approved, and the actions taken in accordance therewith were confirmed.

DEATH OF MR. EDWIN F. WILLIS

Attention was called to the death of Mr. Edwin F. Willis. The following memorial resolution was adopted:-

E-900 RESOLVED that the Executive Committee of the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China record its feeling of great loss in the death of Mr. Edwin F. Willis.

Mr. Willis had been closely connected with the work of the China Colleges over a long period. He had served on the Boards of both Cheeloo University and Hangchow Christian College, as well as being a member of the Finance Committee of the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China. Mr. Willis' residence in Nashville did not permit him to attend many meetings of the Boards and the Committee, which were held in New York, but his interest and advice were always of importance and help.

We wish to express our appreciation of his faithful service, as well as sympathy for his relatives and colleagues.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

The invitation from the American Academy of Political and Social Science to appoint representatives to attend their Annual Meeting in Philadelphia on March 31 and

April 1 was read, and the following were appointed, subject to acceptance:- Dr. Gamewell, Miss Hodge, and Mr. Ludington. The Chairman of the Executive Committee was asked to appoint alternates if necessary.

DATE OF ANNUAL MEETING

The desirability of having the Annual Meeting postponed until June was discussed. Various dates were considered which might make possible the attendance of the various people concerned. It was

E-901 VOTED to appoint the President of the Associated Boards, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, and the Executive Secretary, a committee with power, to arrange a schedule for the Annual Meeting of the Associated Boards.

The dates of June 17 to 20 were suggested for consideration by the Committee, and it was also proposed that some or all of the meetings be held in Philadelphia, following the meetings of the Foreign Missions Conference at Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

RECOMMENDATION FROM THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

The recommendation from the Finance Committee of the Associated Boards at a meeting held on February 10, 1939, reading as follows: "F-896 VOTED to recommend to the Executive Committee to set up a special committee for the purpose of handling fellowships," was presented, and it was

E-902 VOTED that the recommendation be approved, and that the committee should be appointed by the Chairman in consultation with the Executive Secretary.

The following were appointed: Miss Hodge, Chairman; Dr. Decker; Dr. Fairfield; until Dr. Decker's return, Mrs. Sears appointed as his alternate.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR CONSIDERATION OF GREATER UNITY

The full report of the Committee, attached hereto as Appendix A, had previously been circulated to all members of the Executive Committee. Dr. North, as Chairman of the Special Committee, summarized briefly its activities, and a general discussion followed in which all participated.

It was

E-903 VOTED to receive the report of the Special Committee for Consideration of Greater Unity, with appreciation for its services, to dismiss the Committee, and to appoint a new committee of seven to continue the study of greater unity and present proposals for the attention of the Annual Meeting.

The Chairman appointed the following to serve: Dr. Fairfield, Dr. Hume, Dr. Huntington, Mr. Lyford, Dr. North, Mrs. Roys, and Mr. Thorne.

It was noted that the actions in 1937 regarding greater unity called for certain proposals being presented to the various mission boards for action. It was

E-904 VOTED to request that the individual boards not take action at this time on the proposals made in 1937 on the question of greater unity, and that these proposals be referred to the Committee appointed at this meeting for further study.

MEMBERS OF ASSOCIATED BOARDS FOR CHRISTIAN COLLEGES IN CHINA VISITING CHINA

The importance of the meeting of the Presidents of the China Colleges this spring was mentioned, and it was pointed out that some of the members of the Associated Boards are now in China and could be present when this meeting is held. It was

E-905 VOTED that the Secretary get in touch with members of the Associated Boards now in China in order to have them attend, if possible, the meeting of the Presidents in Shanghai and to bring back their reports for presentation at the Annual Meeting. In case they are not returning in time for the Annual Meeting, their impressions should be sent by mail for presentation.

It was further

E-906 VOTED that the Secretary should inform delegates to the Madras Conference, and others connected with the Associated Boards and constituent mission boards who have given thought to the problem of the China Colleges, of the dates of the Annual Meeting and to extend an invitation to them to attend.

LINNER FOR MR. MCBRIER BY THE YENCHING TRUSTEES

It was

E-907 VOTED that the President of the Associated Boards, Mr. Lyford, and the Executive Secretary frame a resolution to be presented to Mr. McBrier at this dinner.

The meeting was adjourned with prayer by Dr. Gamewell.

JOSEPH I. PARKER

Secretary

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR CONSIDERATION OF GREATER UNITY
to the
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ASSOCIATED BOARDS

February 17, 1939

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHINA COLLEGE BOARDS
IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

Your Committee reporting herein understands its instructions to be, not to make an exhaustive survey of the North American home base organization nor to propose specific plans for consideration, but rather as clearly as possible to give the "lay of the land", so that the factors in the present situation may be quickly seen by all.

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I. THE PRESENT SITUATION

In the last twenty years certain striking developments in the organization of the China College Boards have taken place. Then most of the colleges had little or no plant, little or no endowment; there were no relationships among the governing trustee boards, other than the fact that certain mission boards were represented on more than one trustee board; promotion was largely the activity of officers of the colleges when on furlough and of the mission boards in respect to their own participation. In 1922 the central office was established. Gradually more trustee boards took advantage of its experience and facilities. More and more the consciousness of a common purpose and common problems arose in the trustee boards, fostered also by a growing fellowship on the field.

In 1928 the Committee for the China Christian Colleges took form as an expression of this consciousness of a common purpose; in 1932 this was extended into the more inclusive and more formally organized "The Associated Boards." The original central office of two persons gradually has become an organization of twenty-seven persons administering the funds and affairs of six colleges (capital funds in America, \$5,375,000; annual current outgo, \$621,500) and engaged in financial promotion for the benefit of these six colleges and (under the emergency) to the benefit of six more. In the Associated Boards there has grown up a spirit of common concern and increasing fellowship in service on the part of the trustees on the separate college boards. It is fair to point out that this consciousness is very much more marked in the case of those trustee boards which in themselves contain the larger merging of missionary interest and is rather slight on the part of those trustee boards which represent a single denominational family or none at all.

Again and again there has arisen, during this expanding growth, a feeling that the common objectives, the common nature of the problems faced, and the common techniques required, all made a simpler organization desirable. This feeling has been strongest on the part of members of trustee boards or executives who serve more than one college and who have naturally been most conscious of the common aspects of the situation. At the time the Associated Boards was started, in 1932, considerable thought was given to suggestions for integrating the operations of several trustee boards more fully. This was dropped, however, in the interest of a more inclusive plan. Again in 1936-37 the need of closer integration led to fresh studies; the recommendations resulting were authorized by "The Associated Boards" in May 1937 to be transmitted to the individual trustee boards. In the emergency in China with the consequent exceptional campaign work the office has not presented the recommendations to the trustee boards for consideration. These then are "pending business."

Some new factors have, however, entered into the situation to accentuate the sense of common concerns:

- (1) The emergency has set the united organization to raising emergency support for the colleges as a group.
- (2) This effort has enlisted support from the public in terms of the group of colleges, which more and more is appearing to the public as an entity.

- (3) In this emergency The Associated Boards has received and allocated undesignated funds in a considerable amount among the colleges, based on its own judgment of their respective needs.

Such procedures are likely to continue not only during the principal emergency but in the reconstruction or rehabilitation which must follow.

Moreover, in China itself, the peril to all higher education and also to Christian higher education in particular requires common action:

- (1) The trained personnel must be sustained and kept active to insure not simply that a given mission have a supply of trained workers, but that the Christian movement as a whole, and the nation, be assured competent Christian leadership of every sort.
- (2) It is uncertain how long institutions will have to function on campuses other than their own, but it is clear that considerable parts, not simply of student bodies but of the constituencies of the eastern colleges, have been transferred to the west and will remain there for some time. Boards of Trustees that had responsibilities in east and central China now have them in the west as well.
- (3) The extent and character of the service which each college may be able to render in the future is now more uncertain than for years; it is imperative that in this situation the inevitable readjustments in the program of the colleges be made with the interest of the whole Christian enterprise in view.
- (4) It is doubtful whether conditions will for some time make it possible for comprehensive consideration to be given to these common issues by a sufficient body of educational leaders in China. Responsibilities for far-seeing, sympathetic, common counsel therefore rest more heavily than before on the trustee boards here.

Such factors as these have no doubt given rise to the actions on the part of two trustee boards, the Executive Committee of the Associated Boards, and the Trustees of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, directing attention to the need of fresh consideration of whether the existing set-up is the best for meeting the needs of the present. These factors must also be weighed in answering the immediate question, "What change, if any, should be made?"

II. FUNCTIONS OF THE TRUSTEE BOARDS

As indicated by the committee set-up of the Associated Boards, the functions of the trustee boards fall into four lines:

1. Concern for the Christian Character and the Efficiency of the Institution. Here are involved staff, curriculum, and general tone of the institution. Actual executive responsibility on these matters is almost wholly in the hands of the boards of managers and the officers on the field. Annually, the trustee boards all together are called on to select less than a dozen persons to serve on the faculties. These persons are important but few. At present the principal activity required of trustee boards here is the manifestation of a steady concern,

a seeking of information, and expressions of caution or encouragement. On the whole, there is little here in which the problems of one institution are not very nearly those of all and in which the sharing of the problem would not be fruitful. With so small a number of persons to select for staff, the concentration of the process of selection would seem more likely to ensure higher quality.

(Note: In the women's colleges, e.g. Yenching, Ginling, and Hwa Nan, the proportion of foreign faculty is higher and responsibilities have not been so fully transferred to the field.)

2. Financial Administration. There are two parts:

(A) Investments of Funds. This is substantially of the same character for one trustee board as for another. What are good investments for one are good for another and vice versa. Essential in these days is the most competent judgment the entire group can command.

(B) Budget Administration. Apart from the promotion budget and certain items referred to below, the details again are shaped entirely on the field and (with the exceptions to be noted) no trustee board can do much more than say, "We can supply so much money under such and such restrictions." And upon this point in turn the information supplied to the field by the trustee boards is substantially determinative as the budget must rest on facts of earnings and income. A consolidated committee or trustee group dealing with the budgets of several colleges might require more effort by its members in mastering the larger number of points involved but the problem is less complex than that of a mission board meeting which passes on the budgets of several missions in different countries.

3. Promotion. The experience of the recent months would seem to indicate that the processes of securing support are essentially the same for practically all of the colleges, i.e.:

(1) Appeal to and action by a mission board;

(2) Appeal to and action by a foundation;

(3) Organization of campaigns direct-by-mail, local sponsoring committee type, approach to selected individuals, etc.

The uniting of campaign effort has put at the disposal of all the colleges services they could not afford singly for sufficient time to ensure adequate results. Local trustees of various colleges are discovering that their task is cooperative rather than competitive.

4. Consideration of Major Issues; such as establishment of new departments or branches; extensive modifications of program; plant expansion; issues of educational freedom in relation to government.

Here again the principal service of a trustee board will be counsel to the field board. From time to time important decisions need to be made. As the situation stands, few, if any, trustee boards are able to say effectively, "you must," or "you must not"; they can advise strongly and they can refuse to supply or to raise funds for some section of the work which they feel unwarranted.

Most of such issues now involve not only the consideration of the individual institution but quite as much -- more, in the present

crisis -- the appraisal of its relation to the total program of Christian higher education in China. Such consideration will be more vitally given where the concern of the trustee board is a group of institutions rather than a single one. Even a conference of representatives of single institutions will deal with such problems with far less sense of reality and responsibility than a board with trustee responsibility for all the institutions.

III. SOME CONTROLLING PRINCIPLES

A. Any trustee body succeeding to the responsibilities of two or more such boards must continue to apply to the purposes specified any designated funds or endowment so long as these can be carried out. (If the situation should prohibit this, court approval of a change of application may be required.)

B. It will be to the advantage of the program of Christian higher education as a whole to conserve the devoted service which many trustees have given to individual institutions and to win that devotion to the program as a whole.

C. It will also be to the advantage of the total program to conserve as far as possible the affection and loyalties and tradition of service attaching to a particular institution.

Care in these particulars will help to guard any single institution from inadequate or arbitrary treatment by a trustee board serving several colleges.

Where the general political situation does not force radical action (which in such case would be required of any trustee board), the program of higher education can best be molded, so far as the trustee boards are concerned, by the gradual application of undesignated funds -- an application more wisely made by a trustee body related to as much of higher education in China as possible. Where radical action is required, a board of wide responsibilities would be able to conserve values better than several one-institution boards, make readjustments more quickly, and counsel the institutions on the field more impartially.

IV. POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS

Two possibilities appear; others would be variations of them:

(1) The proposals approved by the Associated Boards in May, 1937:

Organizations and Meetings. The Associated Boards would continue to be composed of all members of the participating Boards of Trustees, together with members at large not exceeding an additional 15%. It would continue to have an Annual Meeting in April or May, and might have other meetings during the year. It would have the following four standing committees, whose actions would be reviewed in due course by the Associated Boards:

a. An Executive Committee, which would have responsibility between meetings of the Associated Boards.

b. A Committee on Finance, which would supervise the performance of the functions of investment and budget.

c. A Committee on Promotion, to which would be assigned the publicity and promotional activities.

d. A Committee on Christian Character, Staff, and Curriculum.

Relationship to Individual Boards. Actions of the Associated Boards, or of its standing committees, on behalf of any individual Board of Trustees in accordance with the distribution of functions outlined above, would normally have the same authority as if performed by the individual Board or its proper committee. Should, however, any action taken at a meeting of the Associated Boards affecting the interests of an individual institution be protested in writing within one month by one-fifth (but not less than three) of the members of its Board of Trustees, that action of the Associated Boards, insofar as it affected the individual institution, would be invalidated and final decision would be reserved to that individual Board of Trustees. Should any action of a standing committee of the Associated Boards affecting an individual institution be protested in writing within one month by all the regular representatives of that institution's Board of Trustees on the standing committee, insofar as it affected the institution, it would be invalidated and final decision would be reserved to the institution's Board of Trustees.

(2) The second possibility would be directly to consolidate as many boards as would be prepared to do so into one board with the elimination of the original boards. Such a board would in effect be a mission board specializing in higher education in China and drawing its support from the general church mission boards, endowments, foundations, and its own promotional activities, its colleges in the field being in effect its "missions".

V. FACTUAL BACKGROUND

- 1. Number of Colleges..... 13
- 2. Number of Colleges in the A.B.C.C..... 12
- 3. Sustaining Interest of Mission Boards:

<u>Colleges</u>	<u>Related to</u>	<u>Mission Boards</u>
8	to	3 or more
1	to	2
2	to	1
1	to	none

- 4. The twelve Colleges have an annual income (1936-37) from North American sources as follows:

From Missions Boards.....	\$448,267
" Endowments.....	245,558
" Foundations and College Groups.....	143,536
" Other Gifts.....	29,552
Total - North American Sources.....	\$866,913

- 5. The eight Colleges which are sustained by more than two mission boards have an annual income from North American sources as follows:

From Mission Boards.....	\$409,376
" Endowments.....	192,069
" Foundations and College Groups.....	127,025
" Other Gifts.....	19,221
<u>Total - North American Sources.....</u>	<u>\$747,691</u>

6. Number of Mission Boards participating in the twelve Colleges:

North American Boards				British Boards			
<u>2 Boards in 5 Colleges</u>				<u>1 Board in 3 Colleges</u>			
1	"	"	4	"	"	2	"
3	"	"	3	"	"	1	"
7	"	"	2	"	"		
2	"	"	1	"	"		
<hr/>				<hr/>			
15	"	"	11	"	"	5	"

Total: 22 Boards in 11 Colleges

7. Number of Mission Boards participating in the eight Colleges related to more than two Mission Boards:

North American Boards				British Boards			
<u>1 Board in 5 Colleges</u>				<u>1 Board in 3 Colleges</u>			
2	"	"	4	"	"	2	"
3	"	"	3	"	"	1	"
6	"	"	2	"	"		
3	"	"	1	"	"		
<hr/>				<hr/>			
15	"	"	8	"	"	5	"

Total: 22 Boards in 8 Colleges

8. Number of North American Trustees of the twelve Colleges:

<u>No. of Trustees</u>	<u>Serving</u>	<u>No. of Colleges</u>
1	"	5
2	"	4
9	"	3
19	"	2
163	"	1
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
194	"	12

9. Number of North American Trustees of the eight Colleges related to more than two Mission Boards:

<u>No. of Trustees</u>	<u>Serving</u>	<u>No. of Colleges</u>
1	"	5
1	"	4
7	"	3
15	"	2
122	"	1
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
146	"	8

10. Sources of Associated Boards Membership:

Mission Board Officials.....	56
Laymen:	
Representatives of Mission Boards.....	85
Laymen at Large.....	63
	<hr/>
	204

11. Corporate Status of Boards:

All are incorporated under "Educational Law" and hold Absolute Charters.

<u>College</u>	<u>Incorporated in</u>
Cheeloo	Canada
Fukien	New York
Ginling	New York
Hangchow	District of Columbia
Hua Chung	New York
Hwa Nan	New York
Lingnan	New York
Nanking	New York
Shanghai	Virginia
Soochow	Tennessee
West China	New York
Yenching	New York

The Associated Boards is incorporated under the "Membership Corporation Law" of the State of New York.

12.

Contributions from Western Sources

These figures are for 13 Colleges, including St. John's. The figures for Current Grants are averages for the five years, 1931-35 inclusive.

<u>Contributing Body</u>	<u>No. of Insti- tutions Bene- fitted</u>	<u>Endowment (Total Inc. 1935)</u>	<u>Plant (Total Inc. 1935)</u>	<u>Current Grants</u>	<u>Tot. Annual (includes 5% on Capital Grants)</u>
Congregational	4		248,700	43,784	56,219
Baptist	3	53,750	336,764	54,170	73,696
Methodist	4	100,000	457,262	52,300	80,164
Methodist - South	2		650,000	28,440	60,940
Presbyterian	6		874,669	109,568	153,302
Presbyterian - South	2		190,000	23,292	32,792
Episcopal	2		910,000	72,000	117,500
Reformed Ch. of America	1		25,000	1,170	2,420
United Christian	2	10,000	116,675	21,711	28,045
Reformed Ch. in U.S.A.	2		50,000	6,951	9,451
United Ch. of Canada	2		231,000	68,182	79,732
Baptist Women's Soc.	2		70,000	5,050	8,550
Methodist Women's Soc.	5		420,000	40,750	61,750
United Ch. of Canada Women's Soc.	2		20,000	6,270	7,270
14 Missionary Soc. 10 Denominations	13	163,750	4,600,070	533,638	771,831
Rockefeller Foundation	5	250,000	403,308	73,909	106,574
Harvard-Yenching	6	15,000	41,800	136,843	139,683
Princeton-Yenching	1		27,400	18,900	18,270
Yale-in-China	1		50,000	25,000	27,500
Smith College Assn.	1		20,000	6,291	7,291
Wellesley College Assn.	1		20,000	4,250	5,250
Founders & Governors	8	4,535,641	4,094,967	48,400	479,930
		4,964,391	9,257,545	845,231	1,556,329

13.

Current Grants from Western Sources
Average Figures for 5 Years, 1931-35

Attention is called to the explanatory notes at the bottom of this sheet.

	<u>Yenching</u>	<u>Cheeloo</u>	<u>Nanking</u>	<u>Ginling</u>	<u>N Shanghai</u>	<u>N Soochow</u>
Congregational Board	23,125	7,000	500			
Baptist			6,170		25,000	
Methodist - North	11,282		17,853			
Methodist - South				2,440		26,000
Presbyterian	20,385	47,915	18,962	3,506		
Presby. Exec. Comm.		6,292				
Protestant Episcopal						
Reformed Ch. of Amer.						
Reformed Ch. in U.S.A.				1,451		
United Christian			20,648	1,063		
United Ch. of Canada		13,432				
Women's Baptist				1,900		
Women's Methodist	3,230	9,836		4,204		
Women's Soc. United Ch. of Canada		2,370				
	58,022	86,845	64,133	14,564	25,000	26,000
	R, H, P, Fo	R, H, Fo	R, H, Fo	S. Fo		

	<u>N St. Johns</u>	<u>N Hangchow</u>	<u>N Fukien</u>	<u>N Hwa Nan</u>	<u>N Lingnan</u>	<u>N Hua Chung W. China</u>
Congregational Board			13,159			
Baptist						23,000
Methodist - North			9,665			13,500
Methodist - South						
Presbyterian		15,800			3,000	
Presby. Exec. Comm.		17,000				
Protestant Episcopal	50,000					22,000
Reformed Ch. of Amer.			1,170			
Reformed Ch. in U.S.A.						5,500
United Christian						
United Ch. of Canada						54,750
Womens Baptist						3,150
Womens Methodist				19,580		3,900
Womens Soc. United Ch. of Canada						3,900
	50,000	32,800	23,994	19,580	3,000	27,500
			R, H, Fo		R, H, Fo	Y, Fo H, Fo

- N - Not supported by more than two denominations.
- R - Assisted financially by Rockefeller Foundation during these years.
- H - Assisted financially by Harvard-Yenching during these years.
- Y - Assisted financially by Yale-in-China during these years.
- Fo - Assisted with funds secured directly by the Founders of the College.
- P - Assisted financially by Princeton-Yenching during these years.

14. Financial Support of the Twelve Colleges, 1936-37

The amounts and sources of regular income from North American sources for operating purposes during 1936-37 were approximately as follows:- (These figures are in American Dollars.)

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Mission Boards</u>	<u>Endowments</u>	<u>Foundations & Coll. Groups</u>	<u>Individual & other gifts</u>	<u>Total</u>
Cheeloo	102,800	8,823	9,474	1,768	122,865
Fukien	20,682	7,283	9,474	5,634	43,073
Ginling	13,583	3,716	6,207	4,525	28,031
Hangchow	11,667	-	-	-	11,667
Hua Chung	*37,852	-	*12,500	-	*50,352
Hwa Nan	12,911	-	-	-	12,911
Lingnan	-	53,489	16,511	10,331	80,331
Nanking	40,775	70,980	14,211	2,102	128,068
Shanghai	26,298	-	-	-	26,298
Soochow	14,313	-	-	-	14,313
West China	112,295	11,728	10,901	1,696	136,620
Yenching	55,091	89,539	32,384	3,496	180,510
Council of Higher Education	3,750	-	-	-	3,750
Associated Boards	2,184	-	-	-	2,184
Total	454,201	245,558	111,662	29,552	840,973

The following figures indicate the approximate total amounts received for operating purposes by the respective Colleges during the year 1936-37. (These figures are in Chinese Dollars.)

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Western</u>	<u>Total</u>
Cheeloo	229,576@	321,934	551,510@
Fukien	74,526	107,366	181,892
Ginling	85,909	96,960	182,869
Hangchow	130,000	35,000	165,000
Hua Chung	44,670	157,275	201,945
Hwa Nan	18,500	30,126	48,626
Lingnan	551,244	244,662	795,906
Nanking	522,262@	416,912	939,174@
Shanghai	354,640	80,775	435,415
Soochow	165,360	37,270	202,630
West China	297,500@	308,500	606,000@
Yenching	315,311	549,995	865,306
Total	2,789,498	2,386,775	5,176,273

@ Includes Hospital Fees.

* Missionaries' Salaries of 1935-36 repeated in this figure.

15.

STATEMENT REGARDING ATTITUDES OF BOARDS AND GROUPS

Since the beginning, in 1923, of cooperative activities among the North American boards of the China Colleges, the Boards of Trustees of Yenching, Nanking, Cheeloo, and Fukien have cooperated to the fullest extent in all joint home-base activities. The West China Board of Governors joined the group shortly after it was organized, and has been a full participant ever since. The central organization served the Lingnan Trustees in the handling of funds and accounts from 1928 to 1936. The Associated Boards took over the funds and accounts of the Ginling Founders in 1936, and has been rendering a steadily increasing range of services. The remaining five Boards of Trustees - Hangchow, Hua Chung, Hwa Nan, Shanghai, and Soochow - have not requested any administrative services from the central organization.

Before united promotional activities were undertaken in 1934 on behalf of the group, the Trustees of Yenching, Nanking, Cheeloo, Fukien, and West China - and to a more limited degree the Trustees of Lingnan and Ginling - cooperated to some extent with each other and with the central organization in their independent promotional activities. During the last four and one-half years all seven of these Boards, together with those of Hua Chung and Hwa Nan, have shared in the united promotional activities, except that for one year the Lingnan Trustees withdrew from the group. The Shanghai Board in May, 1937, joined the groups participating in these united promotional activities. The Hangchow and Soochow Boards have not participated directly in these promotional activities.

Each of the twelve Boards of Trustees has thus been free to avail itself of the services of the central organization as much or as little as it might elect. Some of these Boards - particularly those of Yenching, Cheeloo, and Fukien - have not only made maximum use of the cooperative facilities thus far available but have recorded their desire for the establishment of a single board of trustees serving the interests of all the Colleges. As yet a majority of the Boards have not formally expressed their views on the proposal of a single board of trustees. Several have shown themselves generally favorable to the idea, others have given no definite indication of their position, and some have seemed generally unfavorable.

No definite effort has as yet been made to learn the attitude of the supporting mission boards, foundations, and other American groups, with reference to the proposals submitted from time to time as to various types of cooperation among the Boards of Trustees of the Colleges. Practically all of the mission boards have given their approval to the degree of cooperation already attained, though some of them might be cold, or at best lukewarm, to any proposal for a single board of trustees. Some of the foundations have shown themselves vigorously in favor of substantial progress in the direction of a single board.

Document 18, submitted to the Executive Committee of the Associated Boards on December 9, 1938, gives an appraisal of the comparative advantages and disadvantages of each stage of cooperative organization among the American Boards of Trustees of the China Colleges. It also enumerates the criticisms made, and the supporting arguments advanced, with reference to each type of organization.

16. A detailed study of the Operations of the Associated Boards has been made by Mr. Lyford. This will be made available to anyone wishing to consider it in detail.

VI. THE ISSUES BEFORE THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A. Decision whether the situation warrants fuller exploration of a definite plan for a more integrated structure.

B. Decision as to which procedure given under Section VII should be followed.

VII. PROCEDURE

Ordinary Form of Procedure

a. This special committee would present to the Executive Committee of the Associated Boards the informational material it has compiled.

b. The Executive Committee of the Associated Boards would proceed to formulate, either by direct action or through the activities of some special sub-committee it may appoint, concrete proposals as to any reorganization in the direction of greater unity.

c. These proposals would be brought before the Associated Boards for its action and for reference to the individual boards of trustees.

d. Each individual board of trustees would take action on the proposals in whatever way it may choose.

e. When time for action by individual boards had been given, the Associated Boards would take the practical steps necessary to put into effect whatever reorganization is approved by some agreed minimum number of individual boards.

Careful consideration will need to be given to the minimum number of boards whose agreement must be secured before any reorganization can be made effective. There should also be some understanding as to the position, whenever such a reorganization is effected, of the boards of trustees which have not agreed to such a reorganization.

Another Possibility

a. Have the major features of a plan drawn up by those persons who feel fairly clear that larger corporate unity is desirable, reporting it to the Executive Committee.

b. Authorize a committee of such persons to confer with the mission boards informally as to their attitude.

c. Authorize this committee to ascertain the viewpoint of leading representatives of each trustee board.

d. When this committee feels that plan and opinion are matured, let them officially present it to the Executive Committee for transmission for formal action by the boards.

CONFIDENTIAL

Hongkong,

May 7, 1939

To the Board of Trustees:

I am writing to report my impressions of a trip from which I am now returning. This was primarily to attend the Annual Meeting of the China Foundation in Hongkong and a conference of the Presidents of the Christian Colleges of China planned to fit in with this. I took advantage of this opportunity to visit Kunming (Yunnan-fu) and Chungking, my purpose being in general to observe conditions in the vital centres of Free China and keep in touch with government leaders as well as with our former teachers and students.

I. In General

First a word about about travel as illustrative of war dislocation. The journey by sea to Shanghai took almost one week or about twice the normal time, which again is twice the time by rail. This caused me to miss the Reunion of the Shanghai graduates which had been especially arranged so that I could be present. To get to Kunming from Hongkong requires either about 3 days by steamer to the port of French Indo-China and as many more by the French railway of some some 350 miles, or by airplane to Hanoi (The French capitol) and from there by another aviation route.

I had secured a seat for April 29th on both the French and German planes well over a month in advance which would have put me there early that afternoon. But a German passenger plane had recently been brought down by the Japanese (apparently because they had word that Madame Chiang Kai-shek was on board) and that service was disrupted for a week. Through the active efforts of a Yenching graduate in the aviation office I was fortunate in getting a seat on a British plane the preceding day with the hope that I might catch the weekly French railway "Express" from Hanoi. This consists of a train of sleepers to the Yunnan border and from there a single autorail car on which passengers are strictly limited to the number of seats. By good fortune and the urgent telegrams of a Yenching boy, I secured the seat cancelled by some one else.

The trip is 24 hours, with more curves perhaps than any other railway in the world, through gorgeous mountain scenery beginning with almost tropical jungle. Kunming itself is on a plateau 6000 feet high. I arrived about eight o'clock the evening of the 29th and had a full schedule until the afternoon of May 2nd when I was to fly to Chungking. But in the midst of student visitors at my hotel the morning of the 1st, the alert president of our local alumni club who had been arranging my engagements hurried in to report that he had learned there would be no plane on the 2nd, that my seat had been transferred to the 4th with no assurance that there would be a plane that day, but that a special plane would arrive at noon bringing officials from Chungking and returning at once. He was holding a seat for me. I therefore hastily decided to take it, he and others cancelling appointments for me. I thus arrived a day ahead of time.

Telegrams were sent to the American Embassy and to Dr. Kung but arrived long after I did. Fortunately, my capable escort discovered a cousin of Dr. Kung (and father of one of our students) among the passengers who was very helpful in getting me to the Canadian Mission headquarters where it was arranged that I should stay.

May 7, 1939

Chungking accommodations are very difficult to secure. I had long ago secured a seat to Hongkong on the 8th, but early on the morning of the 6th, Charles Lu, who had volunteered to help me as a sort of secretary while in the city, came to report that my plane was leaving any time that morning -- two days ahead of schedule - and that the next plane was supposed to leave on the 10th but with no guarantee. My steamer was to sail on the 12th.

There was much that I still wanted to do in Chungking, but the terrific bombings (concerning which I am writing elsewhere) had deranged all ordinary life, and might be repeated any day. As I could be of little help to any one and might be a further burden to my harassed friends, my real place of duty was elsewhere. I again made a hasty decision to leave, packed, wrote several hurried notes, and with the help of Charles walked to the aviation office, we taking turns in carrying my bag and raincoat. There were no coolies, rickshas, or sedan chairs available.

At the office, the bus to the airport was either broken down or had been commandeered to convey refugees as was true of all vehicles under orders from the Generalissimo. Since the plane might leave any time, we again set out on foot. (I learned afterwards that if there were an air-raid alarm the plane would start off at once, otherwise wait till 2:00 P.M. which would enable it to go over Japanese occupied territory after dark.) After going some distance we found one decrepit jinricksha and puller who, after bargaining for an excessive fare took me and the baggage. Down hill we made time, up hill I walked. Two little boys helped with my things down the two hundred or more stone steps to the river bank, and over to the island where the airport is located.

The plane was in readiness for leaving any minute. Before long Charles arrived, perspiring all over. A few minutes after noon we ordered some food and had just begun to eat when the alarm sounded. We were off with no delay. A radio message reached us later than there had been no raid, but it is a suggestion of the nervous fear under which the people in that doomed city are living.

The weather was cloudless so the pilot had the alternatives of alighting at Kwelin and waiting until dark to fly over the danger zone or risking this at a height of 18,000 or 20,000 feet. Against the former course was the fact that the Japanese had bombed the field and the hastily filled holes had bogged so that a sister plane was still stuck there. But he took it and made a very skillful landing. Kwelin is one of the beauty spots of China and the field is located among fantastic mountains so characteristic of Chinese paintings. We were about to leave when a radio message warned that Japanese planes were behind us. Again we lost no time in getting under way.

The ordered life of Hongkong and the comfortable security of the hotel seemed in startling contrast to the hazards and horrors I had left behind in Chungking. If I had not secured that cancelled reservation on the French railway I might not have gotten there at all, or if I had, should have left almost immediately. Now I have 5½ days of comparative idleness waiting for my steamer. I am staying quietly in my room today, partly to write to you at once, but also to avoid being discovered and interviewed as one who had just come from the latest scene of carnage.

May 7, 1939

One advantage of arriving a day earlier in Chungking was that I was just in time for the inauguration of the Spiritual Mobilization Movement that evening. The event was held in the open air, with moonlight and search-lights and a tower with a bowl of fire in the center. The program consisted of an impressive ceremony, a stirring speech broadcast by the Generalissimo, torches lit at the tower by the representatives of the 8 groups of the people (government, party, soldiers, intellectuals, women, merchants, artisans, farmers) who then marched around in shifting patterns, and patriotic singing. The spontaneous enthusiasm was in happy contrast to the pathetically bedraggled celebrations forced on the people of Peking by their Japanese oppressors. The courage of the Generalissimo, who was an easy target for any hired assassin, was characteristic of him and his wife who stood throughout by his side. No doubt many were wondering what would happen if the Japanese staged a moonlit air-raid.

On the larger issues, my impressions from this most recent contact with the highest authorities of the National Government confirms much of what I have previously written you. The determination to fight till freedom is won is stronger than ever. Morale is holding firm. There are three million men under arms or in training, with improvement through hard experience and constant study of the problem. Finances and military supplies can last for at least a year without serious difficulty and with further British and American aid for much longer. The earlier extremes of unrealistic optimism or of timid fatalism have settled into a grim resolve to go on whatever the consequences until the Japanese aggression is foiled. They do not see the end of the road but they know the direction and believe that it leads to the goal.

The most disastrous weaknesses are in aviation and motor transportation. Apart from the "Squeeze" and other traditional defects which partly account for this, they both involve mechanical understanding for which Chinese have not the inherited instinct. It is coming, and I was told of drastic measures for rectifying one if not both of these vital services, but meanwhile the damage is appalling. Such air raids as those in Chungking last week can only be averted by a more efficient air force. But on the whole Chinese resistance can and will continue. New techniques and a strengthening of will are leading to resourcefulness as to means or materials which will increase China's capacity to keep up the struggle. The other two factors in the ultimate outcome are Japanese internal developments and those in international relationships.

More than ever I am convinced that assistance to China ensuring her national independence will make of her an enormous asset in a future strengthening of the freedom-loving nations against those who violate all international justice in national expansion by military aggression. Far-seeing self-interest can therefore reinforce humanitarianism and moral considerations.

The Government leaders continue to endorse the policy of the University in operating on our present basis. There is complete understanding and good will.

It was a deeply moving experience to see my old friends of the Government maintaining their courage and their faith in the ultimate outcome, even in the midst of such appalling tragedy as these aerial bombings, and I found a poignant satisfaction in having shared as an observer for these few days the danger and anxiety in the midst of which they continue their tasks.

II. The Chungking Bombings

These have been fully described in cabled reports. I shall therefore continue in the form of personal narrative. On May 3 shortly after noon the alarm was sounded and we took shelter in the basement. The dropping of bombs was only a matter of a few seconds. We knew that some had fallen very close as scattered debris fell about the house and fires were easily visible. One Japanese bomber and three Chinese pursuit planes were brought down. From one of the latter we watched two men drift down in parachutes, both wounded, one dying soon after reaching ground.

I had an appointment with the British Ambassador at 3:00 P.M. and on returning out on the streets discovered how very close we had been to the path of destruction. My route led through patches of it, ruined houses, smoking debris, scattered parts of human bodies, shrieking women. But the worst of it was for a mile along the river front, homes of the very poor, where the wreckage was indescribably horrible. This I did not see.

The Ambassador emerged from his dug-out as I arrived and we had an hour's conversation, following up intimate talks we had in Peking and Shanghai last winter. He is a true friend of China and very much of a man. From there a secretary (incidentally a Yenching graduate) was sent to escort me to the Generalissimo's headquarters for an interview with his trusted adviser of many years, W. H. Donald. He then took me in his own car as near as could be done to where I was staying. On the way we got out more than once to observe the devastation.

That evening the Minister of Education and his staff had a dinner party in my honor and this was carried through as planned. I mention this as an instance of the calmness with which the government officials carry on, interrupting their procedure only as the exigencies of each new happening require. Chinese planes evidently drove away some of the attacking ones and disturbed the others so that the damage to the main business and residence sections was less than it would otherwise have been.

The next day was the historic May 4, the anniversary of the outbreak of the Student Movement in Peking against Japanese encroachments twenty years ago - as I was about to begin my new duties in that city. Feeling was tense all day, as there was a general expectation that the raid would be repeated. These are usually about noon as the raiders have a long flight from Hankow and back, or at night if there is a good moon.

I went about my appointments until four o'clock when I had promised to conduct the weekly missionary prayer meeting. Naturally the attendance was small and the atmosphere heavy with suspense. Repeatedly word came that an alarm had begun, but each time proved a mistake. I hurried back to the Canadian Mission headquarters in order to wait for callers by appointment, none of whom came. Chinese planes were circling very high as though searching for something. Then I got ready to dine with General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek who were to send their car for me, although I scarcely expected its arrival.

Suddenly, the alarm sounded shrilly. The Chinese planes alighted, under orders as we learned later, in order to give the anti-air-craft a chance. Scarcely had they ceased to hum when 27 Japanese bombing planes, as usual in units of nine, came toward the city in perfect formation. We knew as we watched that in a few seconds they would be raining death and destruction over a wide range that might engulf us. Then we retreated to the basement for an awful interval, listening to dull thuds, and knowing soon that this attack was over.

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It was further away from us than the day before. Immediately fires broke out in many spots and the conflagration rapidly spread, lasting all night. This house is down near the river bank just within the city wall. We sat on the porch watching the river and the distant hills beautiful and peaceful in the moonlight while behind us was this flaming inferno.

Foreigners whose homes were burning or threatened began to arrive with what few belongings they could snatch. Chinese were swarming in for refuge. The foreign correspondents who stayed at this place were taking all sorts of risks in getting news. It seemed senseless to go to bed when the full moon was an omen of impending attack. Finally, sharing space with refugees we tried to sleep, but the alarm sounded shortly after, and even when the "all clear" signal came sleep was scarcely possible.

When I had looked forward to talking with them about conditions in the North, the Generalissimo and his wife were in their car personally observing the damage. It was far worse than the day before. A strip roughly $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and a half-mile wide through the heart of the city was in smoking ruins. I went through it the next morning, as gruesome and sickening a scene of wanton destructiveness as could be imagined. The casualties must have been in thousands, all civilians, simple people whose slaughter served no military purpose.

From all that I saw and learned from others I am certain that it was deliberate bombing of the city with no military objectives and with full knowledge of the densely congested section destroyed. Despite Japanese denials the bombs were many of them incendiary. Others were from 250 to 500 pounds in weight. The inhuman barbarity of so callously ordered slaughter of defenceless human beings and the wrecking of the livelihood of many more is worse even than all else the Japanese have done thus far. And I felt more keenly than ever the shame and horror of American sale to Japan of the materials without which such atrocious massacre would be impossible.

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III. Yenching at the Temporary Capital

Everywhere on this trip I have found Yenching graduates, highly spoken of by others, enthusiastically loyal to the institution, the most joyously satisfying argument for all that we have been trying to maintain. But this feeling was intensified at Chungking. I found them - or they found me - everywhere. They had planned a big gathering for last night (the hour that I was actually reaching here in the darkness). The Journalism Club was to have entertained me the evening before at a restaurant which had been blown out of existence. They seemed to be in every important news agency in the city.

The Spiritual Mobilization with which I began my visit was led by a boy and two girls in white with red sashes standing in front of the Generalissimo with torches for the lighting of others. The boy was Charles Lu whose chief (George Fitch) happening to be away made it possible for him to offer to help in my appointments. He is doing notable work in the Y.M.C.A. Soldiers Emergency Relief.

C. C. Liang was head of the Emergency Religious Work for Students and was with a missionary conducting meetings for students at which hundreds almost daily were making decisions to study Christianity or to follow Christ.

Dr. Timothy Lew, while serving in the Legislative Yuan, is preaching, writing, holding interviews, with a tireless energy his frail body would seem unable to endure.

Other former teachers are in important official posts. William Hsu was principal of a Methodist Academy near the Great Wall but was called to Free China to aid in locomotive repairing. As Christmas approached he was appalled by the wretchedness of wounded soldiers who in large numbers were suffering from neglect. He started what has expanded into a wide flung movement under the name of Friends of Wounded Soldiers.

Six of our boys are in the International Publicity Bureau, as many more in the headquarters of the vigorous Industrial Cooperatives Movement, and others in wartime bureaus or technical services. The officials I met and many others spoke in praise of them. And of course because of my brief stay and the disruption caused by the bombing I only had random touches with them.

But there were sorrowful reminders of the grimmer aspects of this life in the capital. I learned by chance of one who with his entire family was done to death in the second raid. I met another who had been able to rescue his wife and baby but had lost all his possessions. How many more suffered death or other disaster cannot yet be ascertained.

Very sincerely yours,

Addresses
AT A
Dinner Meeting



IN HONOR OF THE
CHRISTIAN COLLEGES IN CHINA
AND
THEIR FRIENDS IN AMERICA



UNDER THE AUSPICES
OF THE
ASSOCIATED BOARDS
FOR
CHRISTIAN COLLEGES IN CHINA



Hotel Roosevelt, New York City
January 25, 1940

DR. JOHN WILLIAM DECKER, *Chairman*: It is a high privilege to welcome members and friends of the Associated Boards, and our very distinguished guests. We feel that this is an unusual occasion. We are happy because of the honor it involves for some of our friends who have served unremittingly the cause of China and of our Colleges there.

We are proud to have shared in the life of these Christian Colleges in this difficult and tragic time.

I am reminded of a sign, hung in a Western restaurant, which I saw some time ago. It said, "If you find the steak tough, please go out quietly. This is no place for weaklings." In recent months China has certainly been no place for weaklings. Those who are responsible for the fate of the Christian Colleges have demonstrated that they do not belong in that class.

I think one of the most inspiring things I shall ever see was what I witnessed a year ago in Shanghai as I went into that great business block on Nanking Road. I visited one floor where the University of Shanghai was housed; then the one just above where Soochow University was located; then another where Hangchow Christian College had found a home; and then the last floor where St. John's University was doing its work.

I went into the library, and found every possible inch of space occupied by eager young men or women, employing every moment of time to benefit by the use of the precious books that had been salvaged and brought together as the contribution of the four schools.

And then I went up to Szechuan, to that great campus in the midst of one of the imperial plains of the world, the campus of West China Union University. Many of us have wondered in the past whether or not we were justified in having a campus of these proportions. But how that campus has justified itself during these years when West China Union University has played host to the universities that have trekked thousands of miles from the coast!

And so we are proud indeed of the way these Colleges have carried on, and we find in it one of the inspirations of this whole situation.

We are glad indeed to have our friends with us tonight. There are some among them whom I should like to introduce to you:

(Dr. Decker then introduced Dr. Henry W. Luce, Mrs. John H. Finley, Mrs. John E. Williams, President Charles E. Beury, Admiral Clark H. Woodward, Mr. Arthur Rugh, and Admiral Harry E. Yarnell. Of these, Admiral Yarnell responded as follows:)

ADMIRAL HARRY E. YARNELL: Ladies and gentlemen: As Dr. Decker has said, one of the most inspiring

things to be seen anywhere today is the way the Colleges in China are carrying on—not only the Christian Colleges but the national universities and colleges—in the face of all the great difficulties with which they are confronted. It is, in a way, vastly necessary. It is being done, I suppose, partly on account of the Chinese reverence for learning. It is also being carried on because when peace comes—and peace will come—the reconstruction of China must be carried on by the educated men and women of that country.

It is a notable fact that in the establishment of some of these Christian Colleges in China they are interdenominational and international, and they have succeeded. It is a compliment to our country that China has sent to us as Ambassador her greatest scholar and educator.

One of the Christian Colleges, in the preamble to its constitution, makes this statement:

“The founding of this College and its continued support has been inspired by the spirit of international good will and the desire of Christian people to share their best with China, looking for the day when East and West shall be united in closer understanding and shall work together for the good of the whole world.”

This has worked in the case of the Colleges, and this must work in international affairs in the future if civilization as we understand it is to continue in the world.

DR. DECKER: Now it becomes my happy privilege to turn this meeting over to the Toastmaster of the evening, the distinguished son of a distinguished father. We are fortunate in the fact that he was a fellow student of His Excellency, the Ambassador, so he should be able to give some intimate touches of the life of His Excellency.

I have not yet decided whether Judge Schurman stimulated the Ambassador and started him on his brilliant career, or whether it was vice versa. I think the safest thing is to conclude that they stimulated each other. It is indeed a great pleasure to introduce to you the Honorable Jacob Gould Schurman, Jr., Judge of the Court of General Sessions. Judge Schurman!

HON. JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN, JR., *Toastmaster*: Mr. Chairman, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen: Another year has rolled by, and again the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China are holding a dinner meeting. There are present tonight almost five hundred people, which makes this an all-time high for attendance at these delightful occasions. And tonight our occasion is particularly happy, for we come together to honor great Americans and a great Chinese.

The first American whom we have gathered to honor is Arthur Rugh, who it was hoped would be able to speak to us this evening. Unfortunately, he is the victim of laryngitis, and cannot himself talk. But despite his enforced silence, we desire to pay him fitting and honest tribute.

His subject was to have been, "Christian America's Future in China." And in that connection it is interesting to contemplate somewhat on China's past in Christian America. Just one little human incident which I think tends to make the two countries very much kin.

We go back to the year 1860, a troubled time in our country, a time of war and of death. In a little college in Ohio, Kenyon College, there was attendant a Chinese student whose name was Yen, a forebear of a distinguished family, several representatives of whom are now in this country, including W. W. Yen.

As I say, war came. The Chinese student, Yen, volunteered for service in the Union Army, and for four years he served as an infantryman in the Union forces, fighting for our cause. For us, this young boy had four years of war, and during those four years he heard what no soldier can ever forget, the endless tramp of marching feet.

And now, what is the present for the Christian Americans in China? Look at the map above me. Again it is the endless tramp of marching feet. With their beautiful campuses untenable, what did they do? Did they lie down and give up and surrender? No. They marched a thousand miles and fifteen hundred miles into the heart of China, carrying there the Christian culture that they cherish. It is the same motif, the motif of marching feet.

And Arthur Rugh? Wherein does he qualify to interpret the future of China? For many years, he was a Secretary of the Y. M. C. A., and is now a director of religious work, in China. He has marched where China marched, and he has humbly asked, as did St. Paul on the road to Damascus, "What wilt Thou have me to do?"

On his behalf, I take pleasure in introducing Dr. B. A. Garside, Executive Secretary of the Associated Boards, who will speak for Mr. Rugh.

DR. B. A. GARSIDE: Mr. Toastmaster, Your Excellency, and friends: I can no more take the place of our good friend, Arthur Rugh, than could Will Rogers duplicate the acrobatic feats of his friend, Fred Stone. But the subject of Mr. Rugh's address is one that is close to the heart of every friend of China. Year by year as I have watched the amazing growth and development of the Chinese people, and have rejoiced at the share that Christian America has had in what is happening in

that country, I have become convinced that China has indeed a great future, and that in that future Christian America may be privileged to have a great share.

Before one can talk in terms of what is to be Christian America's future in China, one must glance at least briefly on what has been her past, and her present. We can touch only one field of that broad range of friendly relationships—that of higher education.

Christian higher educational work in China had its beginnings about the middle of the nineteenth century, although work of true collegiate grade did not actually begin until several decades later. This work began at about the same time in many parts of China—in the South, in Shanghai, in Shantung, and in Peking.

One of the earliest and most interesting beginnings of higher education was that in Peking, out of which grew the splendid institution of which Mr. Rugh himself has been a part—Yenching University.

Back in the year 1864, when the student Yen, of whom our Toastmaster has spoken, was fighting beside his American comrades in our Civil War, the little school that was one day to become the Women's College of Yenching University was opened in Peking by Mrs. Eliza J. Bridgman. During her first year, Mrs. Bridgman was able to secure only five girls as pupils. She brought them together in a little room in one of the buildings of the American Board Mission in Peking. A fellow missionary describes that little school thus:

"There was Mrs. Bridgman struggling against a feeble body and disconsolate spirit, vainly trying to speak the Mandarin, mingling her narrow vocabulary with a strong sprinkling of English words, unintelligible except through pantomime. And there before her were five Chinese girls."

Somewhat similar scenes were enacted about that time and a little later in many parts of China. Feeble and ineffectual beginnings they seemed, yet far more significant than even the chief participants dared to dream. For out of the schools that were thus established there began to go men and women filled with the vision of the New China that was to be.

Countless are the stories one could tell of how apparently commonplace boys and girls developed into men and women of outstanding leadership. We have time to cite but a few.

Thirty-five years ago in Shanghai Arthur Rugh had a Bible class of Chinese boys. All of them were of China's common people, coming from the humblest of homes. They all went through the process of education in Christian schools in China. Of those boys, three have been presidents of China's leading colleges; one is among the most distinguished of China's bacteriolo-

gists; two are national figures in China's industrial development; one was Ambassador to Belgium; and one was Dr. Hu Shih's predecessor as Chinese Ambassador to the United States. Each became what he was because of opportunity afforded by an education in Chinese Christian schools.

A generation ago a Chinese pastor, the Rev. Mr. Lund, tried to establish a school for Chinese boys in Wuhu. The effort was unsuccessful, and the sixteen students were told that they could go home. Fifteen of them went. But one slender boy remained. Mr. Lund said to him, "You too should go home." The boy replied, "I have no home. I am nobody." The Chinese pastor said, "Then come home with me and we will see what we can do." That boy was sent to another Christian school. Later he graduated from Hua Chung College. At the world conference of Christian leaders in Madras that boy, now Bishop Tsen of the Episcopal Church of China, stood before that gathering of Christian leaders from all the nations of the earth, and thrilled them with his brilliance and power and charm.

From the daughter of an official family of Wuchang, sudden tragedy took all but one of her immediate relatives. She entered Ginling College in its first class, and before graduation had found there the Christian faith which has inspired her devoted living. She received her doctor's degree in America, and became President of Ginling. That girl, Wu Yi-fang, was the head of China's delegation of fifty-seven religious leaders at the World's Conference at Madras; and is today not only carrying on her own College at its temporary quarters in Chengtu, but shares with Madame Chiang Kai-shek the responsibility for important parts of the national program of reconstruction and wartime service.

So this process has gone on in individual lives from one end of China to the other. At the present time there are perhaps 20,000 graduates and former students of these Christian Colleges scattered throughout China. An insignificant number that may seem in a population of over 400,000,000 people—only one out of every 20,000. Yet take *Who's Who in China*, and study the biographies of the men and women who are today the leaders in every phase of the life of the Chinese Republic. You will find that of all these leaders who have received their collegiate training in China, 51% are graduates of these Christian institutions. Among them are some of the ablest and most devoted of China's leaders. That is what these Colleges have meant to China in the past.

What of the present? Only the essential things can be maintained. The less important must be put aside. So it is all the more striking that never in their history has there been such a nation-wide turning to these Col-

leges, or a time when they have been able to render so large a service.

Throughout these last three troubled years each one of the Colleges has gone on with its work, most of them in temporary locations far in the interior. But whether on their own campuses, or in overcrowded and uncomfortable temporary buildings, the work has gone on.

In Yenching University, from which Arthur Rugh has recently come, the enrollment this year exceeds all previous records. Almost a thousand students are crowded into buildings designed for only eight hundred. Even so, for every student Yenching was able to admit last September, eight other qualified applicants had to be turned away for lack of space. Much this same story is being told by the Colleges in each of the other centers where this educational work is now being carried on.

Even in these disturbed times, the Colleges are maintaining their regular academic work at high standards. The Government of China has urged that all the young men and women able and qualified to study should continue faithfully with their work in order that they may be prepared for service and leadership in the years that lie ahead. One reason for China's survival during the long centuries when other nations have come and gone has been that she has always given first place to learning. Even in this crisis, she remains loyal to her age-old traditions.

But in addition to their central educational work, these Colleges are rendering a far-reaching service to the relief of suffering, to the solution of pressing problems, to the reconstruction of all that has been destroyed. If China needs engineers, she asks Hangchow Christian College for them, and gets them. If China needs trained organizers of cooperatives, she asks the University of Nanking for them, and gets them. If China needs medical supplies, she asks West China Union University to find them in the plants and chemicals of Szechuan, and she gets them. If China needs scientific experimentalists in rural reconstruction she asks Yenching for them, and gets them. But in every case the supply that these Colleges can give is far from adequate to meet the demands.

What of the future? Will Christian America continue to have a place in the life and growth of China; will these Colleges continue to play their part? So far as China is concerned, the answer is, "Yes." The people of China need the Colleges more than ever, and in the years just ahead this need is bound to increase. The Colleges themselves have shown that they can survive, and even grow, in any period of disturbance. As to the Americans who are on the staffs of these institutions—no higher praise could be given than that of a certain

prominent American diplomat in the Far East who remarked to some of us a few months ago that whenever he watched these men and women it made him proud to be an American. Yet their courage and endurance are equalled—and in many cases surpassed—by their Chinese colleagues, who have remained at their posts in these days under even greater dangers and hardships than their American associates. As to the students, they will cheerfully endure hardships and privations in order to have the privilege of being in these institutions, and then going out to serve their people.

In the past we in America have had a vital share in these Colleges, for without the young men and young women who went out from our shores as pioneer missionaries, they could never have been established; and without the support which we have generously given over the last seventy-five years, they could not have been maintained. We have an even larger share in these institutions today, when the need both for men and for money to keep their work going forward has been redoubled.

In the years that lie ahead of us, China and the China Colleges will continue to look to us. They will look for the best of our young men and young women to go out and join their lives with those of their Chinese colleagues as teachers and administrators of these institutions. And they will look, too, for financial support, whether we are able to give in small amounts or large, in order that these institutions may continue.

What these gifts of ours mean in terms of human life and service is beyond our power of expression. Today Arthur Rugh was telling me about a Chinese orphan girl which a church in Los Angeles has adopted as its investment in China. The girl has no possessions on earth except a lovely soul, great gifts in the sciences, and an undefeatable passion to be a doctor. The church helped her through high school, prepared her for college, enabled her to enter the School of Medicine of Cheeloo University.

Arthur asked the church to send thirty American dollars to cover the expenses of her first year in college—tuition, board, room, and all other necessary expenditures. To be sure that she had enough, the church sent her fifty dollars. This money was exchanged into Chinese currency at $14\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and as a result Li San-yu began her college life with enough money in the bank to carry her half way to her degree as a doctor. There is something sacred and even tragic about money when a hundred dollar check makes all the difference to a brilliant Chinese girl between becoming a trained leader for her nation or being just one more impoverished woman seeking some way to eke out an existence.

All over China are gifted boys and girls who long

for learning as blind men long for light. If they get it, they will lead China to her high destiny in the family of nations. If they do not get it, China is a good field for the plotting of sinister forces now abroad in the earth. America, and America alone, has available the help which the Chinese people and nation deserve.

There are an increasing number of men and women in America—many of them among us tonight—who have come to realize that China's future is of vital significance to the whole world, and will profoundly affect the destiny of America. They feel that having a part in that future of China is one of the major responsibilities on which they must spend time and money and energy, as men and women will do only in matters of the greatest importance. America's part in China's future depends in large measure upon how many Americans catch that vision, and follow where it leads them.

Is the future of China to bless the world with culture and to lead the world to peace? That depends upon whether we who are Christians and Americans help China to find the answer.

TOASTMASTER SCHURMAN: The Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China honor themselves by honoring distinguished men. The next speaker is a worthy representative of a great people.

Away back, beyond our national history, beyond the history of England as we know it today, there flourished in Asia the great Empire of China, the repository of art and learning and science. The Chinese are perhaps the only people in the world who have practiced that great precept from the Proverbs, "Wisdom is the principal thing. Therefore, get wisdom, and with thy getting, get understanding."

The distinguished gentleman whom it is my honor to present to you tonight, I first met twenty-three years ago at Cornell University. He was then a graduate student in philosophy. We were members of the same club, the Manuscript Club, which met weekly at the home of Professor Martin Samson. Suh Hu, as we knew him in those days, was a genial scholar who cloaked his scholarship in modesty. But he had a great sense of humor, and I know that that sense of humor has survived the buffets of time.

After his work at Cornell, he returned to China and became professor of Peking University, and indeed, as he sits with us here tonight, he is a professor of Peking *in absentia*. His cultural contribution to China has been truly great. He has always been a foe of slogans, though he has, perhaps, made a slogan himself in saying that "A slogan is an excuse for ceasing to think." He would never let the Chinese stop thinking, and he insisted, as Dante insisted in Italy many years ago, that Chinese

literature be written in the everyday speech of the country, so that, like Dante, he became the father of the renaissance of literature in China.

His contribution to scholarship has been great, and his service to learning has been sincere. China, I am sure, could not have conferred upon the United States a greater and more heartfelt honor than to send to us, as China's representative, this scholarly gentleman.

It is a pleasure, ladies and gentlemen, and an honor, to present to you His Excellency, Hu Shih, Ambassador from the Republic of China to the United States of America.

(The assemblage arose and applauded.)

HIS EXCELLENCY, AMBASSADOR HU SHIH: Mr. Toastmaster, members of the Associated Boards, and friends: I feel very highly honored to be invited tonight. This assembly does honor to our guests tonight, and I feel that it is a rare privilege to be able to be one of the instrumentalities of my Government in presenting to them the honors which they deserve.

I am asked before presenting the little tokens of recognition to these honored guests, to say a few words on the significance of these Christian Colleges for which our guests—not only our guests of honor but all those present and their friends throughout the country—have labored for all these years.

What is the significance of these thirteen Christian Colleges in China, some of which have existed for the last seventy-five years, while others are quite young, only twenty-five years old?

Almost exactly forty years ago the Chinese people arose to attack these foreign influences, these missionaries who came with strange cultures, strange customs and strange schools. You read of the Boxer Uprising, which was aimed at uprooting all of these foreign influences.

Only fourteen or fifteen years ago, again you read of a great, anti-foreign, anti-Christian movement in China, led by political parties and governments, local and central. You remember in those days, one of the ladies at this table became the widow of one of the victims, the martyrs, of that period. Many of you were witnesses of those persecutions. Yet recent stories are now forgotten, and not only have they been forgotten, but in the year 1933 when the depression in America and the depression in Great Britain were at their height, my Government, the same Government that in 1926-27 opposed, attacked, and criticized these Colleges and tried to confiscate them, offered \$700,000, Chinese currency, a year to tide over these Colleges in their difficulties. That \$700,000 a year has been kept up ever

since 1933. In spite of war, in spite of our financial difficulties, it is continued.

How do you explain this change of heart? Taking myself as an example, I remember as late as 1926 I was in one of the missionary centers in England, in Birmingham. After staying for three days, one morning I got up and wrote in my diary: "I thank my fate for two things—first, I did not go through any missionary colleges in China, and secondly, I came to America long before I came to this provincial England."

That was as late as 1926, and I may confess that I was the first man to make the suggestion to my Government to give this \$700,000 subsidy in 1933. When Yenching University tried to raise an endowment of \$1,000,000 in honor of the sixtieth birthday of Dr. Stuart, I volunteered to write an editorial as a part of the publicity campaign, and I was very happy to have my name associated to help this worthy cause.

How did I go through this conversion of the heart? It was because people came to see the historical significance of these Christian Colleges in China. We have come to see the historic part these Colleges have played in the history of Chinese cultural life.

They have not been merely centers of proselyting; they have not been merely organs for Christianizing and civilizing the "heathen" in China. They have not been, to use a modern term, the front organs of subversive, aggressive imperialism of the Western World.

Historically, they have gone through three stages. They began in a very modest way as schools, as rather low-grade schools, where the missionaries themselves taught language, English, some rudiments of science, arithmetic and mathematics. I remember my own experience in a school—not a Christian school. The teachers of English were products of St. John's and other leading mission colleges. My teachers taught me the books with which they had been taught, and some of the books were really primitive.

For example, I am afraid even Mr. Cravath or Dr. Finley has forgotten a man whose nickname was Peter Polly, but whose real name was Goodrich, who wrote a series of popular textbooks about seventy-five years ago. Yet in my school, in the first decade of the Twentieth Century, Peter Polly's "General History of the World" was used. I remember the first chapter was on the creation. The second chapter was the flood, and the last chapter consisted of two pages on China, with a picture of Confucius with a Manchu hat and with a pigtail!

In those days they were primitive, and yet even in those early days of seventy-five years ago or fifty years ago, they played a tremendous part as pioneers of modern education. They brought modern education to China,

and they taught the instrumentalities of knowledge, if sometimes they did not teach knowledge itself. They gave us language, the modern language, and new keys to store up knowledge of the West, and some of them—Martin, Young Allen, and others—gave us the first textbooks of science. They translated Hurrell, Huxley; they translated MacKenzie's "The History of the Nineteenth Century Christian World," which became a best seller for decades in China. I was one of those who read those books most eagerly. They were the pioneers of modern education in their own way.

Secondly, a new stage came with these men. They not only gave us the rudiments of modern education, they furnished by their own example, by their own thinking, some of the best leaders, such as the men I have mentioned. These men started to serve China by awakening China to her weaknesses in the socio-political life. They attacked foot-binding. They attacked opium smoking. They attacked these customs to awaken my people from the slumber of medieval China; and they were harbingers, pioneers, of the cultural transformation which is now called the Chinese renaissance.

They gave us the first lights and the first heat. Historically, truly these men who formed those anti-foot-binding societies, these men who fought against the opium trade, these men who organized relief societies for the unfortunate, destitute women who became prostitutes—these men started a new social consciousness in China which has now become a national movement, and a part of the Chinese renaissance.

It is true that some of the schools lagged while the native schools came up, and while the native universities arose. Gradually these Christian schools, scattered all over the country, had to become consolidated, had to become unified in order to be able to give us something intellectual, something cultural, comparable with that offered by the native national universities. Sometimes they were attacked as being not sufficiently nationalistic, as being denationalized.

But the third period came with the war, with these international crises in the East. Then you find these so-called denationalized centers of foreign education or Christian education have become centers of national life, centers of nationalistic training. In some cases, they tried to be more nationalistic than the government schools themselves.

This map above me has been shown you. Their students are active participants in the new national life of a new China. They have drawn a line over a thousand miles in each case, over which they are marching to the tune of the national heartbeats. They are part of this national life. They are recognized as such, and our

Government has done well in recognizing these Colleges, in helping them to tide over their difficult years; trying to show to the outside world, to Canada and to Great Britain and to the United States, that these Christian Colleges are wanted, and are welcome. They are being assisted and recognized as Chinese institutions today.

Tonight I am here to give honor to four guests of honor; very small tokens of recognition, ladies and gentlemen, but they are merely symbols. They are your representatives, merely. There are many people in this hall and outside this hall who deserve the same honors, the same recognitions. We have to make these four great Americans represent not only the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China, but to represent these good-hearted people in Canada, in Great Britain and in the United States who gave us these thirteen colleges.

For the first, I shall have the honor to call on Mr. Paul D. Cravath.

(As each of the four decorations of the Order of the Jade was presented, the audience arose and applauded.)

Paul Drennan Cravath, great lawyer, leader in civic life, legal counsellor to the Chinese Government, you have rendered most valuable service to the Christian Colleges in China by your national leadership in the efforts of American friends to help these institutions in a time of emergency. My country welcomes this extension of your interest beyond your own city, and state and nation, and in recognition of your services to our people, my Government has conferred on you this decoration.

MR. PAUL D. CRAVATH: Ambassador, I cannot refrain from anticipating the response that Mr. Davis is to make on behalf of all four of us, to say for myself that no distinction could bring me greater pride and pleasure than this recognition of being a friend of China.

AMBASSADOR HU SHIH: I have the honor to call Mr. Arthur V. Davis.

Arthur Vining Davis, industrial pioneer, business executive, innovator in the field of international education, for twenty-five years you have been an active friend of the China Colleges, and as a trustee of a great estate have made it possible for them to make a significant contribution to the understanding of Chinese culture, an important factor in the good relations between our two peoples. China recognizes the fundamental importance of such services and such relationships, in token of which my Government has conferred on you this decoration.

I have the honor now to call Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer.

Ralph Eugene Diffendorfer, eloquent preacher, author of volumes of world-wide significance, mission board executive, persuasive leader in the growing international consciousness of America, for over thirty years you have served the Christian Colleges in China as trustee of individual institutions, and as the first President of the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China. China, which is increasingly international-minded, welcomes this tendency in her great sister democracy, and in token of your contribution to these international Colleges has conferred on you this decoration.

Now I have the honor to present Mr. Edwin M. McBrier.

Edwin Merton McBrier, Christian layman, business executive, philanthropist, friend of China, fifty-one years ago you went to China to serve our people as a Christian missionary. Since your retirement as a business executive, you have for twenty-three years given yourself to the service of the Christian Colleges in China, as a liberal benefactor and wise counsellor, as Treasurer of the Yenching Trustees for the entire period, and for the last eight years as Treasurer of the Associated Boards. Our people reciprocate this friendship, in token of which my Government has conferred on you this decoration.

TOASTMASTER SCHURMAN: On behalf of all those present, I extend to His Excellency our sincere thanks for his remarks, and for the honor that he has conferred on us by honoring our associates.

I call now on Mr. Arthur V. Davis, great industrialist and distinguished citizen, to respond on behalf of the four recipients of the distinguished Order of the Jade. Mr. Davis!

MR. ARTHUR V. DAVIS: Your Excellency, Mr. Toastmaster, ladies and gentlemen: I am allowed, according to the dictates of our Chairman, four minutes in which to express the heartfelt thanks of four people which, as you will easily note, is at the rate of one minute for each. I cannot begin to express my own appreciation in so limited a time as one minute. I will have to let you imagine what I would say if I had more time.

We do wish, however, Your Excellency, to express in the warmest terms, our thanks for the decoration which you have conferred upon us. We are not only grateful, but will be proud all our lives, to have been selected from so many friends of China, many of whom would be more worthy of the decoration, but none of whom would be more pleased than we are.

In so expressing ourselves to you, Your Excellency, we ask that you convey our thanks to the proper representatives of your Government, and assure them that we are conscious that rare as is jade, the stone of immortality, which may be acquired for cash, it is the most valued jade of all which is given for service.

Mr. McBrier's services in sundry lines have been long continued, earnest and successful. Dr. Diffendorfer has had a close association with all of our American-supported China Colleges, and has performed many different kinds of service. My task in the past, while very pleasurable to me, has been the easiest of the tasks of all four of us. My task has been largely to give away another man's money. While that may not reflect much credit on me, I should like to say that it does in my opinion reflect much credit on the donor and his foresight in recognizing the possibilities of China, and his earnestness in providing for them.

Latterly, as you probably know, the four of us have been engaged under Mr. Cravath's leadership in the somewhat prosaic task of raising money to meet the deficit in the budget of these thirteen colleges, caused by the present unsettled conditions. These efforts, Your Excellency, are now continuing and will be continued, and it is hoped that a program will shortly be inaugurated which will stabilize on some five-year plan, or some other such plan, the raising of this money.

Both you and Mr. Rugh, through Mr. Garside, have spoken about the contribution which these colleges have made to China, and have described the importance of this contribution. Admiral Yarnell, in Newport, said, "The way in which the Colleges of China have carried on in the face of incredible difficulties will be a saga in the history of China, and gives one confidence as to the future of this great people."

It may interest you to know that in the aggregate the Boards of the American Colleges constitute a group of two hundred men and women who are working harmoniously and earnestly together through all parts of the United States. Participating also in the support of these Colleges are fourteen mission boards in the United States, and eight boards in Canada and England.

Here in the United States we have half a dozen foundations, which have been generous and consistent in support of these Colleges. Also, we have received from undergraduates, faculties, and alumni, support from twenty-seven American colleges and universities. In addition, we have a body of individuals aggregating some ten thousand, who give regularly to our group. Further, there is an indeterminate group numbering many times ten thousand who give through their mission societies, or through their churches, adding, therefore, a very large sum to the gifts of America to this cause.

All this constitutes a most powerful force—educational, religious, financial—which is focussed upon these Colleges for the good of China.

We take it, therefore, that the conferring of these decorations upon us is a symbol of the friendship and the cooperation between the peoples of China and of America. This symbolism is recognized by all the people who are here in this room tonight, and by all the friends of China in America. This expression of my thanks, therefore, to Your Excellency, for your presence and your graciousness tonight, is the expression of thanks not only from the four of us, but from all the people here and from all the friends of China in America.

TOASTMASTER SCHURMAN: As this dinner of the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China draws to a close, may I call on Dr. Henry W. Luce to give the benediction.

DR. HENRY W. LUCE: Our Heavenly Father, it is fitting, at the close of this joyous evening when we have heard of tales of sacrifice and courage and devotion, that we should turn to Thee and give Thee thanks, knowing that Thou hast inspired Thy children with this courage, with this devotion, and with this vision. To Thee we give thanks tonight. And our hearts would also pledge unto Thee, again, our devotion as we go forward into the new year. We ask all this in the spirit of Jesus. Amen!

DINNER COMMITTEE

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ASSOCIATED BOARDS

FOR

CHRISTIAN COLLEGES IN CHINA

150 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

China's Fate and America's Future

By Julean Arnold

EDITORS' NOTE: *The summary below of conditions in China concerning America and American interests was compiled by Julean Arnold, U. S. Commercial Attaché in China, while on an extended leave of absence in this country. The opinions and sentiments expressed are personal and are not intended to imply a reflection of the ideas or opinions of any of our Government departments or representatives.*

AMERICANS are mainly interested in the present struggle in Asia because of its possible effects upon them. Japan's invasion of China is the most appalling tragedy in all of human history, because it was launched at a time when that most populous of nations was at the very threshold of a huge constructive modernization program. When one of our outstanding American journalists tells his radio audience, as one recently did, that China has made no progress during the past twenty years, it is time that some one who knows better stepped forth and gave the facts. After serving my country for thirty-seven years in China and Japan, I have had an opportunity to see, hear, and learn much. I shall now attempt to present frankly my views upon the situation as I believe it affects our people and our country. I am presumptuous enough to hold the opinion that in any presentation of statistics regarding trade and economic conditions in China and Japan, one would be stupid indeed were he not to use great care to interpret them intelligently, for otherwise they might be very misleading.

CONDITIONS IN CHINA BEFORE THE JAPANESE INVASION

"The National Government in China is now completely secure with capable hands in

control of the nation's finance and economy. . . . China's financial structure has become firmly laid as has been proved by the considerable improvement in her international payments."

Certainly very few people would have expected sentiments of this sort from a Japanese. They are, nevertheless, taken from a report of Mr. Seiji Yoshida, Chairman of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Shanghai and manager of the Mitsubishi Bank in Shanghai. The report as broadcast through the press of the Far East emanated from Tokyo under date of March 1, 1937. This news item further states:

"Pointing out the strengthening of the Chinese Government, Mr. Yoshida believes the present is an opportune moment for the Japanese Government and people to rectify their erroneous China policy as hitherto employed. . . .

"Regarding the much-talked-of economic cooperation between the two countries as is being followed by Japan, Mr. Yoshida said that this would be possible only as long as China remains a semi-feudal, semi-colonial state, but China's political and economic progress in recent years has been rapid and the Chinese people have been earnest in working out their destiny."

This news item makes no mention of any

comments by Mr. Yoshida on Communism in China, undoubtedly for the reason that he realized, as did all unbiased observers, that Communism in China had by 1937 just about spent its force and was no longer a matter of serious concern to those interested in China's modernization.

Following the revolution of 1911, China suffered serious internal disruptions for two decades; but by 1930 conditions began definitely to improve and by 1937 national unification became a reality. The restoration of confidence in the Central Government was evidenced by the increasing support of the country's bankers in constructive development projects.

AMERICA'S PROSPECTS IN CHINA BEFORE THE JAPANESE INVASION

No other country has made such phenomenal strides in modernization as had China during the past ten years. These presaged big potentialities in the trade of the future. They spelled a transition in imports from consumer to capital goods. They indicated manifold increases in the country's imports. Those with vision appreciated their significance in its extensive ramifications. Mr. Yoshida and his colleagues sensed this when they made their report. They appreciated the potentialities in trade which a self-rejuvenated China could offer. Now, what about the possibilities of realizing on these potentialities? To be specific let us consider this subject under definite concrete sub-topics:

Railroads

China has but 10,000 miles compared with America's 250,000 miles.

During the past few years China rehabilitated existing lines, and was engaged in construction of several thousand miles of new railways.

China is the only country still needing as much as 50,000 miles.

For each 1,000 miles of railroads \$50,000,000 worth of equipment is needed.

The country has experienced railroad engineers and operators necessary for handling its railroad problems.

Chinese bankers were participating in financing railroad construction.

Great Britain, France, Germany, and Belgium eagerly signed loan agreements for the construction of new lines under Chinese auspices, stipulating that materials must be purchased from their respective nationals.

The Export-Import Bank, Washington, was prepared to negotiate credits for the several hundred million dollars for American materials, bringing big trade opportunities to American manufacturers and labor.

Sales of railroad equipment to China represent mainly manufactured goods and no war materials. The construction of 50,000 miles of railroads means the use of 100,000,000 wooden ties. This prospect is of special interest to our Northwest lumber interests.

Highways

During the past decade China has constructed 60,000 miles of highway, mostly in sections of the country which previously had had no roads.

About 80 per cent of the 75,000 motor cars in China are American.

Further plans embraced several hundred thousand miles with provision for coordination with railroads and waterways.

A prospering China will need millions of motor vehicles for the highways necessary to its economic transportation.

Waterways

The improvement of China's waterways was well advanced by 1937.

Existing steamship lines were reorganized and improved.

Schools were established in China for training personnel for the new fleet.

China had purchased new steamers from England. It was preparing to negotiate for the purchase of American ships.

Airways

China had installed a network of air lines,

making it possible to cover all important cities by regular schedules. In 1936 they carried 27,000 passengers.

A Chinese-American company occupied an important place in commercial aviation, operating about 3,000 miles of lines on a profitable basis, and was prepared to extend its operations and equipment several fold.

American equipment and personnel were outstanding factors in China's airways.

China completed airways connections with America, England, and France.

Telegraphs, Telephones, and Radios

Wireless telegraph stations were installed in the principal cities.

Radio-telephone communications were opened with America in May 1937.

A network of long-distance telephone was completed connecting important cities, although the total number of telephones was only 250,000.

The largest telephone company in China is an American concern in Shanghai.

Radio broadcasting stations were installed in important cities. America occupied first place in the supply of radio equipment.

Industrial developments

China made greater progress in the installation of modern industrial plants during 1936-37 than at any other time in its history. Throughout the interior smoke-stacks vied with pagodas for a place in the sun of New China.

Among the larger industries were cotton spindles, 5,000,000; looms, 50,000; flour-mills, yearly capacity 25,000,000 barrels; cigarette factories, yearly capacity 80 billion. The largest electric power-plant with 300,000 k. w. capacity is American owned.

The imports of industrial machinery and equipment presented prospects for ever-increasing sales of American manufactured goods, and promised steadily rising economic levels among the masses in China, hence increased purchasing power.

Building Construction

During the past ten years more cities and towns were reconstructed in China than in any other country in the world for a similar period.

Nanking, China's new capital, exhibited a most active building program and was destined to become one of the world's most beautiful capitals. The population had increased from 350,000 in 1925 to 1,100,000 in 1937.

With the beginning of 1937, China embarked upon a modern building program offering well-grounded hopes for big sales of American building materials, heating, lighting, ventilating, and air-conditioning equipment.

Agricultural developments

With 80 per cent of China's population rural, agriculture is of prime importance.

Improvements among rural masses during the years 1932-37 were a striking factor in effectively combatting Communistic activities.

The installation of credit cooperatives giving farmers money at 8 per cent annually instead of the former 2 and 3 per cent a month was of outstanding significance.

Better conditions among the masses were reflected in steadily increased purchasing power.

Financial betterments

With the beginning of 1937 China was definitely headed for currency stabilization, uniform currency throughout the country, and adequate provision for refunding outstanding foreign and domestic loans.

Improved national credits were evidenced by the resumption of loans and credits by foreign countries, especially in long term credits to government organs for constructive projects.

The American silver policy which forced China onto a managed currency basis with notes of the Government banks as legal tender proved helpful to China's financial re-organization. It represents the most helpful

contribution to the country in its present crisis as it enabled China to establish substantial credits abroad through nationalization and exports of silver.

Foreign trade

Had China been privileged to execute its modernization program upon which it was so well embarked in 1937, it would have startled the world by the huge volumes of foreign trade which would have followed in its wake. The program portended a vastly greater emphasis upon capital goods, which were destined for constructive purposes.

Salient facts in America's trade with China

During the five years preceding 1937, America led in both China's exports and imports, taking about 30 per cent of the former and selling about 20 per cent of the latter.

Our exports to China represented mainly manufactured products and agricultural commodities.

Our imports from China, which amounted to upwards of \$100,000,000 a year, represented mostly raw materials or semi-manufactured products, hence were essential to our manufacturing industries.

Invisible items in our trade with China include banking, shipping, insurance, tourists' expenditures, missionary and government expenditures, the maintenance of American business and industrial concerns in China and American investments.

The aggregate of American investments in China is about \$250,000,000, including about \$50,000,000 in missionary and other eleemosynary institutions.

American trans-Pacific steamship companies early in 1937 reported the most encouraging outlook for years, especially in the American tourist trade.

In 1937 there were about 12,000 Americans resident in China, including about 4,000 resident in Shanghai.

American business houses, schools, missionaries, and other institutions and organizations all contribute toward the popularizing

of American goods, methods and ideas among the Chinese people.

American motion picture films have been an important factor in popularizing things American. About 80 per cent of the imported films are American.

With the severance of Manchuria from China, our import and export returns with China were considerably reduced.

The 400 American concerns in China were unanimous in early 1937 in proclaiming that the country presented the most hopeful outlook ever offered, with prospects for a record year and still better opportunities for succeeding years.

A China free to work out its own destiny would undoubtedly offer opportunities which, within a decade or two, would surpass those of Japan and most other countries, giving us an export trade with China probably tenfold that of the year 1936.

Thus at the beginning of 1937, America was just at the threshold of realizing in a big way on the potentialities in China's vast modernization program.

What country is better prepared financially to step in and realize upon China's potentialities than America? Shall we make credit advances to China for constructive developments and thereby conserve our future on the Pacific, or shall we make these funds available to Japan to further the ambitions of its military overlords and thereby jeopardize our entire future on the Pacific?

JAPAN'S PROSPECTS IN ITS TRADE WITH CHINA BEFORE THE HOSTILITIES

Mr. Yoshida is quoted as stating in his report as mentioned above:

"While other foreign powers are trying to create new opportunities to meet the new situation in China, Japan has remained inactive.

"Japan must henceforth discard her vigorous China policy and adopt one that is morally acceptable to the Chinese Government and is practical.

"It is absurd that Japan has always charged China with insincerity or befriending other foreign powers to antagonize Japan for which Japanese diplomatic and other Government authorities must be held partially responsible."

During the years immediately preceding the Japanese invasion, Japan's trade with China was on the increase, even discounting the smuggling trade in North China which did not enter into the returns of the Chinese customs. Had Japan followed the advice of its Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai and pursued a policy of friendly cooperation, it is patent that the Chinese were prepared to accord Japanese trading, industrial and financial interests, opportunities equally as good as those accorded other foreign nations. For instance, the Chinese Government expressed a willingness to negotiate credit loan agreements with the Japanese for railroad construction on terms similar to those offered other foreign nationals. However, Japan's military overlords demanded a degree of supervision over the construction and operation of these lines, which was repugnant to an independent China naturally set upon the preservation of its territorial integrity and sovereign rights.

Furthermore, it is more than probable that if Japan had been prepared to play the game on the basis of a recognition of the policy of the Open Door, American financiers and manufacturers would have been willing to participate with Japanese in development projects in China. In fact, Japan with its close geographical proximity to China and its natural facilities for tapping the Chinese markets, stood to gain by everything which other foreign interests might have done toward stimulating the vast modernization program upon which China had embarked.

JAPAN'S POLICIES IN THE INVASION OF CHINA

Prince Konoye, Japanese Premier, proclaimed on August 28, 1937, that Japan's

only course in China is to beat China to its knees so that it will no longer have the spirit to fight. Previously the Japanese had always maintained that they were fighting in China to save it from Communism. However, Communism in China had almost spent its force, hence this could no longer be cited as a legitimate pretext for the invasion.

Japan hopes:

1. By a policy of terrorism to subjugate the great masses in China, and thereby establish a Japanese feudal military overlordship on the Asiatic Continent.

2. To prevent the Chinese from developing the training or equipment for military protection, but to impress into the service of the Japanese armies as much of the Chinese manpower as can be safely and effectively used under Japanese military direction.

3. To set up on the Asiatic Continent a grandiose Japanese military machine in preparation for further conquests in the Pacific and eventually to achieve Japan's so-called manifest destiny to rule the world.

4. To secure monopolistic control of China's economic resources, thereby freeing Japan from reliance on America for cotton, tobacco, iron and steel, heavy chemicals and certain other essential products. In North China, the Japanese are trying to force Chinese farmers to grow American type cotton even at the expense of cereal production, to guarantee to Japanese mills the needed cotton at prices probably less than half the production costs of cotton in America.

5. To control and direct all modern industrial developments in China, utilizing the greatest manpower in the world on a mere subsistence wage basis, thereby making possible the flooding of the markets of the world with cheap Japanese manufactured products.

6. To create in China a monopolistic market for Japanese manufactured products through a control of all means of communications and through preferential tariffs and marketing facilities.

7. To set up Japanese controlled regional puppet governments vested with responsibility but with little or no authority, and answerable to their Japanese military overlords.

8. To eradicate from the Asiatic Continent American and other westernizing influences, substituting the Japanese language for English and putting into the schools textbooks written in Japan.

9. Under the fiction of relinquishing special Japanese concessions and extraterritoriality, to induce other nations to do likewise and in reality develop China as one huge Japanese concession with Japanese nationals enjoying preferential considerations.

EFFECTS OF JAPAN'S UNDECLARED
WAR ON CHINA

Military conditions [Statistics are estimates for January 1, 1939]:

Japanese troops landed in China to date	1,300,000
Japanese troops landed in Manchuria to date	300,000
Japanese casualties	600,000
Japanese killed	250,000
Chinese Government troops in the field	3,500,000
Chinese guerrillas, (mobile fighters)	

[No estimates available, although it is known that the number run into hundreds of thousands. Every Chinese man and woman is a potential guerilla.]

Chinese troops casualties	1,500,000
Chinese troops killed	600,000
Chinese civilian casualties:	
aerial bombs	150,000
Chinese civilian deaths	75,000
Chinese civilians forced to flee before invading armies	40,000,000
Chinese civilian refugees in summer of 1938	30,000,000

General effects

Hundreds of colleges, school and hospitals, thousands of industrial plants and business establishments, as well as tens of thousands of houses, have been destroyed or occupied by Japanese.

Hundreds of industrial plants, business establishments, and private houses have been appropriated without compensation.

Scores of cities and towns have been looted and hundreds of tons of art treasures shipped to Japan.

In areas occupied by Japanese, the Chinese customs revenues are being held by Japanese and none are released for foreign commitments against revenues. China's financial reforms, which were nearing perfection before the invasion, are now threatened with chaos.

Occupied areas are scoured for metal coins, hence are depleted of silver and copper.

Military notes, irredeemable and inconvertible, in denominations as low as one cent, the equivalent of about one-seventh of a cent American currency, are forced on the populace.

Opium shops and narcotics peddlers follow the Japanese armies; hence Japanese collect toll while demoralizing the population.

Wholesale disorder and brigandage are spreading over occupied areas with general political and economic breakdown.

Japanese "occupied" areas in China at beginning of 1939 [estimates]

Manchuria, Jehol, and parts of Chahar, about 580,000 sq. miles.

Other sections of China, about 390,000 sq. miles.

Population of occupied areas, 180,000,000 (40 per cent of total population).

Percentage of area under Japanese control, 23 per cent.

Occupied area includes most of modern industrial plants.

Occupied area includes principal trading ports.

Occupied area includes much rich agricultural and mineral resources.

Occupied area includes two-thirds of China's railway mileage.

Chinese communications in operation, April 1939

1. China coast ports Ningpo, Wenchow and Foochow, through which exports, principally tung oil and tea, get out in limited quantities.

2. Yunnan-Haiphong Railway, connecting by highway with Chungking.

3. Yunnan-Burma highway connecting Chungking with Rangoon.

4. Szechwan-Lanchow to Soviet Russia by motor cars and camels.

5. About 200 tons of cargo daily are shipped over routes two and three.

6. About 1,000 tons monthly pass over Lanchow route.

7. The Hunan-Kwangsi Railway in Southwest China permits transport across Kwangsi Province to Yunnan.

8. Commercial airplane services maintained between West China points and Hongking and Hanoi (Indochina).

9. Trans-Pacific air service thrice monthly with Hongkong, thence via Hanoi to Chungking and West China cities.

10. Sino-American airline operates between Yunnan and Burma and between Yunnan and Hongkong.

11. Radio-telephone services inaugurated between Chungking and Moscow and telecommunications extended throughout Chinese controlled territory.

12. The most powerful broadcasting station in the Far East is at Chungking, the present capital of China.

Industrial conditions beginning 1939

1. In Manchuria emphasis is placed upon projects essential to war industries.

2. In Japanese-occupied areas Japanese have destroyed or taken over principal Chinese industrial plants.

3. Chinese Government in areas under its control encourages economic self-sufficiency by promotion of industrial cooperatives with machinery available and by expanding handicraft industry. Banks are aiding in financing these developments.

4. Significant is the widespread modern economic development in areas under Chinese control, especially in Szechwan, Yunnan and West China generally, and includes expediting the development of latent mineral resources.

A M E R I C A ' S P R O S P E C T S I N C H I N A A F T E R
J A P A N ' S I N V A S I O N

Railroads

A Japanized China will build and operate railroads primarily to further Japan's policies of military and economic domination of the Far East, using as soon as possible a maximum of Japanese equipment, even to the extent of tapping the stands of timber in Manchuria for ties or sleepers. Although we may be offered some alluring initial orders to secure our financial backing, yet as soon as Japan gets its financial wind, we shall have to be content very soon to take the crumbs that drop from the master's table and these will get drier as time goes on. Japanized railroads will be so operated as to give preferential consideration to Japanese trade and other Japanese interests.

Highways

Roads will be built as accessory to railroads and waterways and primarily for Japan's military purposes and to further her plans for tapping the economic resources of China. As for equipment, American branch plants in Japan may, for some years, be permitted to supply cars, but all accessories will be manufactured by Japanese concerns. In fact, Japan is already engaged in developing a plant in Mukden for the manufacture of motor cars and trucks.

Waterways

The Japanese flag will enjoy exclusive privileges on the inland waterways and coastal trade of China, under a Japanized China. Vessels will be built in Japanese shipbuilding plants. Through the control of all internal water routes, Japan will have a stranglehold on the trade and economic developments of China.

Airways

American participation in the operation of China's commercial aviation will cease immediately under a Japanese dominated China. Japan will dictate the terms under which we shall be permitted to operate our Trans-Pacific air-clippers in making connections with China, and if possible other sections of the Far East as well. A minimum of American equipment will be purchased, the quantities decreasing as Japan is able to produce its own airplane industry.

Telegraphs, telephones and radios

With a Japanized China, American equipments will become as rare as snow on the streets of San Francisco. Broadcasting will be censored so that China will be fed what Master Japan wants to give it, and send out what he wants it to say.

Industrial developments

With a Japanized China, here is where America will be hoodwinked into believing that it is going to get some good business. Exacting long-term credits, the Japanese will take American machinery but only to build up industries whereby they may use Chinese labor on mere subsistence wages, so as to outdo the rest of the world in production costs and then flood the world with their cheap manufactured products. We shall then be faced with a real "Yellow Peril." Thus we shall be invited to furnish capital and equipment to help Japan undermine our wage scales and standards of living. Furthermore, Japan will be especially concerned with

building up war industries on the Asiatic Continent, so that we shall be asked to help finance these, as we have been helping Japan to build up war industries in Manchuria. What sort of investments will these present for American capital?

Trade and cultural stakes

Following the outbreak of hostilities, several thousand Americans were evacuated from or had to leave China because of the Japanese invasion. Huge quantities of American cargo destined to China had to be diverted. American properties in China have been destroyed or occupied by Japanese armed forces. In fact, foundations in trade and cultural contacts built up after decades of labor and with outlays of hundreds of millions of dollars are being destroyed by this undeclared war on China.

The \$250,000,000 in American investments in China under a Japanized China will be threatened with extinction. By forcing exports and imports in China to be handled through Japanese concerns, our banks, insurance companies, steamship companies and other servicing organizations now constituting important items in our invisible trade will have to do what our companies in Manchuria did: namely, to get out.

The losses, direct and indirect, to American interests will aggregate more than the total of our trade with Japan for some years.

America has been toboganned from first to third place in China trade, with heavy reductions in both exports and imports.

The United States has depended upon China for large quantities of materials which enter into our manufacturing industries, such as tung-oil for varnish, bristles for brushes, vegetable oils for cooking, fats and soaps, wool for carpets, goatskins for women's shoes, antimony for type and babbitt metals, tungsten for high-speed machine tools and electric light filaments, and tin for tinned plate. We were China's best customer, taking 30 per cent of its exports. Japan aims to secure con-

trol of these commodities, purchase them with fiat money, force us to buy them with good American money and pay tolls to Japanese brokerage houses, banks, insurance companies, and ships. Japan may even force us to take them in processed form if it chooses.

Japan's plans for the increased production of American type cotton and leaf-tobacco in China, if successful, spell the doom of our former lucrative trade in the Far East in these commodities. Japan will be able to force the Chinese at the point of the bayonet to raise American type cotton at three or four cents a pound. Recent reports from China inform us that the Japanese authorities plan to rush their cotton production program by making cotton planting in North China compulsory, while attempting to prohibit the planting of cereals, counting upon Manchuria to supply the latter to North China.

Through the use of their Federal Reserve Bank of China notes, which are inconvertible and irredeemable, the Japanese are shutting out American competition in imports and exports in Japanese controlled areas.

Through preferential tariffs, transportation and travel facilities, and currency exchange manipulations, Japanese traders and goods are forcing Americans and American commodities out of the market. Its policies threaten the elimination of the American mercantile marine from the Pacific.

Through the control of the telegraphs, posts, and all other means of communication, Japan will set up annoying barriers against American contacts with China.

Anti-American propaganda is being broadcast in Japanese controlled areas for the purpose of killing the effectiveness in American trade and other relations of American-educated Chinese and those friendly with our institutions, goods, and methods.

The appalling destruction of property and lives has reduced the purchasing power of the population, curtailing seriously import possibilities for American goods which in China sell on a quality basis.

By the wholesale operations in China of Japanese opium and narcotics vendors, the difficulties in shutting out narcotics from our country will be multiplied very considerably.

IS AMERICA AN ALLY OF JAPAN?

While public opinion in America sympathizes with China's cause in the defense of its country from foreign invasion, yet as circumstances have developed, we actually find ourselves rendering far more material aid to Japan than to China. The vast bulk of our exports to Japan during these past few years have been in war materials or commodities which figure in Japan's war industries. A recent United Press news item from Tokyo informs us that 10,000 taxis have been taken out of service in Tokyo alone, while private owners of cars are limited to one gallon and a half of gasoline daily, so rigid are the rations of materials used for the prosecution of the war. In Japan's needs for iron, cast-iron and rubber splash guards have been taken off automobiles, and bicycles no longer have tin license plates. Efforts are being made to substitute porcelain for iron for mail boxes. In the same way, the government control of textiles has reduced purchasable linen, woolsens and cotton almost to nothing.

Some have boasted of our increased imports to Manchuria during these past two years, but reports from official sources in Manchuria show that nearly all of the exports are for war industries. Thus during these last few years comparatively little of our exports to Japan, which roughly total about \$300,000,000 annually, are other than war materials.

If one were to follow the Japanese armies in China and witnessed all the American mechanized equipment, he might think, except for the personnel, that he was following the American armies.

By the purchase of Chinese commodities from Japanese concerns in the Japanese controlled areas, we are helping further to assist Japan in the purchase of war materials. Jap-

an buys these products with irredcembable and inconvertible paper, or fiat money, and we have to pay American mency, thereby helping it to establish credits abroad.

It is estimated that upwards of \$20,000,000 is being sent back to Japan annually by some of the 280,000 Japanese resident in America. On the other hand, Americans resident or having intercsts in Japan or Manchuria are forbidden by the Exchange Control Laws from sending any mency from those territories.

Japanese are permitted to flood our country with tons of propaganda, to broadcast over our radio, and to send their spokesmen to plead Japan's cause, while we are prevented from the opportunity of presenting to the Japanese people our interpretation of our views and our interests in the China situation.

The longer we delay taking positive action to protect our interests in Asia and the Far East, the more difficult will become the task because the more deeply the Japanese penetrate China, the larger the sources of supply upon which it will be able to draw for assistance in carrying on the war.

SUGGESTED COURSES OF ACTION OPEN TO AMERICANS

Japan has violated the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact, and the United States enjoys extraterritorial rights in its treaty with China which impose on it certain responsibilities to American nationals, which it is now unable to guarantee because of Japan's undeclared and unprovoked war on China; therefore it is proposed that we institute certain reprisals against Japan in our efforts to protect our rights and interests in China. Among the suggested reprisals which may well receive consideration are the following:

1. Devise some method of effectively controlling the flow of American war materials to Japan.

2. Study carefully America's needs in essential war materials in case of emergency

demands, so as to safeguard our country against the depletion of stocks necessary for our own armaments.

3. Impose prohibitive import tariff duties on commodities imported primarily from Japan. In this connection, an import tariff of 100 or 200 per cent on raw silk, which constitutes over 50 per cent of our imports from Japan, may prove quite effective in curtailing this trade.

4. So long as Japanese military or other organizations continue to occupy American premises in China without due compensation or permission, consider some reciprocal action.

5. In order to help Americans in their purchases of Chinese commodities in Japanese controlled areas, require that purchases of Chinese commodities be accompanied with consular certificates showing that they were financed through American currency transactions with no discriminations against American buyers.

6. So long as the Japanese refuse to allow the free passage of American commodities in the waterways of China and embarrass our American concerns operating in China through the imposition of disastrously discriminatory treatment which in some cases amounts to confiscation, restrict Japanese ships in their use of American harbors.

7. So long as Americans in Japan and Manchuria are prohibited from sending money from those countries, devise some method of making it difficult to send money from America to Japan.

8. Discountenance American manufacturers and bankers extending credit accommodations to Japan while Americans are discriminated against in trading in China.

9. Insist that American manufacturers do not shift the handling of their business in China from American to Japanese houses.

10. Encourage American manufacturers and exporters to organize export syndicates effectively to prevent Japanese importers and exporters from operating under monopolistic

conditions, playing one concern off against another.

11. So long as Americans are not privileged to send materials or radio broadcasts into Japan to enlighten the Japanese people concerning the situation in China as it affects American interests, and so long as Japanese in China censor American mail and other communications going into Japanese occupied areas, measures should be taken to prohibit Japanese propaganda from being disseminated in the United States.

12. Extend credit facilities to China for the purchase of American commodities, as one way of helping the Chinese to make their defense effective. A loan of a few hundred million dollars at this time would be tantamount to insurance on a Pacific peace policy. In this connection, the facilities of the Export-Import Bank should be extended to make the advancement of these credits possible.

HOW IMPORTANT ARE OUR RESPONSIBILITIES AS A PACIFIC POWER?

Much has been said in the past about an impending Pacific era. Few of our people now realize that with Japan's invasion of China, which is in fact one of the most momentous events in all of history, the Pacific era has been ushered in. It is here. Henceforth, what may transpire in this section of the world is likely to be of even greater concern to us as a nation than what may happen on the other side of the Atlantic.

America is essentially more of a Pacific than an Atlantic power. It is feasible to construct a bridge across the Behring Straits whereby it may be possible to drive our motor cars across onto the Asiatic Continent. In fact, the shortest distance from St. Louis in the Mississippi Valley to Hankow in the Yangtze Valley is along the great circle traversing the Behring Straits. Furthermore, we have a greater Pacific coast line than has any other Occidental nation.

Modern means of communications have

brought our Asiatic neighbors into a stone's throw of us. We can now hail them across the water. We cannot any longer build up walls of isolation shutting us away from the rest of the world. The Pacific Ocean is no longer a formidable barrier separating us from the Far East—better now called the Far West.

We have spent hundreds of millions of dollars and sent tens of thousands of our nationals to China and Japan in efforts to carry American ideals and ideas to the Far East. Millions of Chinese and Japanese speak, read, and write English, and understand us and our institutions. How many Americans are there who possess a substantial knowledge of China and Japan and understand the psychology of the Chinese and Japanese?

Many Americans with little background in things Japanese but prominent in our business, industrial, professional and other walks of life have visited Japan, and their Japanese hosts found it easy to fit them with Japanese glasses and ear trumpets, which enable them to see and hear the Japanese versions of Far Eastern matters. Some of these, after returning to America, continue to wear these Japanese glasses and ear trumpets, indicating quite clearly that our whole educational system is at fault in not furnishing our people with the means of a good education in the fundamentals of the civilizations and institutions of these important Asiatic peoples.

Japan moved into Manchuria, a territory larger than Germany and France combined, and now threatens to occupy an area greater than the United States with a population nearly three times larger, yet we show more concern over the taking of a few hundred square miles in Europe by a European power than we manifest toward what constitutes a major threat to our entire civilization.

If Japan succeeds in its conquest of China, it will not stop there. Japan's occupation of Hainan Island and the Spratly Islands indicates that it has greater ambitions. It aims to set itself up as master of the Pacific. With

150,000 Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands, how long will it be before it will demand that the Japanese flag be hoisted over this important American outpost in the Pacific?

Japan has exhibited a persistent interest in the rich fishing resources in the Alaskan waters. How long will it be, should it succeed in its ambitions on the Asiatic Continent, before Japan pushes its fishing fleet into our northern waters and begins colonization in Alaska?

In January of 1929, Mr. Sado Saburi, the Japanese Charge d'Affaires in London, was quoted in the Shanghai press as having given utterance to the following sentiments:

"There are those who think that a stage has been reached in the life of Japan when she must decide whether she shall throw in her lot with the East or West. The idea is manifestly one which presupposes antagonism ultimately leading to conflict between the two civilizations and is comprehensible only if one tolerates the policy of a 'Yellow Peril.' It is, however, entirely too narrow in its conception and far too terrible in its potential consequences to merit consideration by Jap-

an, who in her pursuit of the goal of enduring peace and the continuous advancement of mankind, aspires to serve as a link connecting and harmonizing the civilizations of the East and the West."

Taking these sentiments, along with those of Mr. Yoshida as quoted in the earlier part of this article, one must be convinced that there are Japanese who think very differently from their military leaders who are now dictating their country's policies. Were Japan's destinies entrusted to those possessed of these forward looking sentiments, we should have good reason then to be optimistic regarding the prospects of developing policies of peaceful cooperation with our neighbors on the Pacific. But in our ignorance and apathy we have thus far chosen to give our material support to Japan's militarists, who are obsessed with the ambition to set themselves up as military masters of Asia and of the Pacific, preliminary to world domination, all of which is in keeping with what they are taught to revere as Japan's "manifest destiny." Shall we not, if we continue our drifting policies, invite the annihilation of our standards of living and our democratic institutions?



CANTON AFTER FIVE MONTHS OF ENEMY MILITARY OCCUPATION.

Life in occupied territory is for a Chinese infinitely more intolerable than during the period of aerial bombings, and even for a foreigner, more unpleasant. Both classes were then free and self-respecting, even though in constant danger. Exactly one year ago, on a beautiful Palm Sunday, Japanese naval warplanes dived down over the Anglo-French concession, over the British and American Consulates and released incendiary bombs directly on a sewing factory. Half of the seven hundred women and girls were mangled and burned. As I write, bombers are flying very low overhead, so that we can clearly see the bombs, on their way to cities not far away, to bomb Chinese civilians and foreign missionary compounds with their residences, schools, hospitals and churches. The Godfearing, Christian Anglo-Saxon nations are still maintaining friendly relations with that militaristic nation and contributing materially to its ruthlessness.

Now the official buildings and the residences of the wealthy Chinese are occupied by enemy officers. Many shops and houses have been confiscated and given to Japanese, Formosans and Koreans. All Chinese must wear 'good citizen' badges issued by the army, and doff their hats and bow to the armed sentries. The navy disapproving, may cause the badges to be removed, and then one unfortunate enough not to possess a badge, if he encounters armed sentries or gendarmes, may be manhandled. The procedure as witnessed by many foreigners is to beat and kick the victim unmercifully for sometime, then practice jiu-jitsu with him, throwing him down repeatedly on the pavement, and then, as a final gesture, stab him in the groin with a bayonet. For misdemeanors, the culprits must stand for a long time with their hands held up over their heads, faced by bayonets.

Large numbers of the poor Chinese who fled to the country and cannot subsist there, have now returned in the hope of being able to earn a living, to find their homes and shops destroyed or looted. Having no money or work, but hungry families; petty thieving, or employment for a few, in the interests of their enemies, only remain. Daylight robbery is a frequent occurrence. The Japanese report daily executions for pilfering—but they are looting whole cities and provinces.

Why will the upper and middle classes of Chinese not return at the urgent invitation of the Imperial Japanese Army? They prefer not to be slaves. Most of their places of business have been destroyed, looted or preempted. All Chinese and their effects are searched by armed sentries posted at many places throughout the city. Vehicular traffic is limited to certain main streets. Loot, garden produce and Nipponese goods are the stock in trade. Transports are loaded with these goods, marked as munitions, paying no duty. Canton is at present a Japanese city under the control of the militarists. Martial law is enforced. Curfew is imposed. There are for the Chinese none of the amenities of city life.

Canton as a commercial and educational city is dead, and it appears will continue to be so until the enemy retires. The only educational work being done is in the refugee camps conducted by missionary organizations. There one can hear the poor Chinese singing, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow". The Japanese are trying vainly to reconstruct Canton. The ruins caused by the bombs and fires remain. The iron is being taken to Japan to make munitions of war. Electricity has been partially restored even to several foreign concerns. The traffic cops are efficient. There are Chinese police armed with clubs.

The few Chinese working on the foreign concession or in foreign institutions go out into the streets as rarely as possible, for there is no real order or security. Chinese may come to Canton by way of Macao on a Japanese steamer free of charge, but the return is made very much more difficult. For thirty pieces of silver one may open a gambling joint and secure protection, and for much less, an opium den. All Chinese boats on the Pearl River must fly the "red sun" flag, or the insignia of the Japanese navy. The river is full of Japanese transports and trawlers, and the streets of army trucks, mostly of American make. Overhead fly constantly warplanes, loaded with bombs, flying across foreign concessions and commercial and missionary compounds, to deal death and destruction elsewhere. The Christian churches are helping to feed the destitute. The funds are provided through the International Red Cross, the Lord Mayor's Fund and generous friends.

For foreigners with even a little of the milk of human kindness, living in occupied territory is heartrending. One would prefer the old days of six months ago. Although the city was incessantly bombed and large numbers of civilians were killed and wounded, yet our Chinese friends and neighbors were free, peace-loving people. They were intent on their own pursuits, enjoying their own arts and crafts, their bargaining and their firecrackers. They ate at the famous restaurants where the best food in China was served. Beautiful girls in their lovely clothes were admired on the streets. Their place is now taken by geisha girls. Before the "incident" the most common words heard on the streets were 'tsin' money, and 'shik' eat—later it was 'ta' fight, and now it is 'pai ai' trouble. For the Chinese in Japanese occupied territory are now a subject people.

Foreign business is dead, for the Pearl River is closed, although there is no military activity near it, nor any dangerous obstructions. This is purely an annoying antiforeign gesture. Foreign commerce has always been the life of Canton's trade. Transportation for foreigners to and from the outside world is infrequent by means of American and British gunboats. At long intervals a British river steamer is now allowed to make the journey. The red tape of Japanese officialdom is plentiful, disagreeable, and quite unnecessary. Letters and journals may be confiscated on the steamer.

Foreigners must possess passes issued by the Imperial Japanese Army, but of these there is an insufficient number, and the possession or exhibition of such

a pass may not prevent a disagreeable incident. Remonstrance or a show of resentment is construed as an insult to the Army. Protests have become ridiculous. No satisfaction can be expected. The Japanese Army can do no wrong! "The Army acts, the Government explains", said an army officer. "We like war", said another. Even Japanese civilian officials have difficulties with the army. It is evident that the Japanese militarists intend if at all possible, to drive foreigners out of China, and shut the 'Open Door', but they do not now wish for disagreeable individual incidents which would cause resentment abroad and might cause interference with their plans. They will dine and wine and delude prominent foreign visitors—but living conditions may be made almost impossible for resident foreigners. Certain foreign ladies have found it practically impossible to enter or leave their home because of barbed wire and armed Japanese sentries. Non-Japanese must pay customs duty on even the small amount of food supplies brought in on foreign gunboats from Hong Kong. There is no other way to secure them.

What is the real attitude of the Japanese militarists in regard to third Powers and their nationals? Some of their responsible spokesmen have been quite outspoken and have made such remarks to Britons and Americans as: "The only thing that foreigners can do is to help us get the Chinese back to Canton, and then they can return to their own countries, as there is nothing else for them to do". "We appreciate your benevolent work, but we think there is something behind it which must be investigated. We intend to carry through Japan's divine mission at all costs." "We don't want Americans here. We want Americans to get out."

Some foreign commercial buildings and missionary institutions are still occupied as army camps by the Imperial Japanese Army. When protests are made: "But the Chinese army occupied the premises". No. "Why were the institutions vacated." Because Japanese aeroplanes dropped bombs on them. You see the bomb craters. "The Japanese Army has made extensive and expensive repairs". The damage you say you have repaired was done by Japanese aerial bombs.

We understand that the American and British Governments do not admit the legality of the seizure of vast areas of China—of the unilateral breaking of the Nine Power Treaty—of the interference with the persons, property, interests and rights of their nationals living and working in China. (A great deal of this commercial and cultural activity is in partnership with Chinese and cannot be clearly demarcated). In theory this may be so, but such an attitude is not very apparent in occupied areas. Is our appeasement policy then dictated by softheaded ultrapacifists and isolationists and by hard hearted commercial interests? The Japanese Government spokesmen profess that Japan is not discriminating against third Powers, but actions speak louder than words. Furthermore, this is not an ordinary war. It is a deliberate and determined attempt to conquer and enslave a great nation and its people, to dominate by military force the Pacific and Asia, and ultimately the world.

Why was Canton taken so quickly? Because of foreign appeasement policy after Munich. The Chinese had been led to believe that the invasion of the home of overseas Chinese and the hinterland of foreign territory would not be tolerated, so the Cantonese fighting forces and military supplies were concentrated in the Yangtse valley to protect the national capital. Now the Japanese are in a position to strike at Hong Kong, the Philippines, French Indo-China, and if they take Yunnan province, India and Burmah. In concert with Germany and Italy, Japan may yet try to dictate to the Anglo-Saxon nations their destiny. Our prestige is at zero. Our foreign interests are being destroyed. Democracies are being absorbed into the so-called "Anti Comintern Bloc". We are still selling to these brutal and aggressive nations military equipment and supplies. We are still maintaining friendly relations with them. We are providing the all essential silver bullets by trading with them. We are helping to strengthen potential and probable enemies. We are helping to weaken peaceloving and friendly nations. Are we mad? Is it too late to reverse the procedure, and help our friends the peaceloving nations—prevent an unjust truce being forced upon China for the benefit of Japan, in the supposed interests of Anglo-Saxon trade? The fate of China, and of government of the people, by the people, for the people of this earth depends upon the actions of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. Shall we actively help to bring about the time when peace and goodwill shall prevail? This cannot be accomplished by ultrapacifism or isolationism.

Canton, China, April 2, 1939.

(In the event of publication, kindly omit signature. J. O. Thomson).



Chinese Students at the University of Michigan

China's Leadership For Tomorrow

By PROF. HENRY P. VAN DUSEN
Union Theological Seminary, New York

WHEN the conflict in the Far East began to assume the proportions of a major and protracted war, a question foremost in the minds of all intelligent friends of China was:—"What will be the effect of this struggle upon China's leadership for the future?" That is, "upon higher education in China?"

For anyone even passingly familiar with China knows well the unique strategic significance of Chinese universities and colleges. That significance springs from at least three facts:—

1. The *traditional Chinese reverence* for learning and the man of learning (one of the most deeply ingrained and universal characteristics of the Chinese mind)—a reverence, we may say, hardly paralleled in any other national attitude in all the world.
2. The *actual influence*, not merely of men of education, but of *students* themselves upon the direction of national policy. Repeatedly, at moments of national crisis in the past quarter-century, it has been the students, often making their ideas effective through a "student strike," who have brought to bear decisive pressure upon national decisions. This active and effective participation of students even while in university upon the direction of government also has no parallel in any other nation in the world.
3. The *numerically almost insignificant number* of young men and women in China for whom there is opportunity for higher education; and the corresponding responsibility resting upon that relatively tiny band. The population of China is almost four times that

of the United States. The number of university students in China in normal times is just about 3% of the number here. That is to say, in America, 1 of every 100 in the population is in university or college; in China, 1 of every 10,000. While the institutions of higher education in China are approximately 1 to every 10 in the United States, the students in those institutions (in proportion to the population of the nation) are 1 to every 100 in our country. When we seek to visualize the incidence of this war upon China's education in terms of what we know of American education we must multiply each reference to a single college by 10; but we must count every Chinese student as 100 American students.

(Continued on next page)



Chinese Students at Cornell University

II.

"What will be the effect of this conflict upon higher education in China?" The answer was forthcoming immediately and definitely; it was two-fold:

1. Within six months of the outbreak of hostilities, 76 of China's 82 institutions of higher education were shut—some through forcible closure under Japanese occupation; some through destruction in the path of hostilities; but many through deliberate and ruthless destruction by the Japanese forces.

For Chinese education, like the industrial and business life of the nation, was dotted concentratedly along the eastern seacoast; like the great arteries and centers of trade and government, it was very early predominantly in possession of the invading forces.

I have before me the detailed facts of the fate of every college and university in China. Were there time, it would be good for us to hear that record, college by college; for there is no other way in which one can begin to grasp the incidence of the conflict. I have summarized these facts and have tried to translate them faithfully into terms of the American educational scene:

NEW ENGLAND—Every university and college shut save two. Harvard, MIT, Wellesley, Smith, Brown, Williams, Amherst, all the state institutions and smaller colleges—"Occupied and looted by Japanese soldiers." The basement of MIT now used as police headquarters and torture chamber. *Yale*—"entirely burnt down; the Sterling Library razed to the ground, kerosene poured on the shelves and ignited, completing the work of incendiary bombs."

NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, MARYLAND, WASHINGTON, etc.—every college occupied, closed or destroyed. *Columbia*—all buildings destroyed by Japanese aircraft; damage—\$10,000,000. *Cornell*—buildings bombed. *Princeton*—completely destroyed. *Pennsylvania*—whole campus burnt to the ground. *Pittsburgh* and *Carnegie Tech*—partially destroyed.

SOUTH—All institutions closed.

MIDDLE WEST—All institutions closed. *University of Chicago*—"Repeatedly bombed; laboratories burnt down; library and chapel badly damaged; dormitories wiped out." *Michigan*—completely destroyed. *Iowa*—largely destroyed.

PACIFIC COAST—All institutions closed. *California Technical Institute* entirely destroyed. *Leland Stanford*—entirely destroyed. *University of Washington*—entirely burnt by Japanese troops. *University of California*—partially destroyed.

That was the first answer regarding the fate of China's education—93 per cent of China's facilities of higher education liquidated.

The second answer was—the resolution of the Government of China to keep the nation's future leadership at their studies. It has been accomplished by the wholesale migration of educational institutions—faculties, students and (as far as conditions permitted) equipment into the relative security of interior Free China—a migration, in scale, in daring, in determination, without any comparable precedent in the history of education. Whole universities moved overland into the interior, sometimes thousands of miles; found haven often on the grounds of a small provincial

or city normal school; erected temporary structures of serviceable construction almost overnight—great straw-roofed sheds without flooring (holding 250 students sleeping on the bare ground) as dormitories; found emergency quarters for their faculties; shared the meager library and laboratory facilities of their hosts; and there are carrying on today.

Two illustrations.

1. The oldest and most aristocratic of all Chinese educational institutions was the *National Peking University*—the only one to retain the traditional examination system. Also in Peking was the *National Tsing Hua University*, erected and partially sustained by funds from the Boxer Indemnity. Nearby at Tientsin was perhaps the proudest and best equipped and most notable of all China's private universities, founded and supported by distinguished Chinese patriots, *Nankai University*. When their cities were occupied in the early months of the war, these three universities migrated 1,000 miles to the Southwest of Changsha. Then, in mid-winter a year ago, when Changsha was no longer safe, they set their eyes westward across plains and mountains toward Yunnan. Three hundred and fifty students with a number of their professors set off on foot in February and trekked through the winter cold 1,000 miles inland and 6,500 feet up into the mountains to Kuming, capital of the province of Yunnan and, until the War, barely more than a frontier town at the extreme outpost of civilization toward Tibet and Burma; here they found refuge on the campus of a small agricultural school—one of the most dramatic and stirring episodes in the history of educa-

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Chinese Resistance and World Peace

By MR. T. L. SHEN

President of Medhurst College, Shanghai

THE fall of Canton and Hankow marked the end of the first stage of China's resistance to Japanese aggression. It was a stage during which China, owing to her inferiority in armament, lost most of her important cities to the invaders, but nevertheless inflicted the heaviest possible losses to her enemy through determined and valiant struggle. It ushered in a new day when the Chinese people and government came to a real grasp of the meaning of a war of attrition for national emancipation and a final realisation of the futility of any expectation for international intervention. Neither Canton nor Hankow was to be ever used by anybody as a point of bargain to induce China to submission.

The second stage of the resistance, which has just begun, is characterized by three important developments. First of all there is the adoption of a new strategy for a prolonged, active and "totalitarian" warfare. Early settlement of the conflict either in its military or in its political aspect has been given up in favour of a fight to the finish to "wear out the enemy". The cost of patient suffering must be borne by the whole nation. Then positional warfare in the passive defense of certain points or fronts has been definitely given up in favour of active, mobile engagements in the front and rear of Japanese lines, whenever and wherever such are found possible. The best troops are trained and despatched all over the country for that purpose. Then again the war is not to be fought by the soldiers alone, only with military weapons. The men in service are given political training and political work is even directed to the enemy camps. Guerilla units are developed and coordinated under the central command, and the masses of people are organised and trained for taking active part in the totalitarian resistance. It is to be noted that out of the nine provinces which the Japanese claim to have occupied, more than three fourths of the territories are still under Chinese administration responsible to the Central Government.

Secondly, there is the development, with the achievement of national unity, of a great program of national reconstruction. The watch-word commonly hailed by the whole nation is "resistance and reconstruction", the two being indeed inseparable and interdependent. In the political realm there is the reconstruction of a democratic order, as witnessed in the inauguration of the Peoples' Political Council and various measures adopted to safeguard the civil rights of the people.

In the economic realm we see the development of Central and West China principally in communications; namely, the new network of highways and railways, some already completed, others in the progress of construction, including the international routes through the south-western and north-western frontiers. Then we see a comprehensive scheme of industrial cooperation carried on as a measure of economic defence, utilizing the

transferred capital and labour from the coastal cities and distributing them into several lines of defence according to the needs of the country and the nature of the industries concerned. Then, thanks to Providence, we have had the best of harvests for the last two years in spite of floods, and the agricultural products thus reaped, largely in areas beyond Japanese control, are also assets to national resistance.

Thirdly, there is in China a strong belief, in face of repeated discouragements and disillusion, in international cooperation based on justice and peace. While the Chinese people realize the limitations of other nations, particularly the great democracies of the West, actively to intervene for fear of getting themselves involved in a major catastrophe, they cannot possibly imagine that democracy, and ultimately world peace, would be sacrificed for the endless appeasement of the aggressors. We deeply deplore the conquest of Abyssinia in spite of her resistance, the subjugation

of Czechoslovakia without being permitted to defend herself, and the seemingly inevitable collapse of the Spanish Republican regime through being refused supplies legitimately available to them.

But we are far from being disheartened, for we are not to be likened to any one of them. With the almost unlimited resources at our disposal, we are going to resist the aggressor for an endless period, and we believe this is the best support that we can give to the cause of democracy and world peace. Thus we are not helplessly depending upon, but hopefully working for, a just and peaceful international order. It is in this spirit that we continue to support such international agencies and instruments like the League of Nations and the Nine Power Pact.

China in fact is the last line of defence after Spain. Let all lovers of freedom and justice, individually and collectively support her, the vanguard and bulwark of world peace!

Letter from Madame Chiang Kai-Shek

Headquarters of the Generalissimo
Chungking, Szechwan, China, May
3, 1939.

Mr. Y. E. Hsiao, General Secretary,
Chinese Students' Christian Association,
New York, United States of America.

Dear Mr. Hsiao:

Owing to my absence from Chungking for one month I did not receive your letter of March 17th until a few days ago. Therefore I am unable to comply with the request that you make for an article which must reach you before May 1.

The excellent work the Chinese Students' Christian Association is doing is highly appreciated here. Such splendid response has been made by our compatriots overseas that we lose no opportunity to thank them and express appreciation of their patriotism and helpfulness.

Our country is determined to continue the resistance. The Japanese armies have been severely dealt with during the past few months. Though Japan has claimed that this is a Chinese offensive, it is not. Our real offensive will not begin until the Japanese have shot their bolt. They are trying to push through to Sian and Chang-

sha, and we are doing our utmost to delay their advance. They have suffered great losses, but they are able to bring in heavy concentrations of artillery, airplanes, mechanized units, etc. With these it is competent for them to smash through to objectives. We only withdraw when their explosive might becomes impossible for flesh and blood to endure.

With the lengthening of Japanese lines of communication advantages comes to us and we make the most of it. We have now been fighting for 22 months, and soon two years will have passed. We have nothing with which to reproach ourselves seeing that it was not expected that our armies could last against the invincible might of Japan for more than a few months. We can say now that the Japanese will never be able to subjugate our people, or conquer the land of our ancestors. With the help of our overseas countrymen can survive and carry on the aggression until we defeat our enemy. The Japanese bomb us, but while bombing does terrible destruction to human bodies and property, it will not win the war.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Mayling Soong Chiang
(Madame Chiang Kai-shek)

MCK-s/pc



Chinese Students at Oregon State College

A Thought for The Chinese Students Christian Association

By PROF. KIANG KANG-HU

When I was asked by my American and Chinese friends, upon my recent arrival from China, what is the fundamental cause for the present troubles in the Far East, my answer was that all is due to a wrong philosophy of life. During the last few decades, especially after the World War, the philosophy of hatred has gradually but rapidly usurped the place of the old Philosophy of Love. It is expressed in various forms or phrases, in different and opposite isms between and among antagonistic nations, races, classes, sexes or ages. In the Orient as well as in the Occident we can trace all wars, civil wars, revolutions, uprisings, coups and unrests to this cause without a single exception.

But, people will say, we have always had wars, civil wars, etc., in the past under the former reign of the so-called Philosophy of Love. The Christian teaching is almost 2,000 years old while the Taoist and the Confucianist teachings of Chinese origin, together with many other religions and schools which all preached Love, have not helped much to improve the existing situation. Why should we blame the new teaching for the present crisis? The present crises seem to be the usual repetitions of history; and human nature cannot be changed by any teaching. In fact, the Philosophy of Love further departed from human nature than that of Hatred and its teaching is merely hypocritical!

Yes, it may be quite true, but there is a great psychological difference between the past generations and the present one though their actions may appear to be similar. The past generations did practice devices of cruelty and brutality, but with a guilty conscience they tried to make excuses and explain in terms of justice and law. The present generation admits its cruel and brutal actions with the assertion that justice and law are only means to the end. The end justifies the means, and might is right!

To lie, to steal and to kill are things

which Christians as well as any other old teaching always taught to be sins and crimes, but not so the present generation according to its Philosophy of Hatred. Instead they are greatly encouraged, highly praised and looked upon as virtues and merits. No individual and no country will be safe and no cooperation will be possible if this doctrine be allowed to carry on. The ultimate outcome will be the extinction of civilization and humanity itself.

Of course, I do not believe human nature to be either absolutely good or absolutely bad, and I fully realize that the Philosophy of Love has its limitations. But, simply because human nature has so much possibility in either direction, I therefore prefer the Philosophy of Love with this Philosophy enthroned, the negative force still strives for supremacy;—how much more harmful and destructive must it be if it be invested with an incontrovertible power to do as it pleases? The old Philosophy of Love may be just pretending, but by so doing one often acquires what is pretended. To pretend love is at any rate better than to stir and intensify hatred. Hatred destroys others as well as one's self. Reaction brings more reaction.

It is therefore, to my mind, the duty of our present-day students, especially the Christian students, to explain a way and to combat this dangerous Philosophy. We must counteract it with some higher idea, even if it be out of reach. Let the idea be higher than daily practice and let it lead us on in life. There may always be hatred in human feelings, but let it be controlled and not be aroused, be dreaded and not be worshipped. There may still be wars, civil wars, etc., in the future as in the past, but let us deplore them and not justify them. Once the psychology of youth has changed back to normal, the world will change accordingly and be normal again. This is, indeed, the greatest task a Christian student can undertake at this critical moment for the good of our nation and humanity.

Boston Chinese Students Celebrate Patriot's Day

"An echo of the shot heard round the world sounded again in Concord yesterday (Apr. 19) when a dripping throng of spectators standing by the rude bridge that arched the flood, watched a procession of some 50 Chinese students lay a wreath on the monument of the Minute Men and dedicate their hope and faith in their native China to the ideals of American democracy and American freedom."

This is how a reporter of the *Boston Globe* appropriately described our wreath-laying ceremonies as we Boston students took part in the celebration of Patriot's Day at Concord on Apr. 19.

Starting from Harvard Square, Cambridge at 11:30 A.M. we rode in private cars to Concord, arriving there a little after noon. Nearby Concord, at Lake Walden, we enjoyed each other's fellowship in an informal picnic lunch, while rain fell.

Our spirits were not to be dampened, however, and in that same rain a few hours later, we participated in a long parade through the streets of Concord to the Bridge. Towards the end of the ceremonies there, during which Gov. Saltonstall of Mass., spoke. Freeman Koo, son of the distinguished diplomat, Wellington Koo, and a freshman at Harvard, was chosen to read a message from Dr. Hu Shih. The message follows:

"I deeply regret that I am not able to attend this ceremony in commemoration of this historic day at Concord, where was fired the first shot of America's struggle for independence. In paying our deep respect to those who made the supreme sacrifice for this noble cause I am gratified to say that the success of the American revolution has always been a fountainhead of inspiration to China in her struggle for national independence. It is in the spirit of 1775 that I wish that all struggles for peace and democracy be crowned with success."

We students then paraded across the Bridge with military escort. In impressive solemnity, David Toong, President of the Chinese Student Ass'n of Greater Boston and Miss Winifred Cheng, of Tientsin, studying at the Museum School of Fine Arts, lay the wreath on the Minute Man Monument, while taps blew. That ended the ceremonies, but the day was not to end before we enjoyed a most welcomed cup of hot coffee and sandwiches given us by the people of Concord to show their great hospitality.

A photographer from *Life Magazine* spent the day with us taking candid camera shots, but because of the poor weather, the photos were not clear enough to be used. However, fine spirit was shown by all, and we all felt that the day was well spent both for ourselves and for China.

Incidentally, Concord is one of the many interesting historic spots near Boston. Every student who went to Concord on Patriot's Day will testify, I believe, that it was both delightful and educational to visit there. Concord is one of the places we expect to visit in a sightseeing tour planned by the National Student Conference Committee. When you come to the Conference, don't fail to join this tour!

Robert Dunn Wu,
Boston editor,

Citation for Gallantry

By THE ASSOCIATED BOARD OF CHRISTIAN COLLEGES IN CHINA

A YEAR ago all of us were reading, with both pride and anxiety, such dispatches as the following cable by A. T. Steele to the *New York Sun*:

"The fall of Nanking would have been infinitely more frightful but for the courageous efforts of a handful of American missionaries and German business men who stayed through the siege. Working solely for the welfare of 100,000 civilians remaining in the stricken city, these foreigners ran risks which came close to costing their lives. . . .

"All the sixteen* Americans who saw the thing through could tell stories of their hair-raising escapes. None of them went through a more trying ordeal than two American doctors, C. S. Trimmer and Robert Wilson, who took in all seriously wounded Chinese civilians brought to the doors of their Christian hospital. Amputations were an hourly routine. A shell burst in the hospital yard while Dr. Wilson was performing a delicate operation, shattering the windows and spattering the operating room with shrapnel, but the work went on. . . .

"Other Americans braved shrapnel and bombs to go after food supplies for the destitute thousands concentrated within the so-called safety zone. Among the most active was Lewis Smythe, of the University of Nanking, who showed complete disregard for his own safety. Miss Minnie Vautrin, who was in charge of thousands of destitute Chinese women and children seeking shelter in Gingling College, had a hectic time when Japanese shells burst dangerously close, and later when Japanese invaded the premises. . . ."

In the months that have followed, the spot-light of public interest has shifted to other areas. Yet this "handful of Americans" has remained in Nanking. Under the leadership of Vice President M. Searle Bates of the University of Nanking and Miss Minnie Vautrin of Ginling College, they have stayed at their posts during a year of disorders, oppression, and violence, central figures in one of the most stirring episodes in the history of the Christian missionary enterprise.

* These sixteen included the following: (1) From the Ginling and Nanking staffs—Dr. M. Searle Bates, Miss Grace Bauer, Mr. Charles H. Riggs, Dr. Lewis S. C. Smythe, Dr. C. S. Trimmer, Mrs. Paul de Witt Twiner, Miss Minnie Vautrin, Dr. Robert O. Wilson; (2) Others—Mr. George A. Fitch, Rev. Ernest H. Forster, Rev. Jon Magee, Rev. James H. McCallum, Rev. W. P. Mills, Mr. J. V. Pickering, Rev. Hubert L. Sone.

(The above citation was presented at Seventh Annual dinner of the Associated Board of Christian Colleges in China held in New York on June 2, 1939.)

There is one incident connected with these long months in Nanking about which nothing has been said. None of the little group of Americans who have kept their continuous vigil there have mentioned, in any of their letters or reports, one news item that has only now leaked out. It is the story of an action by the National Government of China unprecedented in history. Despite the tremendous burden they are carrying, the leaders of the Government this year quietly took steps whereby upon each of these sixteen Americans who have stood by the people of Nanking through long months of slaughter and violence there has been conferred the highest decoration of the Chinese Republic—the Decoration of the Blue Jade.

This action by the Government was not simply a dramatic gesture in acknowledgment of an isolated example of unusual courage. It was a recognition that this group in Nanking has faithfully carried out the policies which the Government at the beginning of the invasion urged upon the staff and students of all the Christian Colleges. That policy is one of continuing, in defiance of all obstacles, the program of educational training and service in which these institutions were already engaged.

As General Chiang himself has pointed out, China's manpower is inexhaustible, but its supply of trained and devoted leaders is exceedingly small. The few thousands of men and women being trained in China's universities and colleges will be desperately needed, in the years just ahead, for the gigantic task of strengthening China's resistance to the aggressor, and for building an even greater nation when the destructiveness of war has passed. Already these American-supported institutions have trained more than fifty percent of the Chinese college graduates whose names are listed in China's "Who's Who." And with the destruction of so many of the Chinese government and private institutions, the responsibilities of the Christian institutions have been redoubled.

With one accord the staff members and student bodies of these Colleges have responded to this call to carry on. Wherever work could possibly be continued on or near their own campuses, they have remained. Where it has been advisable to withdraw into the interior, they have done so, watching always for the first opportunity to return to their original sites.

In carrying on the work they have been asked to undertake, an infinite variety of dangers and obstacles have had to be faced. Many, like the group in Nanking, have had to keep going ahead through daily air-raids, and later amid swarming hordes of undisciplined invaders. Others have had to undergo the hardship of the long trek west-

Our Second Generation Youth

By H. Y. H.

(This article is taken from the bulletin published by our CSCA Unit in St. Louis. Since the problem of American Borns is up for discussion at the National Conference, the point of view is timely.)

It seems, at first glance, rather peculiar to see that most of our second generation youth in this city have invariably expressed themselves a hope of the near future to go homeward to China. However, this peculiarity of the idea may reasonably be explained as mainly due to: first, a patriotic sentiment—directly to contribute, as a youth, one's share of the burden in the seemingly new, promising social community in China. Second, a humanistic instinct—in endeavoring to render one's sincere service in every possible way to the promotion of the movement of modernization. Third, a high *relative* security—by which it is meant that although in China the *absolute* security of life or property is conceivably little, especially during this undeclared war, compared with that when living in this country, yet owing to the favorable simplicity of the social structure, more accessible opportunities do enhance the *relative* social security. And fourth, a high social status—a reasonable decent job of all varieties can be secured without much difficulty.

A youth with more-or-less such profound considerations can hardly be convinced of altering his determination. And it is not the purpose of this article to convince him. Nevertheless, it is of interest to point out that the present Chinese community in this city as a whole do need some and many of the youth group to stay rather than to go away. The reasons for this are not hard to be seen. They are chiefly these: (1) A successful continuation of such a community can only be maintained by the efforts of youth. (2) It is the *vigor* and *understandability* of the second generation of the thoughtful youth, which can eventually be depended upon to change the present social level of hard-labor and limited enterprise in emerging and penetrating into other services in general. (3) It is not the *restricted* freedom and opportunities, but the individual liberty and equality, regardless the racial intricacies, that the youth group can courageously work out together with the sympathized American friends to glorify the noble, fundamental principle of democracy of this country and her people. And (4) Up-building a new center of community as a partnership in contributing and transplanting more valuable and truly Chinese culture into this "melting pot" civilization.

ward in search of precarious calm and safety in some mountainous city of the interior. Most have had to live month after month in crowded, disagreeable conditions, without adequate facilities for teaching or study. All have been called upon to make many sacrifices and to share the little they possess with the multitudes of others who have lost everything. All have had to walk daily with tragedy and suffering, yet to keep their faith and courage, to retain their belief that ultimately right will triumph and that in China's long history this war

is but an incident in the life of a great nation.

Among those to whom, for conspicuous courage and devotion during the last twenty-three months, we would all most heartily award a citation for gallantry, are the following:

To President Herman C. E. Liu, of the University of Shanghai, who, when the Japanese seized the campus of his University, boldly announced "No matter what happens, we are determined to carry on. I believe that the educational front is even more important than the military front"; who gathered his faculty and students together in rented quarters in the International Settlement; and who, despite the threats of the invaders and the warnings of his friends, remained at his post until he was assassinated by hired gunmen.

To President Baen E. Lee of Hangchow Christian College, President F. L. Hawks Pott of St. John's University, President Y. C. Yang of Soochow University, and Acting-President T. K. Van of the University of Shanghai, who brought together these four institutions as the Associated Christian Colleges in Shanghai, and have carried on an efficient joint program despite inadequate facilities and the handicaps of operating in the tense atmosphere of the city of Shanghai.

To President Wu Yi-fang of Ginling College, President Chen Yu-gwan of the University of Nanking, and President Liu Shu-ming of Cheeloo University, who kept their institutions in operation on their own campuses as long as that was physically possible, then led their staffs and students on the long and hazardous journey into West China, and there reestablished them under difficult and trying conditions.

To President Lincoln Dsang of West China Union University, and his colleagues on the West China faculty, who hospitably welcomed the refugee institutions from the east, and, at great sacrifice to themselves and their own student body, have generously shared with them all the facilities of the West China campus.

To Miss Elsie M. Priest, field treasurer of the University of Nanking and Ginling College, who met the complex financial problems involved in transferring these institutions 1,500 miles inland in the midst of war conditions, and who has in addition led in coordinating the field treasurers' responsibilities of the other institutions gathered together in Chengtu.

To President Francis C. M. Wei, Acting-President Hwang Pu and Dean Paul Kwei, of Hua Chung College, for the courage with which they carried on in Wuchang during 1937-38, and for the ability and leadership with which they directed the successive moves of the College under very trying and arduous conditions—first to the city of Kweilin, and later into the province of Yunnan.

To President C. J. Lin of Fukien Christian University, and President Lucy Wang of Hwa Nan College, for keeping these colleges operating for a year in Foochow, and transferring them into the interior of Fukien Province when their own campuses were no longer tenable.

To President Y. L. Lee and Provost James M. Henry, for their courageous leadership to Lingnan University during the incessant bombings of Canton, the

eventual capture of the city, and the removal of the staff and student body to Hongkong.

To Acting-President Howell P. Lair, Dean Randolph T. Shields, and Dean Charles A. Stanley of Cheeloo University, for protecting the physical property of the institution, keeping the University Hospital in continuous operation, and maintaining constructive service for the war-stricken area of which Tsinan has been the center.

To President J. Leighton Stuart, under whose wise leadership Yenching University has gone forward in Peking amid peculiarly difficult and irksome conditions, and whose vision and courage have been an invaluable asset to the cause of higher education and of Christian enterprise in China.

To Dr. Earl H. Cressy, Executive Secretary of the China Christian Educational Association, for his devoted service to the entire group of Colleges, as they have sought to face unitedly their common problems and their common opportunities.

To the staff members of the Colleges, both Chinese and Western, who have carried on cheerfully and efficiently under conditions of great discomfort and danger, and have given to China and to the world a superb demonstration of unselfish and heroic devotion.

To the student bodies of the Colleges, who have met hardships and deprivations without complaint, have applied themselves with determination to their studies in the midst of innumerable distractions, and have given themselves unreservedly to special war-time service and to the relief of suffering.

But any citation would be incomplete which did not recognize the share which American friends of these Colleges have had in enabling them to continue their service to China. The officers and members of the National Emergency Committee and the fifteen local emergency committees, the officers and members of the Associated Boards and the individual boards of trustees, and the thousands of friends throughout North America and Great Britain who have shared in the support of these institutions in the last two years, have all helped to make possible the Colleges' splendid record of distinguished service in this time of crisis.

The Chinese Government and people have expressed in many ways their gratitude for what Americans and Britons have done in maintaining at this time the constructive services being rendered by these Christian Colleges. General and Madame Chiang, Prime Minister H. H. Kung, Minister of Education Chen Li-fu, and innumerable other spokesmen for the nation have given warm-hearted tributes. In conferring the Decoration of the Blue Jade upon each of the Americans who carried on through the siege and occupation of Nanking, the Chinese Government was expressing through them to the American people the gratitude which Dr. Kung has put into these words:

"What you do for our people in this hour of national distress means a hundred times more than in time of peace."

(The above citation was presented at Seventh Annual dinner of the Associated Board of Christian Colleges in China held in New York on June 2, 1939.)

Chinese Christians Support Spiritual Mobilization

Pledging their support to the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement, which has Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as its director, more than 1,000 Chinese Christians gathered in the Social Hall of the Lewis Memorial Institutional Church in Chungking in March to pray for the success of this movement. The meeting was sponsored by the National Federation of Chinese Christians which is composed entirely of Chinese members of the Church and has General Feng Yuhsiang, known abroad as the Christian General, as its president, and Generalissimo Chiang as its honorary president.

A manifesto was issued by the congregation at the conclusion of the prayer meeting. In it, the Generalissimo's broadcast speech delivered to all Chinese Christians throughout the country on last Easter Eve, was recalled as the guiding principle of Chinese Christians' spiritual mobilization movement. China's supreme leader said in his radio talk that "the spirit of Christ is positive, sacrificial, pure and sacred, truthful and peaceful, progressive, inspiring, and always revolutionary. . . . We should take the exemplary life of Jesus Christ as the goal of our living. We should aspire for the attainment of the same spirit as that of Christ. We should also accept Christ's life. We should march toward the Cross to secure eternal peace on earth, regeneration of our nation and the realization of a free and independent China based on the Three People's Principles. This will also mean the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth."

The National Spiritual Mobilization Movement, with its principles adopted by the Third People's Political Council held in February in the nation's wartime capital, enjoys also the support of all cultural societies in Chungking besides that of the Chinese Church. More than 70 societies, including the China Branch of the International Peace Campaign, the Sino-USSR Cultural Association, the All-China Literary Enemy-Resisting Association, and a number of periodicals and newspapers, organized a spiritual mobilization discussion group to help in the new movement. Definite working plans for this movement are now under preparation, according to General Chang Chun, Secretary-General of the National Spiritual Mobilization Association. The help of all cultural societies was solicited during the meeting. It was decided that regular discussions will be conducted by these societies for the promotion of spiritual mobilization and subsequently the realization of the Three People's Principles, the practice of the New Life Movements tenets, and the successful conclusion of enemy-resisting and national reconstruction.

The Chinese students at Ohio State University recently had a relief benefit performance consisting of Chinese folks songs, flute solo, stunts and a Chinese fashion show. A bazaar was also maintained. The entire proceeds amounted to \$165.00.

Mr. K. P. Kwan of Ohio Wesleyan University sponsored an international program for China Relief and a handsome amount was raised for China relief on May 19th.

Student Delegates . . .

The San Francisco delegation will hold the record for mileage among delegates. Led by Frank Nipp, graduate student at the University of California, the delegates have left by automobile for Boston. Among them, besides Mr. Nipp, are Ernest Lum, undergraduate at University of California, Miss Ching-ya Hsu, graduate student at Mills College, and Alvin Kwong, son of the president of the Bank of Canton, attending Lowell High School.

* * *

Ohio State is sending five delegates. They are Miss Ching-en Powell, Miss Ruth Powell, Philip Kong, Paul Liu, James Hsu.

* * *

Miss Lucy Koo, daughter of Dr. T. Z. Koo, now studying at Peabody Conservatory of Music, will represent Baltimore. . . . Hanson Hwang, chairman of the Philadelphia Unit, will be one of the active participants in the Conference.

* * *

Scarritt College, Nashville, Tenn., has appointed Miss Hsui Li Yui as its official delegate. . . . Miss Elizabeth Wang, who specializes in literature, will represent the University of North Carolina where she has recently received her Master's degree.

* * *

President Y. L. Lee, of Lingnan University, Oberlin '20, arrived in San Francisco June 8 in time to receive from his Alma Mater an honorary Doctor's degree on June 13. Dr. Lee is a delegate to the Rotary Convention which opens this month at Cleveland in June and after that will come to New York where he will arrive about June 21.

Dr. Lee, for many years general secretary of the Canton Young Men's Christian Association, has been active in social and religious work in China. Dr. Lee will make his visit short, hurrying back to arrange for the opening of Lingnan University in the autumn. The University will erect buildings in Kowloon where classes will be opened in the fall semester. For the past academic year the buildings of the University of Hong Kong were used.



On the Berkeley Campus



Dr. Walter Judd

National Chinese Students' Conference

JUNE 22 to 26

Cambridge, Mass.



Prof. P. C. Chang

THEME: World and National Crises Challenge Chinese Students

The First National Chinese Student Conference in America since the Manchurian crisis in 1931 will be held on the campus of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass., from June 22 to June 26. Invitations have been sent to students all over the country, and it is expected that more than two hundred students outside the Boston area will make the special trip.

The conference has been called by the Chinese Students' Christian Association in response to urgent request. With the world divided into two hostile camps, with democratic forces aligned against fascist powers, with China in a desperate struggle for national unity and independence, and with the need for Chinese relief growing more urgent every day, a challenge confronts Chinese students. To help them face this challenge with understanding, unity and energy, is the *raison d'être* of the conference.

Its theme is: "World and National Crises Challenge Chinese Students." Forums, discussions, and authoritative addresses by experts will take up most of the time. Among the speakers will be Dr. Walter Judd, distinguished lecturer and medical missionary now touring the country; Prof. P. C. Chang, member of the People's Political Council and Professor of National Southwestern Associated University; Hon Chen Chang-lok, Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy, Washington, D. C.; Dr. T. L. Shen, President of Medhurst College, Shanghai; Mrs. George A. Fitch, Former President of the American Association of University Women; Dr. E. E. Barnett, Executive Secretary of the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A.; Mr. Ralph G. Scott, General Secretary of the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students; Dr. Fletcher S. Brockman, one of the inspirers in the founding of C.S.C.A. thirty years ago.

Saturday, June 24th, has been set aside as the Thirtieth Anniversary Day. Plans for the day are a street drive for Chinese relief and a banquet in the evening. After the conference, plans will be made for an organized tour of delegates to enjoy the New York World's Fair together.

One of the highlights of the Conference will be a forum on the much debated question—"Does the future of the American-born lie in China or America?" Western coast students will participate, and Dr. Chen Chang-lok of the Chinese Embassy will pose and illuminate the problem.

New England is noted as the seat of American culture. M.I.T., the site of the Conference, is next door to Harvard, Wellesley and Radcliffe. There will be sight-seeing tours to Boston's historic spots; picnic; athletic games, and other forms of summer recreation.

Tentative Conference Program

Below is a tentative program of the Conference:

- Thursday, June 22nd
- 8:00 p.m. Mrs. George Fitch, "China and America."
 - Ralph Cleland Scott, "Words of Welcome."
 - General Reception.
- Friday, June 23rd
- 9:00 a.m. Devotion.
 - 9:30 a.m. Mr. Eugene E. Barnett, "World Crisis and Chinese Youth" followed by discussion.
 - 7:30 p.m. Dr. P. C. Chang, "Building a New China."
- Saturday, June 24th
- All Day. Street Drive. 30th Anniversary Day.
 - 7:00 p.m. Relief Banquet at Mechanics' Auditorium, Boston.
 - Dr. Walter Judd, "Chinese Relief."
 - Dr. P. C. Chang.
- Sunday, June 25th
- 9:00 a.m. Dr. E. Joseph Evans will lead devotional service.
 - 9:30 a.m. Dr. Walter Judd, "The Neutrality Act and the Far East," or Mrs. George Fitch, "America and Far East."
 - 7:30 p.m. Chen Cheng-Lok, "Does the Future of the American-born Student Lie in China or America?"
- Monday, June 26th
- 9:00 a.m. Devotion.
 - 9:30 a.m. Mr. T. L. Shen, "The Role of Chinese Students in our National Crisis."
 - 7:00 p.m. Chen Chen-Lok, "What China Expects of Her Students."
 - Dr. Fletcher S. Brockman.
 - Farewell Dinner.

Columbia Confers Honorary Degree on Ambassador Hu Shih

Following a plea for international order by Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State, delivered on June 6 at the annual commencement luncheon of the alumni of Columbia University, Dr. Hu Shih, Chinese Ambassador to the United States, declared that he and Dr. Eduard Benes, president of Czechoslovakia, were symbolic victims of the "law of the jungle" which rules the world. Dr. Benes spoke after Mr. Hu.

The Chinese ambassador, who received an honorary Doctor of Laws at the Commencement Exercises, said that not only were China and Czechoslovakia in a better position during the period following the close of the World War, but the whole world was in a more progressive state of existence than it had ever been. He pointed out that the first major break in the period during which the rule of reason was law came when "our neighbor Japan" opened hostilities.

Gist of Speech

The gist of Ambassador Hu's remarks was as follows:

My thoughts naturally go back to my old Columbia days—1915 to 1917—days of the agony and anguish of the War, but also of a great outburst of practical idealism in international thinking. We believed that war was not inevitable, but could be ended or controlled by human intelligence and effort, that the world could be made safe for democracy and humanity, and that the way to achieve this was to set up a new international order—which was called in my student days "A League to Enforce Peace," a league the member states of which were to pledge the use of economic and military forces for the maintenance of peace and order.

There were philosophers of this new internationalism. Norman Angell who taught the economics of the interdependence of nations. Harold Laski who believed in the pluralistic conception of sovereignty. John Dewey who emphasized a new philosophy of law. Out of this practical idealistic internationalism, there was created a new world order, not only symbolized by the League covenant, but also supported by a host of equally idealistic treaties to which the U.S.A. was a partner.

Then came the age of disillusionment in which the idealism of my student days was openly discredited as the utopian dreams of an unenlightened age. But, as I stand here today on the familiar sights of younger and more idealistic days, I am inspired to say a good word for that international idealism and the resultant new world order. I solemnly declare without fear of contradiction that the world was better off ten years ago than it is today.

The world that is spending annually sixteen billion dollars on armaments and has eight million men under arms, and is still living in the constant nightmare of world conflagration—this world cannot be better off than those days of the post-war international order.

There is Dr. Benes, who stands as the symbol of the victim of the breakdown of that world order. He can testify that we were better off in those days. Here stand

Overseas Chinese Contribute \$100,000,000 Mex.

Between July, 1937, and February of this year, a period of only 20 months, at least \$100,000,000 was contributed to China's war chest by the Chinese abroad, according to a conservative estimate made by a high official of the National Overseas Affairs Commission. Of the amount, the Commission handled more than \$68,500,000, or 68.5 per cent; the rest was sent directly to the Central Government through various banks.

In an interview, the official stated that this \$100,000,000, which represents approximately one-sixth of the total remittance made by overseas Chinese in 1938, was received from every corner of the world, from Siberia to the South Seas, from Europe to the Americas. The largest part, however, came from Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies, where the Chinese population is comparatively large.

The overseas Chinese are divided into five main groupings:—namely, Asia, Europe, the Americas, Oceania and Africa. Until the end of February, 1939, the total amount of the contributions received by the Commission was stated to be \$68,564,224.97, of which \$58,302,741.35 came from the Asiatic zone, \$543,518.83 from the European zone, \$6,326,682.92 from the American zone, \$1,743,670.87 from the Oceanic zone, and \$1,656,611 from the African zone.

Detailed official figures follow:

Asia Zone	\$58,302,741.35
Malaya	\$25,093,937.93
Java	7,294,886.48
Philippine Islands	4,724,660.48
Sumatra	3,516,356.28
Borneo (Netherlands and British)	2,463,316.36
Hong Kong	2,699,295.00
Burma	2,431,365.15
Others	8,978,103.67
European Zone	\$543,518.83
Great Britain	\$257,874.93
Holland	132,996.04
France	90,698.50
Germany	24,863.00
Italy	18,768.86
Others	9,318.07

American Zone	\$6,326,682.92
United States	\$2,787,727.87
Canada	1,238,900.48
Peru	1,258,279.59
Panama	141,199.00
Others (inc. Paraguay, Guatemala, etc.)	900,475.98
Oceania	\$1,743,670.87
Australia	\$375,582.07
New Zealand	534,032.18
Fiji Islands	155,163.12
Hawaiian Islands	412,727.40
Others	192,906.00
African Zone	\$1,656,611.00
Grand Total	\$68,564,224.97

Although making important monetary contributions to China's war chest they have not been content with financial aid alone. No less important to the nation have been the personal services which they have so willingly volunteered. Thousands upon thousands of overseas Chinese, from professional men and women to manual workers, have returned to China to offer what abilities they possess.

Last year, a group of well-trained medical men and nurses from Java volunteered their services to help wounded soldiers, in the provinces where fighting was raging; these volunteers endured all hardships without complaint. More recently, 500 young men residing in Malaya returned to China to go through an intensive truck-driving course. As soon as they graduate, they will reinforce the corps of drivers who are now shuttling back and forth on the newly-opened Yunnan-Burma highway, carrying vital supplies.

Questioned about the population of Chinese abroad, the official of the National Overseas Affairs Commission stated that no exact figures were available. It is generally believed, however, that the total number of overseas Chinese falls just short of 10,000,000. British Malaya has 1,709,400; the Netherlands East Indies, 1,232,400; Hong Kong, 1,057,500; Siam, 1,100,000; U.S.A., 75,000, and Japan Proper, 24,000.—China Information Committee.

I, another symbol of the victim of the new reign of the law of the jungle—I can tell you that we were much better off in those days! And here are Professors Shotwell, Hayes and Carl Becker who write modern history, and Mr. Sumner Welles who makes modern history—they, too, can testify that the world was much better off than it is today.

Old Chinatown in Frisco

Lim P. Lee, Field Secretary of the Western Department of this Association, is busily engaged in his new project, "The Old Chinatown in San Francisco." At the same time, he is working hard on the delegation from the West Coast for the National Conference in Boston.

Logic Alone?

No further from me than my hand
Is China that I loved so well;
Love does not help to understand
The logic of the bursting shell.
Perfect in dream above me yet
Shines the white cone of Fuji-San;
I wake in fear, and weep and sweat . . .
Weep for Yoshida, for Japan.
Logic alone, all love laid by,
Must calm this crazed and plunging star:
Sorrowful news for such as I,
Who hoped—with men just as they are,
Sinful and loving—to secure
A human peace that might endure.

Edna St. Vincent Millay in
"Huntsman, What Quarry?"

Students and Friends of C.S.C.A. on West Coast

General Secretary Makes Extensive Tour, Visiting Fifty Colleges in Twenty States;
Speaks as Representative of Far Eastern Student Service Fund

Some 642 Chinese students are scattered in different colleges from Seattle, Washington, to San Diego, California, on the Western Coast. They constitute more than one third of our total number of Chinese students in the United States. Of the 642 students, 445 are American-born, or second generation. Less than one-third come directly from China. One of the Association's duty is to promote cooperation between these two groups, and especially to bring together those of the second generation and the students from China, despite their differences in background, training, and environment. Through the officers of the Western Department and its Field Secretary, Lim P. Lee, in close cooperation with the national headquarters and national secretary, Y. E. Hsiao, this work is promoted.

At the last Executive Board meeting, Mr. Hsiao was asked to make a West Coast tour on behalf of the coming National Student Conference. At the same time he was to fulfill his biennial visitation to local units, and speak on behalf of the Far Eastern Student Service Fund in several colleges in the South and West.

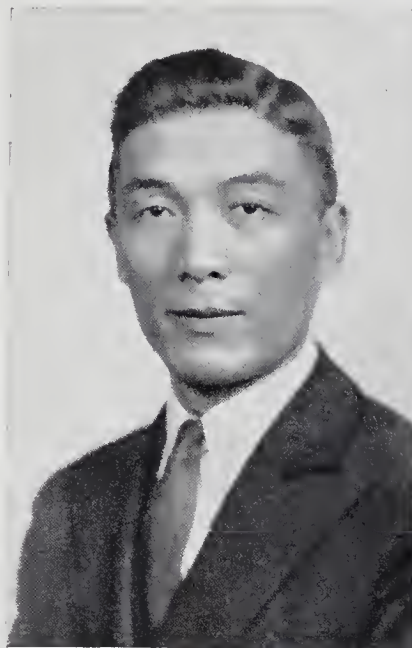
Directly after the publication of the 1938-39 Students' Directory, Mr. Hsiao left New York City on the evening of March 17th for Ohio. When he arrived at Cleveland the next day, snow, sleet, storm welcomed him. After his visits with many old friends he made a friendly call on President Raymond G. Clapp and three Chinese girls enrolled at Schaufler College. The next day he called on Dean C. E. Cutler, School of Applied Social Sciences of Western Reserve University. Later he conferred with F. J. Tooker, who was busy organizing a Cleveland chapter of the Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression.

Midwest Units: Oberlin, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Denver

Years ago Oberlin College was quite popular with Chinese students, but recently few or no Chinese students have enrolled. This year there are five, who, under the leadership of Mr. Samuel Ching Kao and Miss Margaret J. Tchou, are known as our Oberlin unit. The Oberlin Unit received Mr. Hsiao on Sunday, March 19th, and a dinner was served in the home of Col. and Mrs. M. T. Tchou, advisors to the Unit. The Unit was very enthusiastic about the coming Boston Conference.

Through the cooperation of Mr. O. G. Starrett, superintendent of the Chinese Sunday School of the Central M. E. Church of Detroit, Michigan, Mr. Hsiao met several Chinese students in that city. Later he made a friendly call on the Chinese Benevolent Association. That same afternoon he headed for Ann Arbor, Michigan, where the largest number of Chinese

students from China are enrolled. A dinner reception was arranged by a group of Chinese students at the Woman's League, following which Unit members met at the International Center to discuss about the coming Conference. The International Center is Professor J. Raleigh Nelson's new project, which is located in the right wing of the Michigan Union. It is a place for all foreign students to meet their friends, a place for indoor games and a place for meetings or parties. The follow-



David Toong, President of C.S.C.A. and Chairman of National Chinese Student Conference.

ing day he met the local officers about some business of the Association.

At Chicago a reunion dinner with the officers and members of last year's summer conference was held at Brent House. At the same time the Chicago unit met directly after dinner. The main topic of the discussion centered around the National Conference and the work of that unit. There was much enthusiasm aroused, and most of them would like to attend the Conference in Boston. Miss W. H. Chen, chairman of the Midwestern Department, and Mrs. George Biller, Director of Brent House, acted as hostesses. Dr. E. M. Luccock, minister of the First Presbyterian Church, Evanston, Ill., the next day invited Mr. Hsiao to a Chinese relief committee luncheon at Nankin Restaurant, where our secretary met many Chinese friends.

From Chicago Mr. Hsiao made a big

jump to Denver, Colorado, on March 24th. He was met by his friends, Mr. and Mrs. Carl Means. Immediately upon his arrival visits were made to students and friends at the University of Colorado, Boulder, and Colorado School of Mines, Golden. Later he addressed the Friends of China Denver Unit and the entire Chinese community at the Franklin Street Presbyterian Church of Denver. Miss Mary Van Deren, Chairman of the Friends of China, ardent Christian worker among the Chinese community for the last forty years, has launched a benefit relief program to raise a handsome amount for the Chinese war orphans. The night before, a radio broadcast on behalf of the benefit took place, in which Mr. Hsiao and other friends participated.

Far Western Students Keenly Discuss American-Born Problem

On the morning of March 28th Mr. Hsiao arrived at Portland, Oregon, where he visited students and friends at Linfield College, McMinnville. In the evening he was invited for dinner at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Chin, prominent leaders of the Chinese community. He discussed with a group of Chinese students important matters regarding the progress and program of the Chinese students in Oregon.

Mr. Chester H. Loucks, Secretary of the University "Y" of the University of Washington at Seattle, invited Mr. Hsiao to stay at the University "Y" so that he could get in touch with the students right on the campus. At noon on March 29th he met twenty Chinese students at a luncheon. Later Dr. and Mrs. Walter G. Hiltner, formerly of Shanghai, China, invited Mr. Hsiao to attend an embargo meeting on stopping war materials going to Japan at the Senate Auditorium where sixteen hundred people gathered. The meeting was the first of its kind and was addressed by various speakers, ministers, professors, civic leaders, and longshoremen. From that meeting a strong public sentiment was aroused against shipment of war materials to Japan. The next evening he addressed the Chinese students of Washington, who are headed by S. Y. Leung, a graduate student. Beside the question of the National Conference, the relation of American-born or the second generation to those from China was thoroughly discussed, with a considerable spirit since more than two-thirds of those present were American-born.

Oregon State College at Corvallis, this year has the largest enrollment of Chinese students it has ever had, twenty-eight in all. The General Secretary could not skip that institution on this trip. Upon his arrival he was invited to have luncheon with Professor and Mrs. U. G. Dubach. A tea was arranged for him to meet the

Chinese students. In the evening he spoke to the Chinese Student Club on "The Role of C.S.C.A. Among Chinese Students." The meeting was arranged by Mrs. V. K. N. Mei and Mr. T. C. Liu, officers of the club. Mrs. Mei, a graduate student in education, is the wife of Professor Y. P. Mei, formerly of Yenching University. When she was a student at Chicago University years ago she was an officer of the local unit.

San Francisco Students Plan Delegation to National Conference

It was a real sight when Mr. Hsiao crossed the new long San Francisco-Oakland bridge on his train, moving toward San Francisco on the morning of April 3rd. Upon his arrival he conferred with the officers of the Western Department, Lin P. Lee, Field Secretary, Paul Yuke, Vice-Chairman, and Frank Nipp, Secretary. Delegation from the Western Department to the National Student Conferences was the most important question. Later a committee was appointed to take charge of the Western Department Delegation, which was composed of K. L. Kwong, President of the Bank of Canton, San Francisco, Lin P. Lee, and Frank Nipp. The next day Mr. Hsiao spoke before the faculty and students of the Baptist Divinity School in Berkeley, through the introduction of Miss Viola C. Hill, an American missionary in Shaoshing, China. Later he visited with Frank Nipp the Chinese students in Stanford University. William Davis of the University Y.M.C.A. discussed the Far Eastern Student Service Fund with Mr. Hsiao with regard the special situation at the University of California. He expects to have a more intensive campaign for this fund next fall. Just before Mr. Hsiao left Berkeley a luncheon was given in his honor by the Chinese students of the University of California.

Los Angeles Hears Appeal on Behalf of Far Eastern Fund

On April 10th Mr. Hsiao arrived in Los Angeles. That same evening a reception was arranged by Mrs. Marian Reith, Student Secretary for the Southwestern Region of the Y.W.C.A., in honor of Mr. Hsiao's visit. He discussed the present situation in China with a number of friends and Chinese students. Chaffy Junior College extended an invitation for him to speak on behalf of the Far Eastern Student Service Fund before the members and friends of the Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A. Mr. Gale Seaman, Baptist Student Pastor, and Mrs. Seaman were dinner hosts at the Student Union of the University of Southern California, where the general secretary met the Christian students. Finally a Los Angeles Unit of the C.S.C.A. was organized under the leadership of Miss Gertrude Young of U.C.L.A., the chairman of the Western Department. The new unit expects to send several delegates to the Boston Conference. At the invitation of the Roger Williams Club of U.S.C. he spoke on Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai Shek. Later he met the Chinese students at the California Institute of Technology through Mr. John Price of the Tech Y.M.C.A., Pasadena, Cal.

Tucson Is Home of Most Progressive Chinese Community

Tucson, Arizona, was the next stop on Mr. Hsiao's visitation trip. Eight Chinese students are enrolled at the University of Arizona. It was the first time that the Association extended its influence in that territory whose Chinese community practically make up the city's grocery businesses and markets. There are as many as ninety Chinese groceries and markets scattered over the city, and only one Chinese laundry and 3 restaurants. The Chinese Christian Church, entirely supported by the community, has called no pastor, but the lay leaders rotate in holding Sunday services. The total Chinese population is 450, but they have a Chinese Chamber of Commerce and maintain a Chinese school of 65 pupils. The Chinese are well off practically, and there is no unemployment.

The Chinese community at Tucson is well organized, but it lacks an organization for young people. At Mr. Hsiao's suggestion, during his visit the Chinese students at the University joined with the Juniors and Seniors in high school to organize a Tucson Unit of the Association. A committee was appointed to arrange programs and activities for the members. Misses Maude Don and H. K. Chow and Mr. Glenn Ginn were the members of the committee.

Report on South: Texas, New Orleans, Charleston

Mr. Hsiao made a brief stop at San Antonio on his way to Austin, Texas. At the University of Texas "Y" he spoke at the "Y" picnic meeting on the Far Eastern Student Service Fund. At a benefit dinner several weeks ago more than \$200.00 was raised for that fund. Later the Chinese student group, headed by Homer Eng, who was also chairman of the Chinese Student Association of the South, conferred with Mr. Hsiao. On April 20th, upon Mr. Hsiao's arrival in Houston, Texas, Consul and Mrs. T. L. Quang invited him to a dedication of the completion of the San Jacinto Battle Ground monument and museum at San Jacinto, fifteen miles south of Houston. The ceremony was held at the base of the monument, Mr. Hsiao and the host and hostess were seated among the foreign diplomatic delegation, where British, French, Mexican and other consuls were seated. After their return to the city a group of Chinese students met him at the Consulate.

The General Secretary's next stop was at New Orleans, La. After a brief meeting with the Y.M.C.A. cabinet of Tulane University he had a visit with Guy Cheng, graduate student at Tulane and well-known Davis Cup tennis player. The University "Y" was planning a drive for the Far Eastern Student Service Fund. After his visit with the three students at the Baptist Bible Institute, he had dinner with Mr. and Mrs. G. H. Wang. Mr. Wang was vice-consul in Chicago and helped a great deal with the Midwestern Conference last year. Last September he was transferred to New Orleans as its vice-consul.

On his way to Charleston, S. C., Mr. Hsiao stopped for a day at Tallahassee to

fill a lecture engagement on behalf of the Far Eastern Student Service Fund at Florida State College for Women. There were no Chinese students, but the college is very friendly to foreign students. President Edward Conradi drove the speaker on an inspection tour of the college campus, from the administrative building to the college dormitory and from the gymnasium to college barns. It is one of the best women's colleges in the South. At Charleston, Mr. Hsiao was invited to speak in the Y.M.C.A. of the Citadel on behalf of the Far Eastern Student Service Fund. It was his first visit to the interesting and historic city of the South. He was walking along the downtown area with a camera, when he was suddenly stopped by a policeman asking his identity. After identifying himself, the policeman told him that he had thought he was a Japanese spy.

Secretary Calls on Pioneer Founder of C.S.C.A.

Dr. Fletcher S. Brockman, one of the pioneers who helped found the Association thirty years ago, lives in retirement in Columbia, S. C. It was but natural for the General Secretary to call and pay his respects to Dr. and Mrs. Brockman when he reached Columbia. He found Dr. Brockman recovering from a slight illness. In the evening he spoke before the members of the Y.M.C.A. at the University of South Carolina. The next day he went to Duke University, Durham, N. C., where he met five Chinese students, then he returned to Raleigh, where a group of students were waiting to have dinner with him before he left for Richmond that night. On April 29th he called on Mrs. Frank Price at Richmond, Va. Dr. Price has recently gone to Chungking in connection with his work at the Nanking Theological Seminary, and Mrs. Price will leave for China during the summer.

The following day Mr. Hsiao went to Washington, D. C., and conferred with the Hon. Chen Ching Lok, counselor of the Chinese Embassy, regarding the National Conference in Boston. On his way north he stopped at Chester and Philadelphia to confer with students there about the National Conference. Later he made a visit to Dr. and Mrs. J. S. Burgess at Temple University, who served in China for a number of years in connection with the "Y" in Peiping and the Yenching University. He reached New York City on May 3rd.

Sums Up His Impression of Tour as Optimistic

During his trip the General Secretary visited more than fifty colleges in twenty states, covering a distance of 10,000 miles, meeting hundreds of friends and students. He is very optimistic, especially about the excellent morale among the students throughout the country, and the confidence with which they feel that China will be victorious in her present struggle with Japan. Everywhere the students are doing something concrete to aid China, such as raising funds for relief, explaining to the American public the situation, and cooperating with the Far Eastern Student Service Fund and looking forward for a fine conference in Boston.

Personal Items . . .

Congratulations to Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Tsien of Crozer Theological Seminary upon the arrival of their little daughter on May 4th.

Mr. Henry Tom has become Acting Executive Secretary of the Chinese Branch Y.M.C.A. in San Francisco, replacing Mr. T. Y. Tang, the Executive Secretary, on leave of absence for a year.

Mrs. Howard Chang (nee Evelyn Lee), formerly of New York and Chairman of the Ging Hawk Girls Club, is now Secretary of the Chinese Y.W.C.A. in San Francisco. She and Mr. Chang expect to stay on the West Coast.

Mr. and Mrs. Hung Wai Ching of Honolulu will be delegates to the Amsterdam Conference. Mr. Ching is Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. of the University of Hawaii.

Miss Louise Chin of the staff of the International Institute of the Y.W.C.A. in New York will also be one of the representatives at the Amsterdam Conference.

Rev. Edward Clayton, a Baptist Missionary of Hangchow, Chekiang, China, will be honored with a D.D. degree by his alma mater, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.

Mr. Edward Lockwood, "Y" Secretary at Canton, has recently come to America on his furlough. Mr. and Mrs. Lockwood are now stopping in Chicago but he will travel on behalf of the Association.

Dr. and Mrs. H. C. Mei, with their children, are living in Claremont, Calif., where the children are in school. Dr. Mei is a famous Shanghai lawyer. Both Dr. and Mrs. Mei were members of the Boards of Directors of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in Shanghai. Dr. Mei recently visited New York to attend the Masonic Convention.

Mr. and Mrs. Albert Quan of Los Angeles recently visited New York to see the World's Fair. Mrs. Quan was formerly Miss Lily Ho of the University of Southern California and chairman of our Western Department.

Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Wang recently sailed for China on a visit. Mr. Wang is co-manager of the New York Agency, Bank of China. The American Bureau for Medical Aid to China gave him a farewell dinner on June 5th.

A baby girl was born to Mr. and Mrs. Tennyson Chang of Washington, D. C., on June 1, 1939. Mr. Chang is a graduate student of Georgetown University, formerly president of the C.S.C.A.

Chinese Students at Tri-State, Angola, Ind., held a Chinese Nite on May 19, in order to raise funds for Chinese refugees. A total of \$70.35 was raised. Officers of the Club are Kenneth Ing, president; Herbert Chan, Secretary; William K. Reiss, treasurer. Sam W. Lee was chairman of the Nite committee.

China Tightens Control Over Students Going Abroad

As a result of the new restrictions announced in April by the Chinese Government, the number of Chinese students going to Europe and America for advanced studies, who totalled 1,657 in 1929, will be greatly reduced. The new rules stipulate that only those specially assigned by the government and those who have substantial scholarships in foreign universities or who need not receive financial help from within China, will be permitted to go.

The new regulations have a twofold purpose. First, they are designated to synchronize China's wartime and post-war needs for technical personnel with a supply of persons scientifically trained abroad. The second motive is to curtail, if not to stop entirely, the drain on China's foreign exchange reserve, which, with the nation at war, has to be devoted to more urgent matters than the maintenance of students in European or American schools.

Military affairs, engineering, natural sciences and medicine are the four main subjects which government students are to pursue abroad. The students will be sent either by the National Military Council, of which Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is the chairman, or by the civil branch of the government, depending on their classifications. The main object is that these students upon their return should be able to fulfill practical and pressing requirements.

Those who go overseas to do research work on their own resources, must be graduates from Chinese colleges or institutes of technology and have had several years of practical experience. However, they are subject to recall if their scholastic records prove unsatisfactory.

Students supported by government funds

Miss Lelia Hinkley, Y.W.C.A. Secretary of Peiping, has recently come to America for her furlough. She will spend several months in travel through different parts of the country and take a few courses at the University of Chicago.

Dr. T. Z. Koo has returned to America from Europe in late April and has been speaking on behalf of the Far Eastern Student Service Fund. He will return to Amsterdam to address the World Conference of Christian Youth. Mrs. Koo is with him on this trip.

Professor Hubert S. Liang of Yenching University, who has been visiting and lecturing in the United States since December, 1938, sailed on June 14th for Europe to attend the Tenth Conference of the International Chamber of Commerce at Copenhagen, Denmark, June 26-July 1st. Following the Conference he will visit London, Paris, Geneva and Moscow and from Moscow back to China. His address in Europe will be % The Chinese Embassy, London, England. He expects to be back in China early in September.

and studying topics other than military affairs, engineering, natural sciences or medicine will be asked to return to China at the pain of the suspension of their allowances for non-compliance. On the other hand, non-government students of unusual attainment in foreign institutions, will be enabled, through special grants-in-aid, to complete their courses. Others in financial straits will be given passage money home.

The despatch of students to foreign countries has had a history of over 60 years in China. Toward the end of the last century, Chinese youth flocked to Japan. In the last few decades, more have gone to the United States and European nations, principally England, France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries. The year 1929 represented the climax when altogether 1,657 went abroad.

With the growth of Chinese universities and colleges during the last 10 to 12 years, the number of students leaving the country steadily decreased to an average of 700 a year. The only notable exception was 1935 when the figure shot up to 1,034. Explanation was to be found in the commencement of an ambitious Chinese reconstruction programme which went on smoothly until the war broke out.

The hostilities had an immediate effect on the number of young Chinese sailing for America and Europe. Thus, in 1937 only 366 went, as compared with 894 the previous year. In 1938, the second year of the Sino-Japanese war, owing to the enforcement of more strict regulations concerning the preservation of China's foreign exchange, the number dwindled to a mere 59.

Mr. George Fitch, "Y" Secretary of Chungking, was honored in absentia by his alma mater, Wooster College, Wooster, Ohio, with a doctor's degree. Mrs. Fitch represented him at the exercises, as he is at present in China.

Mr. Daniel C. Fu, Educational Secretary of the National Committee Y.M.C.A. of China, left China last September and spent several months in Europe, observing Y.M.C.A. techniques and methods. For the last several months he has been travelling in this country, but will leave for China in July.

Mr. Charles D. Hurrey, former General Secretary of the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students, and Mrs. Hurrey have recently returned from an extensive trip through South America. They were gone for seven months and had many delightful and exciting experiences, missing the worst of the big earthquake by only one day. Among students formerly in America whom they saw in South America were Sam Young, now Chinese Minister in Rio de Janeiro, and George Wu, secretary of the Chinese Legation in Lima.

CHINA'S LEADERS FOR TOMORROW

(Continued from page 2)

tion. The closest American equivalent might be if Harvard, Cornell and Columbia were to migrate 1,000 miles to the southwest and find temporary quarters at the University of Missouri. Then, forced to seek refuge further inland, were to tramp on foot through the winter months across Missouri and Oklahoma, Texas and New Mexico, 1,000 miles, until they finally found hospitality on the campus of a little normal school at Tucson, Arizona. And there they are carrying on today.

2. Medical education was nearly wiped out. About a year ago, thirty different medical colleges (including the medical section of Yale-in-China) joined forces, pooled resources and started a new united medical college at Kweiyang with some 300 students. In February, came the word, "Incendiary bombing of Kweiyang is forcing medical college further westward."

And so, today, with 93 percent of China's normal education facilities completely liquidated, close to 75 percent of the normal university enrollment is actually at study, preparing for future leadership. It is one of the most amazing and glorious chapters in mankind's quest for learning.

III.

It is in this more general setting that we see the *Christian Colleges in China*. Last October, I visited ten of the thirteen Christian Colleges—7 of the 10 in temporary quarters in exile from their own campuses. Education carries forward in China today in three different types of circumstance; the Christian Colleges illustrate each type:

1. In Occupied Territory

In *Peking*, the great traditional fountain-source of Chinese learning, of the 14 educational institutions, only two are open—the Catholic University and *Yenching*. In the seclusion of its lovely campus—surely one of the most beautiful university settings and equipment in all the world—protected somewhat from intimate surveillance and interference by the Japanese military through its removal from the city of Peking, *Yenching* carries forward—with the largest enrollment in its history, encouraged by clear intimations from the National Chinese Government of their desire that it shall carry on—and carry on at its present location. Practically the only institution of higher education for the youth of China within the vast confines of Japanese occupation. At its head—indeed a towering-strength of wisdom and tact and indomitable courage not only for *Yenching* but for all forces of order and decency and liberty, both foreign and Chinese, in the whole of the occupied territory—stands that quiet, retiring little man whom many have long recognized as a foremost teacher and gracious Christian ambassador, but who today is seen as one of the greatest living American educators and one of the strongest and purest Christian statesmen in all the world—Dr. Leighton Stuart. As I was leaving the *Yenching* campus, Dr. Stuart sent messages of affection to various American friends. "Tell them we are trying our best to discover what the Spirit of Jesus directs. . . ."

2. In the Foreign Concessions—Shanghai and Hongkong

These have become refuges, not only for vast swarms of population, but also for China's cultural and educational institutions. In Shanghai, one morning, I made my way through crowded city streets and into what appeared to be the wholesale district. Imagine yourself at about 6th Avenue and 20th Street, penetrating back into the open courtyard of a great wholesale building, dodging drays loading and unloading, elbowed on either side by hurrying tradesmen, finding yourself carried up on the elevator to emerge on a floor crowded with charming young men and women, books under arms, offices turned into improvised classrooms, a larger room equipped with rough wooden shelves into which have been moved a part of the library of St. John's University, the distinguished president of Soochow University occupying with his secretary a cubby-hole which any self-respecting office-boy on Wall Street would disdain. There four of the Christian Colleges—*St. Johns, Shanghai, Soochow* and *Hangchow*—have joined forces and pooled meager equipment in crude but crowded quarters with close to 3000 students.

3. Free China

West China Union University, Chengtu. Beautiful and, luckily, spacious campus. 11 different institutions or departments, including one government school.

Cheelo. University of Nanking.
Dr. Wu Yi Fang: Ginling. Madras.

V.

There are many considerations which urge us to lend interest and sympathy and much more tangible and concrete support to China, to her educational institutions, and to these Christian Colleges in this time of desperate trial:

1. Admiration for those who carry forward enterprises of incalculable moment under most difficult circumstances.
2. Response to sheer human need of body and mind and spirits.
3. Comradeship with trusted friends of many years.

4. Friendship for China.
5. Awareness of the, strategic importance of this work.

The past twenty-four months have given us headlines, day after day, which have alarmed and paralyzed the consciousness of people as no other news in our lifetimes. But, as always in the public press, much news of greatest human interest and possibly of greatest consequence has been crowded far into inner pages. Some of greatest significance to those who care for liberty, for culture, for truth, for conscience, for faith, for mankind's future has never reached the eyes of the public.

When the historians of later times assess these years, they are certain to list to its true prominence the story of China's resolute struggle to keep aflame against obstacles and difficulties seldom paralleled the fires of truth, of learning, of education. For it is, beyond any challenge, one of the most amazing, one of the most glorious chapters in the age-old history of man's quest for knowledge. In that chapter, these Christian Colleges, wisely guided, courageously sustained, indomitably advanced by our representatives and comrades of both nations hold one of the noblest places.

You know the determined efforts initiated here to lend them aid—in addition to the support regularly sent from America, the Emergency Fund of \$300,000 to help replace resources usually forthcoming from their Chinese supporters, and now inevitably drastically curtailed.

My own special interest these past two years has been in encouraging our American college students to contribute for the individual assistance of destitute or desperately needy Chinese students. Ten American dollars will pay all the necessary expenses to sustain a Chinese student at university for the full academic year. That is some indication of the almost unbelievable fruitfulness of our gifts.

I ask in all seriousness—is there any place or cause where the gift of each dollar is assured of more far-reaching effectiveness in the building of tomorrow's better world?

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UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

THE FAR EASTERN SITUATION

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

August 2, 1939

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, last week the Secretary of State served notice on the Japanese Government that the treaty which was signed between our Government and the Japanese Government in 1911, commonly known as the treaty of amity and commerce, would under its terms be abrogated at the conclusion of a period of 6 months from the date of the notice. That position was taken by the Secretary of State, in my opinion, as an independent act on the part of our Government, without consultation with and without any attention to the relationship of any other government in the world with the Government of Japan. I think it is interesting to read a statement by Mr. David Lawrence in the United States News of this week, in which he said:

Parallelism, the policy of acting jointly and in consultation with Great Britain, has apparently been dropped. For the first time since the current China incident began, July 7, 1937, the United States has taken a decisive step toward Japan, evidently without consulting Britain.

Mr. President, I wish to say that so far as my personal attitude is concerned, it is based entirely upon the terms of a resolution which I introduced a few weeks ago asking for an embargo on certain goods which are being shipped at the present time from the United States to Japan and used by Japan in the prosecution of her war. I contend that the goods are being shipped from this country in violation of our obligations under the Nine Power Pact.

Mr. President, I am not speaking concerning any interest we may have in China. I presented the resolution simply as a recognition of our responsibility and the responsibility of our own citizens under the terms and provisions of a treaty into which we solemnly entered. I do not want any one to say that in presenting the resolution or discussing it I am concerned in any of the interests which may be engaged in business in China itself.

OUR ATTITUDE TODAY

I think that in view of the importance of this subject during the next 6 months, prior to the expiration of the 6 months' notice, there will be very great discussion among the people of the country and among Members of the Congress as to what should be our attitude in the far eastern

situation. I think it is worth while, even at this late date in the session, to have a rather comprehensive consideration of the situation in the Far East and of our attitude today and our attitude in the past toward far eastern problems.

I first want to call the attention of the Senate to the attitude expressed by the then Secretary of State, Mr. Stimson, on February 23, 1932, in a letter addressed to the senior Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH]. I desire to read briefly from the letter of that date. The letter is addressed:

MY DEAR SENATOR BORAH: You have asked my opinion whether, as has sometimes been recently suggested, present conditions in China have in any way indicated that the so-called Nine Power Treaty has become inapplicable or ineffective or rightly in need of modification, and if so, what I considered should be the policy of this Government.

This treaty, as you of course know, forms the legal basis upon which now rests the "open door" policy toward China. That policy, enunciated by John Hay in 1899, brought to an end the struggle among various powers for so-called spheres of interest in China which was threatening the dismemberment of that Empire. To accomplish this Mr. Hay invoked two principles: (1) Equality of commercial opportunity among all nations in dealing with China; and (2) as necessary to that equality the preservation of China's territorial and administrative integrity.

He then goes on to say:

The policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve China's territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire.

Quoting further from Mr. Stimson's letter:

For 20 years thereafter, the "open-door" policy rested upon the informal commitments made by the various powers, but in the winter of 1921 to 1922, at a conference participated in by all of the principal powers which had interests in the Pacific, the policy was crystallized into the so-called nine-power treaty, which gave definition and precision to the principles upon which the policy rested. In the first article of that treaty, the contracting powers, other than China agreed, (1), to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China; (2) to provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government; (3) to use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China; (4) to refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly states and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such states.

Mr. Stimson says in reference to that treaty:

This treaty thus represents a carefully developed and matured international policy intended, on the one hand, to assure to all of the contracting parties their rights and interests in and with regard to China, and on the other hand, to assure to the people of China the fullest opportunity to develop without molestation their sovereignty and independence according to the modern and enlightened standards believed to maintain among the peoples of this earth.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield there?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I presume it is the purpose of the Senator to place in the RECORD the statement of the Secretary of State leading up to this policy?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I will read it into the RECORD. Does the Senator mean the statement of Secretary of State Hughes at the time?

Mr. LUNDEEN. Yes; and also the recent statement in relation to the abrogation of the treaty with Japan.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Yes; I have a rather complete statement.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I hope the Senator will give us, so far as the documents are concerned, a complete picture, if they are not too lengthy. They are of great importance, and it would be well for those of us who may not be so expert as is the Senator from Washington to have the documents printed in his speech where we could obtain and study them.

TO GIVE ENTIRE PICTURE

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I appreciate what the Senator says about expertness on my part; but it is not correct. I have, however, made rather a careful research into this subject, and I intend, before I conclude, to put in all the documents I have which are pertinent. I hope to give the whole picture; but, as the Senator can see, I desire to do it in a logical order, considering the various points as they come up. Therefore, I am not going to do what is suggested at the present time, but I will, before I conclude, go through all the documents.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I meant the statement in all sincerity, because I know the Senator has examined the subject with great care, and I am glad that he has brought it up at this time, because it should be before the Members of the Senate during the vacation, and we should, during the days and hours that we are not here, give it some thought before we return in January.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I thank the Senator from Minnesota and assure him that I am going to try to put in the RECORD everything of importance upon this subject.

Proceeding further with the letter from the Secretary of State, Mr. Stimson, to Senator BORAH, I quote, as follows:

In its report to the President—

He is referring to the Nine Power Treaty—

announcing this treaty, the American delegation, headed by the then Secretary of State, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, said: "It is believed that through this treaty the 'open door' in China has at least been made a fact."

Then he quoted from a statement made by Baron Shidehara, the representative of Japan at the nine-power conference, as follows:

At the same time the representative of Japan, Baron Shidehara, announced the position of his government as follows:

"No one denies to China her sacred right to govern herself. No one stands in the way of China to work out her own great national destiny."

Secretary Stimson further stated to Senator BORAH:

The signatories and adherents of the Nine Power Treaty rightfully felt that the orderly and peaceful development of the 400,000,000 of people inhabiting China was necessary to the peaceful welfare of the entire world and that no program for the welfare of the world as a whole could afford to neglect the welfare and protection of China.

Having read these excerpts, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the letter from Secretary Stimson to Senator BORAH, dated February 23, 1932, which is contained on page 293 of the book called The Far East, by Quigley and Blakeslee.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Nine Power Pact be included?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I have that separately and I will put that in later.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma in the chair). Without objection, the letter will be printed in the RECORD.

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The letter referred to is as follows:

FEBRUARY 23, 1932.

MY DEAR SENATOR BORAH: You have asked my opinion whether, as has been sometimes recently suggested, present conditions in China have in any way indicated that the so-called Nine-Power Treaty has become inapplicable or ineffective or rightly in need of modification, and if so, what I considered should be the policy of this Government.

This treaty, as you of course know, forms the legal basis upon which now rests the "open door" policy toward China. That policy, enunciated by John Hay in 1899, brought to an end the struggle among various powers for so-called spheres of interest in China which was threatening the dismemberment of that empire. To accomplish this Mr. Hay invoked two principles, (1) equality of commercial opportunity among all nations in dealing with China, and (2) as necessary to that equality the preservation of China's territorial and administrative integrity. These principles were not new in the foreign policy of America. They had been the principles upon which it rested in its dealings with other nations for many years. In the case of China they were invoked to save a situation which not only threatened the future development and sovereignty of that great Asiatic people, but also threatened to create dangerous and constantly increasing rivalries between the other nations of the world. War had already taken place between Japan and China. At the close of that war three other nations intervened to prevent Japan from obtaining some of the results of that war claimed by her. Other nations sought and had obtained spheres of interest. Partly as a result of these actions a serious uprising had broken out in China which endangered the legations of all of the powers at Peking. While the attack on those legations was in progress, Mr. Hay made an announcement in respect to this policy as the principle upon which the powers should act in the settlement of the rebellion. He said:

"The policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire."

He was successful in obtaining the assent of the other powers to the policy thus announced.

In taking these steps, Mr. Hay acted with the cordial support of the British Government. In responding to Mr. Hay's announcement, above set forth, Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister, expressed himself "most emphatically as concurring in the policy of the United States."

For 20 years thereafter the "open door" policy rested upon the informal commitments thus made by the various powers. But in the winter of 1921-22, at a conference participated in by all of the principal powers which had interests in the Pacific, the policy was crystallized into the so-called Nine-Power Treaty, which gave definition and precision to the principles upon which the policy rested. In the first article of that treaty, the contracting powers, other than China, agreed:

"1. To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

"2. To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government.

"3. To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.

"4. To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly states, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such states."

This treaty thus represents a carefully developed and matured international policy intended, on the one hand, to assure to all of the contracting parties their rights and interests in and with regard to China, and on the other hand, to assure to the people of China the fullest opportunity to develop without molestation their sovereignty and independence according to the modern and enlightened standards believed to maintain among the peoples of this earth. At the time this treaty was signed, it was known that China was engaged in an attempt to develop the free institutions of a self-governing republic after her recent revolution from an autocratic form of government; that she would require many years of both economic and political effort to that end; and that her progress would necessarily be slow. The treaty was thus a covenant of self-denial among the signatory powers in deliberate renunciation of any policy of aggression which might tend to interfere with that development. It was believed—and the whole history of the development of the "open door" policy reveals that faith—that only by such a process, under the protection of such an agreement, could the fullest interests not only of China but of all nations which have intercourse with her best be served.

In its report to the President announcing this treaty, the American delegation, headed by the then Secretary of State, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, said:

"It is believed that through this treaty the 'open door' in China has at least been made a fact."

During the course of the discussions which resulted in the treaty, the chairman of the British delegation, Lord Balfour, had stated that—

"The British Empire delegation understood that there was no representative of any power around the table who thought that the old practice of 'spheres of interest' was either advocated by any government or would be tolerable to this conference. So far as the British Government were concerned, they had, in the most formal manner, publicly announced that they regarded this practice as utterly inappropriate to the existing situation."

At the same time the representative of Japan, Baron Shidehara, announced the position of his Government as follows:

"No one denies to China her sacred right to govern herself. No one stands in the way of China to work out her own great national destiny."

The treaty was originally executed by the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal. Subsequently it was also executed by Norway, Bolivia, Sweden, Denmark, and Mexico. Germany has signed it, but her parliament has not yet ratified it.

It must be remembered also that this treaty was one of several treaties and agreements entered into at the Washington Conference by the various powers concerned, all of which were interrelated and interdependent. No one of these treaties can be disregarded without disturbing the general understanding and equilibrium which were intended to be accomplished and effected by the group of agreements arrived at in their entirety. The Washington Conference was essentially a disarmament conference, aimed to promote the possibility of peace in the world not only through the cessation of competition in naval armament but also by the solution of various other disturbing problems which threatened the peace of the world, particularly in the Far East. These problems were all interrelated. The willingness of the American Government to surrender its then commanding lead in battleship construction and to leave its positions at Guam and in the Philippines without further fortification, was predicated upon, among other things, the self-denying covenants contained in the Nine-Power Treaty, which assured the nations of the world not only of equal opportunity for their Eastern trade but also against the military aggrandizement of any other power at the expense of China. One cannot discuss the possibility of modifying or abrogating those provisions of the nine-power treaty without considering at the same time the other promises upon which they were really dependent.

Six years later the policy of self-denial against aggression by a stronger against a weaker power, upon which the nine-power treaty had been based, received a powerful reinforcement by the execution by substantially all the nations of the world of the Pact of Paris, the so-called Kellogg-Briand Pact. These two treaties represent independent but harmonious steps taken for the purpose of aligning the conscious and public opinion of the world in favor of a system of orderly development by the law of nations including the settlement of all controversies by methods of justice and peace instead of by arbitrary force. The program for the protection of China from outside aggression is an essential part of any such development. The signatories and adherents of the nine-power treaty rightly felt that the orderly and peaceful development of the 400,000,000 of people inhabiting China was necessary to the peaceful welfare of the entire world and that no program for the welfare of the world as a whole could afford to neglect the welfare and protection of China.

The recent events which have taken place in China, especially the hostilities which having been begun in Manchuria have latterly been extended to Shanghai, far from indicating the advisability of any modification of the treaties we have been discussing, have tended to bring home the vital importance of the faithful observance of the covenants therein to all of the nations interested in the Far East. It is not necessary in that connection to inquire into the causes of the controversy or attempt to apportion the blame between the two nations which are unhappily involved; for, regardless of cause or responsibility, it is clear beyond peradventure that a situation has developed which cannot, under any circumstances, be reconciled with the obligations of the covenants of these two treaties, and that if the treaties had been faithfully observed such a situation could not have arisen. The signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty and of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, who are not parties to that conflict, are not likely to see any reason for modifying the terms of those treaties. To them the real value of the faithful performance of the treaties has been brought sharply home by the perils and losses to which their nationals have been subjected in Shanghai.

That is the view of this Government. We see no reason for abandoning the enlightened principles which are embodied in these treaties. We believe that this situation would have been avoided had these covenants been faithfully observed, and no evidence has come to us to indicate that a due compliance with them would have interfered with the adequate protection of the legitimate rights in China of the signatories of those treaties and their nationals.

On January 7 last, upon the instruction of the President, this Government formally notified Japan and China that it would not recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement entered into by those Governments in violation of the covenants of these treaties, which affected the rights of our Government or its citizens in China. If a similar decision should be reached and a similar position taken by the other Governments of the world, a caveat will be placed upon such action which, we believe, will effectively bar the legality hereafter of any title or right sought to be obtained by

pressure or treaty violation, and which, as has been shown by history in the past, will eventually lead to the restoration to China of rights and titles of which she may have been deprived.

In the past our Government, as one of the leading powers on the Pacific Ocean, has rested its policy upon an abiding faith in the future of the people of China and upon the ultimate success in dealing with them of the principles of fair play, patience, and mutual good will. We appreciate the immensity of the task which lies before her statesmen in the development of her country and its Government. The delays in her progress, the instability of her attempts to secure a responsible government were foreseen by Messrs. Hay and Hughes and their contemporaries and were the very obstacles which the policy of the "open door" was designed to meet. We concur with those statesmen, representing all the nations, in the Washington Conference who decided that China was entitled to the time necessary to accomplish her development. We are prepared to make that our policy for the future.

Very sincerely yours,

HENRY L. STIMSON.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I should like to see a full attendance of the Senate. This, I am sure, is a most important subject; in fact there is no more important subject than that to which the Senator is addressing himself. It has to do with the future of our great Nation and our future relations in the Pacific. I think we are greatly indebted to him for bringing this matter up at this time.

AMERICA'S NOTE

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I thank the Senator from Minnesota, and I hope that the Senators who are not present will make some use of the various documents which I intend to put into the RECORD during the course of my remarks.

Now, Mr. President, I wish to read from a statement of policy of the United States which was made by Secretary Stimson on January 7, 1932. It was a note sent by the American Government to the governments of China and Japan. I will read that document rather than have it included in the RECORD by reference.

With the recent military operations about Chinchow, the last remaining administrative authority of the government of the Chinese Republic in south Manchuria, as it existed prior to September 18, 1931, has been destroyed. The American Government continues confident that the work of the neutral commission recently authorized by the Council of the League of Nations will facilitate an ultimate solution of the difficulties now existing between China and Japan. But, in view of the present situation and of its own rights and obligations therein, the American Government deems it to be its duty to notify both the government of the Chinese Republic and the Imperial Japanese Government that it cannot admit the legality of any situation de facto, nor does it intend to recognize any treaty or agreement entered into between those governments, or agents thereof, which may impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those which relate to the sovereignty, the independence, or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China, or to the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the open-door policy; and that it does not intend to recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the pact of Paris, of August 27, 1928, to which treaty both China and Japan, as well as the United States, are parties.

In other words, in that statement made by the then Secretary of State we very definitely recognized our responsibilities under the Nine Power Treaty; that was not simply a matter of the responsibility of those in China and Japan toward our citizens and nationals in China, but that we ourselves, by signing the nine-power agreement, did have a responsibility toward affairs in China and the relationships between China and other nations. Furthermore, that we would never recognize any territory which was acquired in violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1923.

Mr. President, in considering the question of our relationship with China, I desire at this point to refer to the testimony which was given before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate when we were considering neutrality legislation by Dr. Walter H. Judd, who has been in China for many years, and who appeared before our committee as the only witness who testified upon the far eastern situa-

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. LUNDEEN. The Senator referred to the Kellogg-Briand Pact. That is the pact outlawing war, is it not?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. It is the pact signed by practically all the nations of the world, in which the nations agreed to relinquish war as an instrument of national policy.

Mr. LUNDEEN. It is a very short treaty, and I hope the Senator will include it in his remarks.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I will include it before I conclude.

Mr. President, I wish to say that when the Committee on Foreign Relations had heard a number of witnesses we had an informal meeting of the committee on the question of other witnesses being called, and it was the unanimous opinion of those present at that meeting that the testimony of Dr. Judd had been so outstanding, and had so clearly and exhaustively outlined the situation in the Far East, that there was no need to call any other witnesses upon the Chinese-Japanese problem.

DR. JUDD'S TESTIMONY

Dr. Judd testified that he went to China first in 1925 as a doctor; he was there until 1931 when he was invalided home; practiced with the Mayo Clinic for 3 years; went back in 1934 to North China and has been in North China since 1934; that he left China 2 months ago, coming back to this country, and appeared at the request of the committee. He further testified that he spoke the Chinese language and also the Japanese language.

I want first to quote from his testimony upon the question of our background so far as China is concerned. He said this:

What is our past with regard to China? For 125 years we have been sending over missionaries to open schools, colleges, hospitals, and churches. It has been the single largest philanthropic enterprise, if considered only as that, that the world has ever seen from one people to another. Unfortunately for China, it led her to assume that because she found she could trust most of the missionaries as individuals therefore she could trust equally the nations from which they had come. That confidence was too implicit and not wholly justified.

In 1899 China was on the chopping block, the powers were on the point of tearing her to pieces, when the United States announced the "open-door policy," refused to recognize the other nations' claims to "spheres of influence"; and our resolute adherence to that doctrine was one of the major factors in preventing China's dismemberment at that time. China has always felt that she was saved by America. We may have forgotten, but she has not.

After the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 when the other nations grabbed their indemnities, America returned hers to China to use for building universities and sending selected students to America to acquire our learning and skills, and then go back to modernize China. We may have forgotten, but China is eternally grateful.

After the revolution in 1911, China took America as her model, as Japan had taken Germany as hers 50 years before. China wanted to be like the great sister Republic of the West, which had seemed to understand and help her all along the way. We encouraged that attitude and sent official and unofficial advisers to help her. China does not forget.

In 1917 we went to war. Woodrow Wilson promptly asked China to go to war on the Allied side. It was not a primary concern of China, but when America, her great friend and counselor, suggested it, she consented.

Then came 1919 and four white men, China's allies, in Versailles, awarded to Japan, another ally, the old German rights and a good deal more in Shantung, China's sacred province. When the word got back to China, the students and teachers, the articulate groups, left their studies and went out into the villages as living newspapers to inform and incite and organize that greatest of all boycotts against Japan. It was the only weapon of resistance they had.

It continued for 2 long years and was at last slowly but surely bringing Japan to terms. She was far more vulnerable then than now. She had not yet developed her great merchant marine; she did not have her economic base in diversified markets all around the world. She was far more dependent upon her China trade. China was on the point of solving her problem by the only method she had, when our country did something else. We called a disarmament conference here in Washington. We wanted Japan to consent to a 3-5-5 ratio of naval strength in relation to our own and Great Britain's. Japan skillfully replied that she could consent only if, in addition to certain other things such as scrapping more than 20 of our naval vessels, giving up our plans to fortify the Philippines, and so forth, we could get the Chinese to

call off the boycott. China was glad to do that if the powers would promise that the Japanese troops would get out of Shantung and would stay out; that the nations would promise to all stay out and give China a chance to work out her internal difficulties without the constant fear and threat of external aggression.

We all promised. That is what the Nine Power Pact is—from China's standpoint. If some other nation had suggested that she give up her boycott in exchange for a piece of paper, she would have politely declined. She did not trust Japan or France or England. She did trust America. When we advised, we urged, we persuaded, she consented. China, poor, naive, amateur in international relations, trusted the promises utterly because she had come to trust us.

Mr. President, that is the relationship which we have acquired toward the Chinese as the result of these years of contact with them and the very definite and specific obligation which we assumed under the Nine Power Pact.

THE NINE POWER PACT

I want at this point, because it is too long to read, but I think it is of extreme importance, to insert in the RECORD what is known as the Nine Power Pact, including the proclamation by the President of the United States, and the agreement itself, omitting the names of the signatories.

Mr. LUNDEEN. It will include the names of the nations?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. It includes the names of the nations, but not the names of the representatives of the nations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas a Treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, Belgium, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal, relating to the Principles and Policies to be followed in matters concerning China, was concluded and signed by their respective plenipotentiaries at Washington on February 6, 1922, the original of which Treaty, in the English and French languages, is word for word as follows:

The United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal:

Desiring to adopt a policy designed to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to safeguard the rights and interests of China, and to promote intercourse between China and the other Powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity;

Have resolved to conclude a treaty for that purpose and to that end have appointed as their respective Plenipotentiaries;

ARTICLE I.

The Contracting Powers, other than China, agree:

(1) To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China;

(2) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government;

(3) To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China;

(4) To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly States, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.

ARTICLE II.

The Contracting Powers agree not to enter into any treaty, agreement, arrangement, or understanding, either with one another, or, individually or collectively, with any Power or Powers, which would infringe or impair the principles stated in Article I.

ARTICLE III.

With a view to applying more effectually the principles of the Open Door or equality of opportunity in China for the trade and industry of all nations, the Contracting Powers, other than China, agree that they will not seek, nor support their respective nationals in seeking—

(a) any arrangement which might purport to establish in favour of their interests any general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region of China;

(b) any such monopoly or preference as would deprive the nationals of any other Power of the right of undertaking any legitimate trade or industry in China, or of participating with the Chinese Government, or with any local authority, in any category or public enterprise, or which by reason of its scope, duration or geographical extent is calculated to frustrate the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity.

It is understood that the foregoing stipulations of this Article are not to be so construed as to prohibit the acquisition of such properties or rights as may be necessary to the conduct of a

particular commercial, industrial, or financial undertaking or to the encouragement of invention and research.

China undertakes to be guided by the principles stated in the foregoing stipulations of this Article in dealing with applications for economic rights and privileges from Governments and nationals of all foreign countries, whether parties to the present Treaty or not.

ARTICLE IV.

The Contracting Powers agree not to support any agreements by their respective nationals with each other designed to create Spheres of Influence or to provide for the enjoyment of mutually exclusive opportunities in designated parts of Chinese territory.

ARTICLE V.

China agrees that, throughout the whole of the railways in China, she will not exercise or permit unfair discrimination of any kind. In particular there shall be no discrimination whatever, direct or indirect, in respect of charges or of facilities on the ground of the nationality of passengers or the countries from which or to which they are proceeding, or the origin or ownership of goods or the country from which or to which they are consigned, or the nationality or ownership of the ship or other means of conveying such passengers or goods before or after their transport on the Chinese Railways.

The Contracting Powers, other than China, assume a corresponding obligation in respect of any of the aforesaid railways over which they or their nationals are in a position to exercise any control in virtue of any concession, special agreement or otherwise.

ARTICLE VI.

The Contracting Powers, other than China, agree fully to respect China's rights as a neutral in time of war to which China is not a party; and China declares that when she is a neutral she will observe the obligations of neutrality.

ARTICLE VII.

The Contracting Powers agree that, whenever a situation arises which in the opinion of any one of them involves the application of the stipulations of the present Treaty, and renders desirable discussion of such application, there shall be full and frank communication between the Contracting Powers concerned.

ARTICLE VIII.

Powers not signatory to the present Treaty, which have Governments recognized by the Signatory Powers and which have treaty relations with China, shall be invited to adhere to the present Treaty. To this end the Government of the United States will make the necessary communications to nonsignatory Powers and will inform the Contracting Powers of the replies received. Adherence by any Power shall become effective on receipt of notice thereof by the Government of the United States.

ARTICLE IX.

The present Treaty shall be ratified by the Contracting Powers in accordance with their respective constitutional methods and shall take effect on the date of the deposit of all the ratifications, which shall take place at Washington as soon as possible. The Government of the United States will transmit to the other Contracting Powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

The present Treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the other Contracting Powers.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at the City of Washington the Sixth day of February One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-Two.

	CHARLES EVANS HUGHES	[SEAL]
	HENRY CABOT LODGE	[SEAL]
	OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD	[SEAL]
	ELIHU ROOT	[SEAL]
	BARON DE CARTIER DE MARCHIENNE	[SEAL]
	ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR	[SEAL]
	LEE OF FAREHAM	[SEAL]
	A. C. GEDDES	[SEAL]
	R. L. BORDEN	[SEAL]
	G. F. PEARCE	[SEAL]
	JOHN W. SALMOND	[SEAL]
	ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR	[SEAL]
	V S SRINIVASA SASTRI	[SEAL]
[SEAL]	SAO-KE ALFRED SZE	
[SEAL]	V. K. WELLINGTON KOO	
[SEAL]	CHUNG-HUI WANG	
[SEAL]	A SARRAUT	
[SEAL]	JUSSERAND	
[SEAL]	CARLO SCHANZER	
[SEAL]	V. ROLANDI RICCI	
[SEAL]	LUTGI ALBERTINI	
	T. KATO	[SEAL]
	K. SHIDEHARA	[SEAL]
	M. HANIHARA	[SEAL]
	BEELAERTS VAN BLOKLAND	[SEAL]
	W. DE BEAUFORT	[SEAL]
	ALTE	[SEAL]
	ERNESTO DE VASCONCELOS	[SEAL]

And Whereas the said Treaty has been duly ratified on all parts and the ratifications of the said Governments were deposited with the Government of the United States of America on August 5, 1925;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States of America, have caused the said Treaty to be made public, to the end that the same and every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done in the City of Washington, this fifth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and [SEAL] twenty-five and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fiftieth.

CALVIN COOLIDGE

By the President:

FRANK B. KELLOGG

Secretary of State

PROCÈS-VERBAL

OF DEPOSIT OF RATIFICATIONS OF THE TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, BELGIUM, THE BRITISH EMPIRE, CHINA, FRANCE, ITALY, JAPAN, THE NETHERLANDS, AND PORTUGAL, RELATING TO PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES TO BE FOLLOWED IN MATTERS CONCERNING CHINA, CONCLUDED AT WASHINGTON FEBRUARY 6, 1922.

In conformity with Article IX of the Treaty between the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal, relating to principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China, concluded at Washington February 6, 1922, the undersigned representatives of the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal, this day met at the Department of State at Washington to proceed with the deposit with the Government of the United States of the instruments of ratification of the said Treaty by the Governments they represent.

The instruments of ratification produced having been found upon examination to be in due form, are entrusted to the Government of the United States of America to be deposited in the archives of the Department of State.

In Witness Whereof, the present procès-verbal, of which a certified copy will be sent by the Government of the United States of America to each of the Powers signatory to the said treaty, is signed.

Done at Washington, August 5, 1925, at 12 o'clock.

For United States of America:	FRANK B. KELLOGG	[SEAL]
For Belgium:	R. TILMONT	[SEAL]
For the British Empire:	H. G. CHILTON	[SEAL]
For China:	SAO-KE ALFRED SZE	[SEAL]
For France:	E. DAESCHNER	[SEAL]
For Italy:	G. DE MARTINO	[SEAL]
For Japan:	T. MATSUDAIRA	[SEAL]
For the Netherlands:	H. VAN ASCH VAN WYCK	[SEAL]
For Portugal:	ALTE	[SEAL]

[Note by the Department of State]

The ratifications of the signatory powers of the treaty regarding principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China (Nine-Power Treaty) were duly deposited with the Government of the United States of America on August 5, 1925, as shown by the procès-verbal of deposit of that date, as follows:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	ITALY
BELGIUM	JAPAN
BRITISH EMPIRE	NETHERLANDS
CHINA	PORTUGAL
FRANCE	

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator from Washington yield?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. KING. It may not be pertinent to the matter which the Senator is discussing, but it occurs to me that it might be appropriate to have inserted in the RECORD the provisions of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and the notations by the Japanese Government and also by the German Government indicating their approval of it.

THE KELLOGG-BRIAND PACT

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I intended to put that in later, but I think it might well go in at this point. I ask unanimous consent that at this point the Kellogg-Briand Pact, with the notations mentioned by the Senator from Utah, be included in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARTICLE I

The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

ARTICLE II

The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

ARTICLE III

The present Treaty shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties named in the Preamble in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements, and shall take effect as between them as soon as all their several instruments of ratification shall have been deposited at Washington.

This Treaty shall, when it has come into effect as prescribed in the preceding paragraph, remain open as long as may be necessary for adherence by all the other Powers of the world. Every instrument evidencing the adherence of a Power shall be deposited at Washington and the Treaty shall immediately upon such deposit become effective as between the Power thus adhering and the other Powers parties hereto.

It shall be the duty of the Government of the United States to furnish each Government named in the Preamble and every Government subsequently adhering to this Treaty with a certified copy of the Treaty and of every instrument of ratification or adherence. It shall also be the duty of the Government of the United States telegraphically to notify such Governments immediately upon the deposit with it of each instrument of ratification or adherence.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty in the French and English languages both texts having equal force, and hereunto affix their seals.

DONE at Paris, the twenty-seventh day of August in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight.

[SEAL] GUSTAV STRESEMANN
 [SEAL] FRANK B KELLOGG
 [SEAL] PAUL HYMANS
 [SEAL] ARI BRIAND
 [SEAL] CUSHENDUN
 [SEAL] W. L. MACKENZIE KING
 [SEAL] A J MCLACHLAN
 [SEAL] C. J. PARR
 [SEAL] J S. SMIT
 [SEAL] LIAM T. MACCOSGAIR
 [SEAL] CUSHENDUN
 [SEAL] G. MANZONI
 [SEAL] UCHIDA
 [SEAL] AUGUST ZALESKI
 [SEAL] DR EDOUARD BENES

AND WHEREAS it is stipulated in the said Treaty that it shall take effect as between the High Contracting Parties as soon as all the several instruments of ratification shall have been deposited at Washington;

AND WHEREAS the said Treaty has been duly ratified on the parts of all the High Contracting Parties and their several instruments of ratification have been deposited with the Government of the United States of America, the last on July 24, 1929;

Now, THEREFORE, be it known that I, Herbert Hoover, President of the United States of America, have caused the said Treaty to be made public, to the end that the same and every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the city of Washington this twenty-fourth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and [SEAL] twenty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fifty-fourth.

By the President: HERBERT HOOVER
 HENRY L. STIMSON
 Secretary of State

ADHERING COUNTRIES

When this Treaty became effective on July 24, 1929, the instruments of ratification of all of the signatory powers having been deposited at Washington, the following countries, having deposited instruments of definitive adherence, became parties to it:

Afghanistan	Liberia
Albania	Lithuania
Austria	Netherlands
Bulgaria	Nicaragua
China	Norway
Cuba	Panama
Denmark	Peru
Dominican Republic	Portugal
Egypt	Rumania
Estonia	Russia
Ethiopia	Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes
Finland	Siam
Guatemala	Spain
Hungary	Sweden
Iceland	Turkey
Latvia	

LANGUAGE IS NOT NEW

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, it is of interest that the recognition of the territorial integrity of China

did not come through the use of new language by the conference here in Washington at the time of the agreement to the Nine Power Pact. On November 2, 1917, the then Secretary of State, Mr. Robert Lansing, wrote a letter to the Ambassador from Japan concerning the situation in China and I wish to have it inserted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
 Washington, November 2, 1917.

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to communicate herein my understanding of the agreement reached by us in our recent conversations touching the questions of mutual interest to our Governments relating to the Republic of China.

In order to silence mischievous reports that have from time to time been circulated, it is believed by us that a public announcement once more of the desires and intentions shared by our two Governments with regard to China is advisable.

The Governments of the United States and Japan recognize that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries, and, consequently, the Government of the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous.

The territorial sovereignty of China, nevertheless, remains unimpaired and the Government of the United States has every confidence in the repeated assurances of the Imperial Japanese Government that while geographical position gives Japan such special interests they have no desire to discriminate against the trade of other nations or to disregard the commercial rights heretofore granted by China in treaties with other powers.

The Governments of the United States and Japan deny that they have any purpose to infringe in any way the independence or territorial integrity of China and they declare, furthermore, that they always adhere to the principle of the so-called "Open Door" or equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China.

Moreover, they mutually declare that they are opposed to the acquisition by any Government of any special rights or privileges that would affect the independence or territorial integrity of China or that would deny to the subjects or citizens of any country the full enjoyment of equal opportunity in the commerce and industry of China.

I shall be glad to have Your Excellency confirm this understanding of the agreement reached by us.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

ROBERT LANSING.

His Excellency

Viscount KIKUJIRO ISHII,

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Japan,
 on Special Mission.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, I wish to read especially one portion of the letter. This was a mutual note which was jointly published, and was in the nature of an exchange of notes by our Secretary of State and the Japanese Government. No treaty was signed, no treaty was ratified by the parliamentary bodies of the two nations. Nevertheless the note was made public, and made public for a very definite purpose, the date being November 2, 1917, and the purpose being to make it of assistance to both parties in the international situation which existed at that time.

I read the following from the note:

The Governments of the United States and Japan deny that they have any purpose to infringe in any way the independence or territorial integrity of China and they declare, furthermore, that they always adhere to the principle of the so-called "open door" or equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China.

Moreover, they mutually declare that they are opposed to the acquisition by any government of any special rights or privileges that would affect the independence or territorial integrity of China or that would deny to the subjects or citizens of any country the full enjoyment of equal opportunity in the commerce and industry of China.

EFFECT OF CHINESE ACTION

Mr. President, I think it might be well at this point to go back into the discussions which occurred here in Washington at the time of the conference called by President Harding, and directed by the then Secretary of State, now the Chief Justice of the United States, the Honorable Charles Evans Hughes. The background of it was outlined by Dr. Judd—he spoke of the Chinese embargo against Japanese goods, and the effectiveness of it, and the contention upon the part of Japan that she wanted that embargo to be lifted. Then the request was made that the Chinese delegation present

to the Washington Conference the language which she would like to have in the agreement. On page 866 of the report of the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments held in Washington from November 12, 1921, to February 6, 1922, we find the following:

In conformity with the agenda of the conference, the Chinese Government proposes for the consideration of and adoption by the conference the following general principles to be applied in the determination of the questions relating to China:

1. (a) The powers engage to respect and observe the territorial integrity and political and administrative independence of the Chinese Republic.

(b) China, upon her part, is prepared to give an undertaking not to alienate or lease any portion of her territory or littoral to any power.

2. China, being in full accord with the principle of the so-called open door or equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations having treaty relations with China, is prepared to accept and apply it in all parts of the Chinese Republic without exception.

Mr. President, that is the part which I wanted specifically to read into the RECORD, and I now ask unanimous consent that items 3 to 10, inclusive, contained on page 868 of the conference report, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

3. With a view to strengthening mutual confidence and maintaining peace in the Pacific and Far East, the powers agree not to conclude between themselves any treaty or agreement directly affecting China or the general peace in these regions without previously notifying China and giving to her an opportunity to participate.

4. All special rights, privileges, immunities, or commitments, whatever their character or contractual basis, claimed by any of the powers in or relating to China are to be declared, and all such or future claims not so made known are to be deemed null and void. The rights, privileges, immunities, and commitments, now known or to be declared, are to be examined with a view to determining their scope and validity and, if valid, to harmonizing them with one another and with the principles declared by this conference.

5. Immediately, or as soon as circumstances will permit, existing limitations upon China's political, jurisdictional, and administrative freedom of action are to be removed.

6. Reasonable, definite terms of duration are to be attached to China's present commitments which are without time limits.

7. In the interpretation of instruments granting special rights or privileges, the well-established principle of construction that such grants shall be strictly construed in favor of the grantors, is to be observed.

8. China's rights as a neutral are to be fully respected in future wars to which she is not a party.

9. Provision is to be made for the peaceful settlement of international disputes in the Pacific and the Far East.

10. Provision is to be made for future conferences to be held from time to time for the discussion of international questions relative to the Pacific and the Far East, as a basis for the determination of common policies of the signatory powers in relation thereto.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, as a result of that proposal by the Chinese representatives, the chairman suggested that as this matter was of such importance, it might be fitting to reserve it for further discussion until after there had been time to study it.

Then there was a discussion by the chairman, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Robert Borden, Mr. Koo, Senator Underwood, Senator Lodge, and Senator Schanzer, and the following procedure was adopted:

The heads of delegations were appointed a subcommittee to consider the arrangement of the different topics relating to the Pacific and the Far East and to make recommendations to the general committee.

Shortly after that the report of the subcommittee was set forth by the chairman and general discussion was in order. Admiral Baron Kato made the following statement on the part of Japan:

1. It seems to the Japanese delegation that existing difficulties in China lie no less in her domestic situation than in her external relations. We are anxious to see peace and unity reestablished at the earliest possible moment, but we want to avoid all action that may be construed as an intervention in the internal affairs of China. All that this conference can achieve is, it seems to us, to adjust China's foreign relations, leaving her domestic situation to be worked out by the Chinese themselves.

In the light of some of the statements made since that time by the Japanese, in which they have contended that they had a right to go in and take charge of China because of the fact that China was not able to govern itself, this particular statement of Baron Kato at the Washington conference is not only interesting, but significant. He then proceeded to say:

The Japanese delegation wishes to assure the Chinese delegation and the whole conference that Japan has every desire to cultivate the happiest relations with China. We are solicitous of making whatever contributions we are capable of toward China's realization of her just and legitimate aspirations. We are entirely uninfluenced by any policy of territorial aggrandizement in any part of China. We adhere without condition or reservation to the principle of "the open door and equal opportunity" in China.

THE PORTUGUESE VIEWPOINT

Proceeding, the Portuguese delegate suggested that, in view of the fact that Mr. Elihu Root had been intimately related with Mr. Hay at the time of the original declaration in 1899, and had the confidence of all the members of the conference, Mr. Root should get up a statement which would be the statement of the conference if it were agreed to. This is found on page 880 of the report:

Mr. Root said he was quite in agreement with the opinion of the Portuguese delegate, that a mere expression of principle was not, of itself, of the highest value; however, he believed it was the necessary first step toward accomplishing the result which evidently all wished to accomplish in regard to China. He said that perhaps he might have a personal predisposition on account of having been a colleague of Secretary Hay in President McKinley's Cabinet, at the time Secretary Hay pronounced in favor of the open door; he was immensely pleased at the unqualified affirmative agreement of the powers to that principle. As he sat listening to the expression from the various delegations, he had been considering how to arrive at an expression of the points covered. It appeared, he said, (1) that all were agreed to respect the independence and territorial and administrative integrity of the Chinese Republic; (2) that all were agreed to follow a policy tending to secure to her the fullest possible opportunity to develop an effective form of government for herself, under the new conditions created by her abandonment of the old Imperial form of government; (3) that all were agreed that there should be an equality of opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout China.

But anyone who had studied questions relating to the Far East and the Pacific knew that these same things had been repeated over and over again; they were repeated in 1902, 1905, and 1911, in the treaties between Great Britain and China; in the agreement of 1907 between France and Japan; in 1905, at Portsmouth; and in 1908 in the agreement known as the Takahira-Root agreement; they were the settled policy in the community of civilized nations, and he thought it would be useful to restate these principles all together.

As a result of that it was, as I have said, suggested that Mr. Root draw up the expression which he thought satisfactory.

Mr. President, going on with the report which Mr. Root made to the conference, the Chinese representative desired clarification and asked Mr. Root if in clause (1) the word "respect" included the idea "observe." The Senate will remember that I read from the original Chinese proposal, in which they used both words "respect" and "observe." The representatives of the Chinese Government at the conference had a feeling apparently that there might be a doubt raised by leaving out the word "observe," and the Chinese representatives asked for clarification upon that question. The Chinese representative stated that he had received the copy only as he entered the room and desired that the entire delegation should have the opportunity to consider the whole resolution.

Mr. Root replied that he regarded the word "respect" as rather stronger than the word "observe," stating that it made it really a declaration of the rule by which each signatory power would be guided in its individual conduct; that it did not import affirmative action; that it did not import interference by one country with another; that it did import what each one of the countries would do.

The Japanese representative, Baron Kato, asked the meaning of the phrase "administrative integrity" as used in the proposed resolution. He desired to know if this referred to political independence and was not intended to touch upon

interests or privileges which in the past had been granted to various countries.

Mr. Root spoke with reference to their effect upon privileges that had already been granted. He replied that this phrase certainly did not affect any privileges accorded by valid or effective grants; that, on the contrary, respect for the administrative integrity of a country required respect for the things that are done in the exercise of its full sovereignty by an independent State.

MR. ROOT'S WORDS

I think it might be well to recall to the minds of the Senators what has occurred since 1931, up in Manchuria, and what has occurred since 1937 in other parts of China. Taking into consideration the definition by Mr. Root of the words "administrative integrity" and taking into consideration the fact that he specifically pointed out that the use of the word "respect" meant that each nation for itself would respect China's territorial integrity. We then can see how far Japan has gone from keeping the agreement which was made in reference to China in the nine-power pact.

Without very much further discussion, the resolution was read, and on page 900 we find the following language:

There being no further objection, each delegation was called and the resolution was unanimously adopted as follows:

It is the intention of the powers attending this Conference hereinafter mentioned, to wit, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal:

- (1) To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China;
- (2) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government;
- (3) To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China;
- (4) To refrain from taking advantage of the present conditions in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of the subjects or citizens of friendly States and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, a few minutes ago I referred to the situation in which President Wilson asked the Chinese Government to join with us in our declaration of war against Germany, and the willingness of the Chinese Government to do that because of her friendly relations with the United States, and the confidence she had in the United States. I think we ourselves should just for a minute stop and consider what happened to China.

President Wilson found in the Far East precisely the same situation that he found in every other part of the world. We went into the war with the understanding that we were to accomplish certain things. We allied ourselves with certain nations, and when President Wilson got to Versailles he found that on point after point secret private agreements had been made between our allies, parceling out certain portions of the world to various nations in order that our allies might get the support of those nations.

I do not think any fair-minded person can doubt that President Wilson, in prevailing upon China to join with us in the war against Germany, was wholly sincere in his belief that it would be possible for him to protect China when the peace treaty was written.

Yet he got to Versailles and found the secret agreement between England and France on the one side and Japan on the other, by which it was agreed that if the Allies should defeat the Central Powers, Germany's rights in China would be turned over to the Japanese. And the poor Chinese, who had joined up so readily and so willingly, without any promise, without asking for anything, ended up as allies in a victorious war, and instead of finding part of their country under the domination and control of a nation on the other side of the world, finding it now transferred to the domination and control of a nation which had, as I will show in a

few minutes, already, through the medium of its 21 demands, indicated its absolute and complete intention ultimately to destroy the territorial integrity of China.

But I do think since we participated in that meeting at Versailles that we should have some thought about what China got out of that war. Some things are funny, but they are impressive, because of the fact that they are funny, and being funny and impressive, they are also sad and tragic, and I think what happened to China at Versailles certainly can only be classified as tragic.

I read from a book written by a prominent writer, Carl Crow, the title of which is "I Speak for the Chinese." I read from page 29:

Chinese delegates sat at the peace conference and day by day saw their hopes still further crushed, their claims ignored. So incensed were they that they refused to sign the treaty. But the claims of China were not entirely overlooked. During the Boxer uprising the German troops in Peking had seized the ancient bronze astronomical instruments from the Imperial Astronomical Observatory and sent them to Potsdam, where they remained as a souvenir of the part Germany played in suppressing the Boxers. The Versailles Peace Conference compelled Germany to return the astronomical instruments to China. It was the booby prize of the war, and was regarded by the Chinese as nothing more than an ironical gesture.

LACKED OUR RESPONSIBILITY

So far as the rest of the nations are concerned, I do not think that probably they should have felt very badly about their treatment toward China at Versailles. They did not have the responsibility toward China that we had. We ourselves had, through the medium of our President, Woodrow Wilson, induced China to join with us against the central powers in the late war.

I mentioned a minute ago about the attitude of Japan toward China, and I think it is now a proper point to try to consider what the attitude of Japan always has been toward China. This present adventure of Japan in China is not her first. Ever since Commodore Perry established relationships between Japan and the outside world in 1853, and the Japanese people had been taught the ideas of the outside world, they also commenced to acquire the territorial ideas and the aggressive ideas of the outside world. We must admit that the world itself taught Japan about aggression and territorial expansion. From shortly after 1853 evidences may be obtained to show that Japan had those ambitions and aspirations toward China.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President—

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Perhaps the Senator has already stated what I had in mind, that much of that which Japan has done, and much of the progress she has made along the line of armaments, and so forth, we ourselves have taught her. We met her at the time of the bow and arrow, the spear and the sword. We said, "We have a long barrel. We just put an iron slug in it and put some powder behind it, and you can shoot the bow-and-arrow man long before he can hit you." We proceeded to instill that idea. After that we said, "We have something that runs on wheels, that will throw a shell much farther than any rifle will shoot." We must accept some responsibility; and I think the Senator has well stated it.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. The first actual outbreak, however, came in the Chinese-Japanese War of 1894 and 1895. The policy of attempting to acquire territory in China by the Japanese has extended from that date until this.

Mr. President, I found in a little book on the reference shelf called Chinese-Japanese War, an outline of those various attempts from 1894 down to date; and I ask unanimous consent that that portion contained on pages 86 to 90, inclusive, entitled "Summary View of Japan's Aggression in China," be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUMMARY VIEW OF JAPAN'S AGGRESSION IN CHINA¹

LANDMARKS IN THE COURSE OF AGGRESSION

1. The Sino-Japanese War, 1894-95.
 - (a) By the Treaty of Shimonoseki Japan:
 - (1) Deprived China of Korea, Formosa, and the Pescadores.
 - (2) Acquired a foothold in Manchuria.
 - (3) Exacted an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels.
 2. The Russo-Japanese War, 1904-05.
 - (a) By the Treaty of Portsmouth Japan took bodily the rights and privileges acquired by Russia in South Manchuria.
 3. Further acquisitions of railway and mining rights, 1905-14.
 - (a) The crisis of 1909 and the five agreements concerning Manchuria.
 - (b) The Nanking Incident of 1913 and the demand for five railroads in Manchuria and Mongolia.
 4. During the Great War, 1914-18.
 - (a) The seizure of Tsingtao (1914); the 21 demands (1915); secret treaties to guarantee the illicit gains (1916-17).
 - b. Lavish loans to incite and prolong China's internal strife (1916-18).
 - c. War-participation agreements, under cover of which Japan secured freedom of movement in Manchuria and other privileges (1917-18).
 5. The Peace Conference, 1919.
 - a. Japan blocked China's rightful claims and secured the Shantung award.
 6. The Washington Conference (1921-22).
 - a. The force of world opinion constrained Japan to relinquish Shantung and to halt temporarily her open aggression.
 7. The Tsinan crisis, 1928.
 - a. Japan bombarded the city of Tsinan.
 8. The Manchurian crisis, 1931.
 - a. Japan occupied South Manchuria.
 9. The Shanghai invasion, 1932.
 - a. Japan occupied Shanghai.

RESULTS OF HALF-CENTURY AGGRESSION

- A. Territorial gains and political influences.
 1. Robbing China of her dependencies.
 - a. Riukow (Loochow).
 - (1) A Chinese dependency since 1371.
 - (2) Incorporated into Japanese Empire, 1879.
 - b. Korea.
 - (1) A dependency of China since early times.
 - (2) Japan's treaty with Korea refusing to recognize Chinese suzerainty, 1871.
 - (3) Japan's fight against China for domination in Korea, 1894.
 - (4) Annexation, 1910.
 2. Annexation of Chinese territories.
 - a. Formosa, 1895.
 - b. The Pescadore Islands, 1895.
 3. "Leases."
 - a. Liaotung, including Port Arthur and Dairen.
 - (1) Taken by Japan, 1895. Restored under compulsion of Russia, Germany and France.
 - (2) Taken over from Russia in consequence of the Russo-Japanese War, 1905.
 - (3) Lease extended 99 years, 1915 (one of the Twenty-One Demands).
 4. Concessions.
 - a. Mukden, Changchun, Newchang, Tientsin, Hankow, Shashih, Chungching, Soochow, Hangchow, Amoy.
 5. Spheres of influence.
 - a. Fuklen.
 - (1) Inalienation agreement, 1898.
 - (2) Reaffirmed by the Twenty-One Demands, 1915.
 - (3) Abolished by the Nine Power Pact of 1922.
 - b. Shangtung.
 - (1) Seizure of Tsingtao and privileges in Shantung, 1914.
 - (2) Restoration to China, 1922.
 6. Encroachments in Manchuria and Mongolia.
 - a. Succession to Russia's leases and privileges in South Manchuria, 1905.
 - b. Acquisition of more railway and mining rights, 1909, 1913.
 - c. Tightening of control—group II of the Twenty-One Demands, 1915.
 - d. Further acquisition of railway and mining rights by the loans and agreements of 1917-1918.
 - e. Attempts to extend Japanese influences into north Manchuria and Mongolia, 1918-22.
 - f. Military invasion by Japanese troops, 1931.
 - B. Railway and mining rights.

1. Railway rights:
 - a. Railways under Japanese control.
 - (1) Dairen-Changchun (trunk line of the South Manchurian Railway).
 - (2) Mukden-Antung.
 - (3) Ssuekiatun-Fushun.
 - (4) Tashihchiao-Yinkow.
 - (5) Dairen-Port Arthur. (Branch line of the South Manchurian Railway.)
 - (6) Kirin-Changchun (virtually since 1918).
 - (7) Tsingtao-Tsinan, 1914-22.
 - b. Railroads under Japanese financial influences.
 - (1) Mukden-Simintun.
 - (2) Ssupinkai-Taonan.
 - (3) Nanchang.
 - c. Railroads which Japan demands the right to build.
 - (1) Kaiyuan-Hailing-Kirin.
 - (2) Changchun-Jehol.
 - (3) Kirin-Hueining (Korea).
 - (4) (Tsinan-Shunteh and Kaomi-Suchow, 1918-22.)
2. Mining rights.
 - a. In Manchuria:
 - (1) Coal mines along the South Manchurian Railways, 1905.
 - (2) Fushun and Yentai (the former, one of the richest collieries in China), 1909.
 - (3) Acquisition of the right to exploit more mines by the Twenty-One Demands, 1915 (mines in 6 localities in Fentien, in Kirin).
 - b. In Shangtung:
 - (1) Succession to Germany's right to exploit the mines along the Tsingtao-Tsinan Railway, 1914.
 - (2) Change to Sino-Japanese joint operation, 1922.
 - c. Along the Yangtze Valley.
 - (1) Tayeh iron mines, Pinshiang Coal Mines and the Hanyeh-Company.
 - (2) Taochung, Anhui.
 - d. In Fukien—Near Amoy.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President—

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Is the Senator referring to the war of 1893?

"JAPAN MUST FIGHT BRITAIN"

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. It starts at that time, and comes down to date.

While we are on the point of what Japan has learned from other nations, I think it would be of interest to all of us to know what the Japanese attitude is as a result of the knowledge which she has acquired. The most interesting statement of it is in a book written by a lieutenant-commander of the Japanese Navy named Tota Ishimaru. In this book entitled "Japan Must Fight Britain," is outlined in its entirety the argument of the Japanese with reference to the future. I wish to read from the last two pages of the book:

The British Empire is on the downgrade, or perhaps at the parting of the ways that lead to salvation and destruction. To fight Japan is to court destruction. England had better swallow her pride and make way. That is the wisest thing she can do to protect herself; she has territorial possessions in abundance.

* * * * *

Japan, England, and America are the three great Pacific powers; harmony and cooperation between them will bring peace. If the Pacific should prove to be the scene of another world war, it will be because the influence and possessions of these three are not evenly balanced and because two of them, England and America, persist in endeavoring to have everything their own way at the expense of the third. A condition precedent to the preservation of peace is that England and America should give way and enable a balance to be maintained.

Let each of the three reign supreme in its own domain. America in the eastern, Japan in the western, England in the southern Pacific. Let each keep to its own allotted area, there to guide and guard the other powers. Let each respect the wishes of the others, honestly assist their progress and development, finally abandon all ideas of racial discrimination and hatred, remove all tariff walls and restrictions on migration, encourage the settlement of differences by an efficient system of arbitration. Then limitation of armament will present no difficulties, mutual confidence will increase, and the Pacific Ocean will not belle its name.

But unless America and England, and especially the latter who is the more likely to come into collision with Japan, make way, all this is but so much froth.

England holds the key to the peace of the Pacific. Whether that ocean belies its name, whether it becomes the scene of another world war, depends on the attitude of the British people.

¹ From pamphlet Secret Doctrines Relating to the Japanese Policy toward Manchuria and Mongolia, by Tun-Chang Hsu, Ph. D., Sometime Carnegie Fellow of International Law, p. 2-5. Peiping, China, January 31, 1931.

Mr. President, there may be those who will argue that it is perfectly proper to have Japan control the area which the lieutenant commander points out, to have us control the eastern part of the Pacific, and to have England control the southern part of the Pacific. There may be many who will argue that that is the proper solution of the problem. However, the fact is that our Government and other governments solemnly agreed that that would not be the policy; and we pledged ourselves, so far as we were concerned, that that would not be our policy. The Japanese Government is repeatedly importuning our Government to adopt precisely that policy.

I know that there are some personal problems with reference to Japanese fishing off the coast of Alaska. Fortunately we have been able to settle them amicably during the past few years; but I know that at any time, if we had agreed, Japan would have entered into any sort of an understanding we had wanted, saying, "We will draw a line down through the center of the Pacific Ocean. We will stay on one side and you will stay on the other, and there will be no argument about salmon fishing." However, we had entered into a solemn obligation binding not merely our Government but our own citizens, and each of them, to recognize and respect the territorial and administrative integrity of China. Once we attempt to adopt the sort of policy outlined by the lieutenant commander of the Japanese Navy we act in express violation of a solemn agreement into which we have entered.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. LUNDEEN. It seems to me that the Nine Power Pact gave the mandated islands to Japan. As I remember, they were spread all over the Pacific, in various zones and areas. I will say to the Senator that I was never much of an advocate of the Nine Power Pact. However, that is beside the question. We gave great mandated areas to the Japanese, and the Japanese, as soon as they got their hands on them, immediately began to fortify them. Is not that just exactly what we should have expected?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I think the Senator is mistaken in using the word "gave."

Mr. LUNDEEN. The islands were mandated.

VERSAILLES ACTION CONFIRMED

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. The Nine Power Pact confirmed the action at Versailles in reference to the mandated islands. For all practical purposes Japan obtained them at Versailles; they did not quite close up the title to them at Versailles; and the Nine Power Agreement—

Mr. LUNDEEN. The Nine Power Agreement put the seal of approval on the title.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. The Nine Power Agreement put the seal of approval on it. They had an inchoate control over them before, and the Nine Power Agreement clinched it.

Mr. LUNDEEN. We spread Japan all over the Pacific, and put the seal of approval on it. What could we expect, except that she would fortify the islands and put herself in a powerful position, and almost immediately begin to breast her way over the waves of the Pacific and try to shoulder other nations out of their areas?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, a few minutes ago I referred to 21 demands which were made by the Japanese Government on the Chinese Government in 1915. I wish to refer to them at this point, because I think they also fit into the general picture which it is necessary to obtain in order to make a proper appraisal of the entire problem. In doing so I think I can save time by reading from a book written by an author of great prominence on Far Eastern affairs, G. Zay Wood, who has written a number of books. He is a graduate of Columbia University, and has been president of the Chinese Political Science Association. He wrote a book entitled "Chino-Japanese Treaties of 1915." I wish to read briefly from that book:

The Chino-Japanese treaties of 1915, taken all together, comprise two treaties, properly so called, one respecting the Province of

Shantung and the other respecting South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, and 13 diplomatic notes exchanged between the Chinese and the Japanese Governments and presumably attached to the above 2 treaties. For the sake of convenience these 2 treaties and 13 notes are hereafter referred to merely as "the Chino-Japanese treaties of 1915." They were concluded on May 25 of the said year as the result of the series of diplomatic negotiations in regard to the Twenty-one Demands. The said demands were made by the Japanese Government January 18, 1915, and were pressed upon the Chinese Government for acceptance in their entirety. The nature and the contents of these demands, the motive which had actuated them, and their political and economic significance have been treated in extenso in the brochure, The Twenty-one Demands. We need only recapitulate them very briefly here in order to make our narrative comprehensible.

The demands consisted of five groups, the first relating to Japan's succession to the German rights and concessions in the Shantung Province, the second relating to Japan's special interests in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, the third relating to Japan's desire of making the Han-yeh-ping Co. a Chino-Japanese joint enterprise, the fourth asking for nonalienation of the coast of China, and the fifth relating to the questions of China's national advisers, police administration, purchase of arms, Japanese religious propaganda in China, Yangtze Valley railways, and Fukien Province. Except the fifth group, which was postponed for "future negotiation," the first four groups of demands were embodied, in one form or another, in the 2 treaties and 13 annexed notes.

He then goes on to say:

Studied from the point of view of international law, the Chino-Japanese treaties of 1915 are void, on a good many grounds, some of which may appear extravagant, but some are undoubtedly unanswerable. Among these grounds may be mentioned (1) lack of legislative sanction.

He goes on in the next chapter to outline in detail the complete failure of the legislative branch of the Chinese Government to ratify the two treaties executed in 1915, and cites the provision of the constitution of China, written at Nanking in January 1912, which says that:

The provisional president shall have power, with the concurrence of the national assembly, to declare war and conclude treaties.

That is almost the same sort of provision we have in our Constitution, which requires the adherence and ratification of the Senate before a treaty which has been signed by the executive branch of our Government becomes effective. Certainly no one would claim that if our Secretary of State signed a treaty and it failed to come to the Senate for ratification, it would be binding upon our Government under our Constitution.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. We have been doing that very thing with reciprocal trade agreements.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I am discussing the far eastern situation. I do not think the Senator seriously wishes to inject that question into this discussion.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President—

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I agree with what the Senator from Michigan has said.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. Wood continues:

(2) Vital change of circumstances under which they were entered into, (3) disappearance of one of their objects, (4) conflict with the existing treaties, (5) violation of the open-door principle, (6) inconsistency with the Covenant of the League of Nations, and (7) incompatibility with China's sovereignty and her right of self-preservation and self-development.

So far as I am concerned it seems to me that the first of these reasons is enough. We do not need to state the others. The treaties were never ratified by the legislative branch of the Chinese Government.

Mr. Wood outlines in detail two other bases, each of which it seems to me are sufficient to prove his contention that the two treaties of 1915 were void.

Mr. President, I speak of treaties not for the purpose of citing them as treaties, but simply for the purpose of pointing out the 21 demands which were made, and the fact that in 1915 Japan was attempting by the 21 demands to obtain

complete and absolute control over China and destroy the administrative and territorial integrity of China.

That is not the only evidence which has been given of that attitude upon the part of the Japanese Government and Japanese officials. On July 25, 1927, the then Premier of Japan, Premier Tanaka, presented to the Japanese Emperor what was known as the Tanaka memorial, which was a statement made by the Premier of the attitude of the Government of Japan concerning its future policy with China. It is a lengthy document, and I am not going to ask that it all be printed in the RECORD, because I do not think I should care to have the RECORD so encumbered, but I do desire to read a few excerpts from it. He said this:

In the future if we want to control China, we must first crush the United States just as in the past we had to fight in the Russo-Japanese War period. But in order to conquer China we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world we must first conquer China. If we succeed in conquering China, the rest of the Asiatic countries and the South Sea countries will fear us and surrender to us. Then the world will realize that eastern Asia is ours and will not dare to violate our rights.

The Nine-Power Treaty is entirely an expression of the spirit of commercial rivalry. It was the intention of England and America to crush our influence in China with their power of wealth.

BARON SHIDEHARA'S VIEWPOINT

Take that statement in connection with the statement I read a few moments ago from Baron Shidehara, who represented Japan at the Washington Conference, in which he said in glowing terms that Japan had no intention to destroy the territorial or administrative integrity of China, believed in the open-door policy, and readily acquiesced in the nine-power agreement. But in 1927 the Japanese Premier says:

The Nine-Power Treaty is entirely an expression of the spirit of commercial rivalry. It was the intention of England and America to crush our influence in China with their power of wealth. The proposed reduction of armaments is nothing but a means to limit our military strength, making it impossible for us to conquer the vast territory of China.

A more dangerous factor is the fact that the people of China might some day wake up. Even during these years of internal strife they can still toil patiently and try to imitate and displace our goods so as to impair the development of our trade.

The way to gain actual rights in Manchuria and Mongolia is to use this region as a base and under the pretense of trade and commerce penetrate the rest of China. Armed by the rights already secured we shall seize the resources all over the country. Having China's entire resources at our disposal we shall proceed to conquer India, the Archipelago of Asia Minor, central Asia, and even Europe.

Omitting a portion and coming down to what he says as to rights in Manchuria. I quote further:

As to the rights in Manchuria, we should take forceful steps on the basis of the 21 demands and secure the following in order to safeguard the enjoyment of the rights which we have acquired so far.

Then he outlines them.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator if there is any reference to the Philippine Islands in this particular paper?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. There is no specific reference to the Philippine Islands, except the general statement that the Japanese intend to obtain control of all the area of the western Pacific.

Proceeding further with the quotation:

After a large number of our people have moved into outer and inner Mongolia, we shall then buy lands at one-tenth of their worth and begin to cultivate rice, where feasible, in order to relieve our shortage of food supply. Where the land is not suitable for rice cultivation we should develop it for cattle raising and horse breeding in order to replenish our military needs. The rest of the land could be devoted to the manufacture of canned goods which we may export to Europe and America.

From now on we must take military purposes as our object and build circuit lines to circle the heart of Manchuria and Mongolia in order that we may hamper China's military, political, and economic developments there on the one hand, and prevent the penetration of the Russian influence on the other. This is the key to our continental policy.

In our struggle against the political and economic influence of Soviet Russia we should drive China before us and direct the event from behind. Meanwhile, we should still secretly befriend Russia in order to hamper the growth of Chinese influence.

We should now demand from China the right of building all the important military railroads. When these railroads are completed, we shall pour our forces into north Manchuria as far as we can. When Soviet Russia intervenes, as they must, that is our opportunity for open conflict.

When life there is made miserable for the Chinese, they naturally will leave for places afar. There are other methods to bar the Chinese. Only if we try hard enough, no Chinese footprints will be found on Mongolian territory.

Then he goes on to say:

For the sake of self-preservation of giving warning to China and the rest of the world we must fight America sometime. The American Asiatic squadron stationed in the Philippines is but within a stone's throw from Tsushima and Senchima. If they send submarines to these quarters, our supply of foodstuffs and raw materials from Manchuria, and Mongolia will be cut off entirely.

So far as I know, that is the only reference to the Philippines directly, and there he was not referring to the seizure of the Philippines except that they would ultimately have to fight America, and the first reason he gives is that the Philippines are so close.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. LUNDEEN. The reference in this document, whoever wrote it—

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. It was the Japanese Premier in the report made to his Emperor at the time he was the head of the Japanese Government, so far as there was a head outside the Emperor, outlining, in detail, the future plans for the expansion of Japan. It is known as the Tanaka Memorial.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I will say to the Senator that is somewhat reminiscent of articles we have read in prominent magazines about some "red" Napoleon conquering the earth, and also of the example of the great British Empire, on which the sun never sets, which now has 600,000,000 people under its flag, and one-fourth of the earth in its area. It is also somewhat reminiscent of the propaganda we heard during the World War that the Kaiser would conquer the earth, although he only had an area as large as Texas, and that now Hitler is going to conquer the world. Who is first on the list of world conquerors, and are we going to allow ourselves to be alarmed and become excited at every report that comes out about someone conquering the world?

NO INTENTION TO ALARM

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I want to say to the Senator that I am not presenting this matter with a view of alarming anybody. I think the Senator will agree that even my manner of presentation is not of an alarmist nature. My final thesis is, that we have a responsibility under the nine-power agreement which we should recognize. We have entered into a treaty. I present the statements in reference to Japanese ambitions solely for the purpose of attempting to prove—and I believe they do prove—Japan's intention in the present conflict of destroying the territorial and the administrative integrity of China. I do not present these matters on the basis of a scarehead to indicate any intention on the part of Japan to conquer the world, or that we, ourselves, need be frightened. I present them upon the basis that we have a legal and moral responsibility and if incidental to the statements in reference to Japan's intentions in China there also creep in other statements in reference to her intentions toward other parts of the world. I ask that they be considered merely as incidents which are necessary because they are there, and I have to read all the sentence and cannot leave out part of it.

Continuing on the question of the war aims of Japan, I wish to read from a book, written by Mr. William Henry Chamberlin, who was for many years the representative of the Christian Science Monitor in the Far East. The title

of the book is "Japan Over Asia." I think those who are familiar with writings on the Far East will admit Mr. Chamberlin as being a recognized authority upon the problems there. He said this, on page 374 of this book:

Japan's war aims have not been stated with any great clarity by its statesmen, but they have been indicated by the activities of its soldiers. When hundreds of thousands of men have been mobilized and a sum almost equal to the whole year's budget has been appropriated within 2 months after the outbreak of hostilities, it is clear that no petty concessions will satisfy Japan's ambitions. Repudiations of territorial ambitions may be technically sincere, but they are meaningless, because political changes can be brought about through the creation of new puppet states on the model of Manchukuo.

There is strong reason to believe that Japan has three definite aspirations in China. The first is the creation of a regime in North China that will be entirely subservient to Japanese wishes. Along with a completely dependent Chinese administration in Peiping and Tientsin, a new Mongolian state, the frontiers of which are still indeterminate, seems to be taking shape. And Japan's ambitions are not restricted to the Peiping-Tientsin area. They include Shantung, where Japanese possess extensive economic interests, and Shansi, with its coal mines.

A Japanese-controlled North China, it is believed, will mean more cotton for the mills of Osaka and a new barrier to Soviet influence from the north. The coal of Shansi and the iron of Chahar are also important considerations; Japan's growing continental empire is expected to provide a large part of the raw-material base for the heavy industry indispensable to a first-class imperial power.

Japan's second aspiration is for a government in Nanking which will be only a little less subservient than the new regime in North China. A Japanese diplomat, Mr. Toshio Shiratori, formulated an idea that would certainly find approval in Japanese military circles when he recently advocated, in terms that would suggest either naive or cynical irony, a complete Japanese military protectorate over China.

A third probable demand is for a change in the status of Shanghai, which has now twice been the scene of fierce fighting. A combination of the foreign and Chinese parts of Shanghai under a single administration with the status of a free city is an idea that finds favor in some Japanese circles. That Japanese influence in Shanghai will be immensely strengthened if the war turns our favorably may be taken for granted.

In short, "Japan over Asia" today has become a living reality, for which Japanese soldiers and sailors, and airmen go to their deaths with traditional courage, with banzais for the Emperor on their lips, and for which the Japanese masses will have to pinch and scrape still more as the war bills fall due for payment.

Then he goes on to say—and while this does not directly work in with the point which I am now attempting to develop, it is of interest:

What are the chances that Japan will realize its bold stake on the oriental empire and bring all China, in one form or another, within the orbit of its political and economic influence?

This book was published in November 1937, which was shortly after the incident at the Marco Polo Bridge.

Japan will realize its bold stake in Oriental empire, and bring all China in one form or another within the orbit of its political and economic influence. The time factor is, I believe, of vital, if not paramount, importance. If Japan can crush effective Chinese resistance within 6 months the military and political situation side of its venture will have succeeded, although the very broad question of whether Japan will have the surplus resources for effective economic exploitation will remain to be answered.

This was written in November 1937, and he says that they would have to win within 6 months in order to actually achieve victory.

On the other hand, if China after a year still has forces in the field, perhaps armed from Russia, Japan's ultimate victory is likely to prove a pyrrhic one. Financial and economic difficulties will multiply; stocks of gold and foreign exchange will run low; the country will be seriously weakened in the event of a clash with some power better armed than China.

July 1937 was a very fateful month in the history of Japan and China. It marked the beginning of what seems likely to be a decisive test of national power, a test which many people in both countries had foreseen and yet which had been postponed and evaded so often that optimists were beginning to believe that it might be escaped altogether. Every ounce of Japanese national strength has been mobilized to meet an emergency that has been steadily expanding in proportions ever since it started and that shows no signs of abating in the near future.

THE MATTER OF TIMING

Mr. President, I want for just a moment, because I think it is of interest in the general situation, to point to the timing of Japanese efforts with events in other parts of the world. I am not today presenting the far eastern problem from the point of view of its relationship with the European problem.

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However, we must recognize that it does have its relationship, that while Japan has not signed a military agreement with Italy and Germany, and cannot be considered certain to be a military ally in the event Italy and Germany should have a war against the other nations in Europe, nevertheless, there has been a certain synchronization of efforts which could not in each instance be coincidental, and I think it is of interest to consider that in connection with the timing.

It carries us clear back to the period during the World War. I pointed out the 21 demands which were made upon China by Japan, made in January and February 1915, made at a time when the rest of the world was occupied, and seriously occupied, with conditions in Europe. It was at that time that the Japanese made their demands and they attempted to keep them secret from the rest of the world. They attempted to keep their treaty, to which I referred a few moments ago, secret from the rest of the world. They did succeed in keeping their treaties with England and France secret until the time of Versailles.

Mr. KING. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LUNDEEN in the chair). Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. KING. I think the Senator might go a little further in his statement as to the synchronization of the efforts between the countries in the axis. The axis, of course, started out with Berlin and Mussolini, but it has been extended, as is conceded, I think, by Hitler and by Mussolini—to embrace Japan, and we notice that whenever there is a little tension in the east which will distract the attention of France and Great Britain, Japan then makes a reconnaissance in the Orient. She seizes the Honan, then moves to southeast China, and then makes further invasions into Canton and the neighboring country. So that they synchronize their activities. Whenever there is a little lull in the Occident, there is a recrudescence of the Japanese movements in the Orient, and vice versa. I think, as I stated on the floor of the Senate months ago, that there has been an understanding, if not a treaty, between the three powers looking toward their aiding each other in the destruction of the democratic nations.

POST ACTIVITIES

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, I intend to develop that a little more fully. I disagree to a certain extent with what the Senator from Utah has stated. I do not think it has been upon the basis of a lull in Europe; it has been during lull periods, it is true, but, nevertheless, it has been during periods when there were threats of further action in Europe that the activity in the Far East is undertaken.

Going into detail on that question, on September 8, 1931, Japanese troops guarding the South Manchurian Railway fired on a Chinese patrol alleged to have torn up some S. M. R. rails north of Mukden. Thus Japan, on a pretext, began the invasion of Manchuria 3 years after signing the Pact of Paris. This incident came at a time when the world was submerged in the greatest economic crisis yet experienced, and coincided almost to the day—September 21—when Great Britain suspended her gold payments. It also coincided with the great Chinese flood of 1931 which inundated approximately 8,000 square miles in North Kiangsu Province, east of the Grand Canal and north of the Yangtse River.

On January 18, 1932, Japan extended her attack on China to Shanghai under an equally flimsy excuse. Two Japanese were injured in a free-for-all fight in front of a Chinese factory in the Chinese area of Shanghai. There was also some rioting 3 days later. The final casualties were three Chinese injured, one dead; three Japanese injured, one dead. This incident coincided with disturbances in Spain which culminated in a general strike at Seville. It also coincided with the march here in Washington by the bonus army. I do not believe, however, there was any synchronization of those two movements. It also coincided with severe difficulties in India, during which Gandhi was arrested.

On January 10, 1933, the Japanese Army marched into the Province of Jehol, cutting it off from China and making it a

part of Manchukuo. This move coincided with more severe riots in Spain. There were general strikes at Barcelona, Valencia, and Cuenca, and Cadiz.

On November 26, 1936, Japan and Germany signed the Anti-Comintern Pact, to which Italy later adhered. This portentous event coincided with the period when the attention of practically the whole world was centered on the rebel attack on the city of Madrid.

On July 7, 1937, the Japanese troops, carrying out night maneuvers, exchanged shots with a Chinese military unit at Marco Polo Bridge in Peking. This event, which was the beginning of the present conflict, coincided with meetings of the Non-Intervention Committee on Spain. It also coincided with the further rebel attack on Madrid. July 7 was also the sixth day of the search for Amelia Earhart, lost in the Pacific Ocean. Also, at this time came the announcement of the British plan for the partition of Palestine.

On August 12, 1937, the undeclared war was extended to Shanghai. This event coincided with matters of extreme concern in Europe, principally the Anglo-Italian Pact negotiations. Subsequent events closely followed the developments of the war in Spain. The occupation of Nanking came on December 11, 1937, while the *Paray* was sunk the following day along with the destruction of three Standard Oil tankers. These two dates coincided with Mussolini's announcement in Rome of Italy's decision to withdraw from the League of Nations. In Soviet Russia the people voted by secret ballot for 1,143 candidates for election to membership in the Supreme Soviet.

The fighting in Siberia centering around Changkufeng, July 16 to August 28, 1938, was a preliminary diversion of attention from Hitler's demands on Czechoslovakia—Sudetenland absorbed October 3—and subsequent events during the following weeks served the same purpose. On October 13, Japanese troops landed in Bias Bay, entering Canton on October 21. On October 25 Hankow was occupied. This whole series of events both in Asia and in Europe not only served to divert the attention of the rest of the world, but also served to weaken the effectiveness of any moves which might have been made by the nations outside the Anti-Comintern Pact.

SEIZURE OF HAINAN

The seizure of Hainan came on February 9, 1939, at the time Hitler was in the process of taking over the whole of Czechoslovakia; also a few weeks later, on March 30, 1939, Japan extended her influence and control to the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea. This development coincided almost to the day with the surrender of Madrid.

Blockade of Tientsin in June and July of this year constituted a perfect diversion of attention from Hitler's demands on Danzig. The fighting around Lake Bor in Outer Mongolia served the purpose not only of diverting attention from Europe but also of discrediting Russia in relation to the possibility of an Anglo-Russian Pact, and also further diversion from attention to Hitler's demands on Danzig.

Mr. President, up to this time I have attempted to present two phases of this question: First, our responsibility toward China because of our relationship with the Chinese, and our treaty obligations to them; second, that Japan is in this war attempting to destroy the territorial and administrative integrity of China, in violation of the Nine Power Agreement.

I wish at this point to read the testimony of Dr. Judd on the question of the kind of war Japan is conducting in China. I read from his testimony at page 296:

The disregard for all rules of carrying on warfare; the refusal to take prisoners; the inhuman treatment of wounded Chinese soldiers, prohibiting Chinese or foreign Red Cross units to minister to their wounds or even to give them food and water; the attacks on undefended civilians as the primary "military objectives"; the unceasing diabolical assaults on Chinese women as a military measure, ordered by the high command which knew China's love of home to be her single most vulnerable spot; the taking away of tens of thousands of Chinese children between the ages of 8 and 12, allegedly to be educated in Japan as Japanese; the systematic destruction of colleges and high schools to destroy China's scholarship and trained leadership which might conceivably be able to wear out and eventually assimilate China's present conquerors as it was able to absorb her previous conquerors; the forced growth and consumption by Chinese of opium and its more

deadly derivative, heroin—all these I have seen personally, month in and month out, as the rule of Japanese conduct in China to which there is almost no exception. We used to say war was the worst of all evils in the world; but the wars we were talking about were, after all, "gentlemen's wars," mere child's play as compared to what is going on in China today. I think it is worth taking a few minutes at the outset to review these facts so we can have before us a picture of what it is we are helping along when we supply Japan with war materials; also, because this war is unquestionably a prototype of what all wars are going to be in the future (at least those waged by totalitarian states), if we allow situations to degenerate to the place where most people can see no other way out than by resorting to war. It is only as we face what the next war will surely be like that we can appreciate fully how imperative it is that we exert every effort to prevent its ever coming to us. That means trying in all proper ways to prevent its coming to anyone else either, for surely the only way we can be completely certain of keeping ourselves out of war is for there to be no war for us to get into.

AMERICA'S PARTICIPATION

Mr. President, turning to the question of what has been our participation and what is our participation in this war, there can be no question but that to a very material extent Japan is depending upon the United States for the materials which the Japanese are using in this war. We are participating in the Sino-Japanese War today. I know Senators have all read figures that we are furnishing 56 percent of the materials which might be used in the war, and I know that the Members of this Body were all shocked, knowing as they did of our treaty obligations and our relationship with China, to hear that we were furnishing 56 percent of the materials used in the war. But 56 percent is a deceptive figure, because in the matter of the most important articles the percentage we are furnishing is actually more than 56 percent. These are the figures as to some of the articles we are furnishing, figures compiled for the year 1938:

Petroleum and products, 65.57 percent.
Scrap or old iron and steel, 90.39 percent.
Ferro-alloys, 82.71 percent.
Other iron and steel semi-manufactures, 53.65 percent.
Copper, 90.89 percent.
Metals and alloys, not elsewhere specified in the list from which I am reading, 99.33 percent.
Automobiles and parts, 64.67 percent.
Metal-working machinery, 67.09 percent.
Aircraft and parts, 76.92 percent.

So that as to the very important materials, we are furnishing a much higher percentage than the 56 percent which is furnished by us on the average.

Mr. President, an interesting article appeared on June 27 of this year in the Christian Science Monitor, written by Saville R. Davis, a staff correspondent, giving the figures I have read and other figures, and giving a statement concerning our participation through the medium of the supplies which we are furnishing. I ask unanimous consent that the statement may be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of June 27, 1939]

UNITED STATES CHIEF ARMS PROVIDER TO JAPAN—DEMOCRATIC POWERS GIVE CHIEF AID TO CHINA'S ENEMY—AXIS NATIONS SUPPLY SMALL AMOUNT

(By Saville R. Davis)

WASHINGTON, June 27.—The United States is far and away the most important supplier of war materials to Japan, according to a broad and painstaking survey of world trade with that country made public by the Chinese Council for Economic Research here.

Figures were obtained by Hu Tun-yuan from official Government sources and show that the United States supplied 56 percent of all Japan's imports of the most strategic war materials in 1938—a slight increase over the year previous—as compared with only 20.7 percent supplied by the British Empire in second place, and the 8.6 percent from Netherlands India in third place.

The three nations, all interested in curbing Japanese aggression in China, controlled between them approximately 85 percent of Japan's foreign supply of these materials—a fact of prime importance in the event that economic restraining action should be attempted in future. While there are undoubtedly other sources for many of these materials, should these major suppliers adopt an embargo, the cost would be far greater and most of the commodities could not be found elsewhere in anything like the quantities needed by Japan.

FIGURES TELL STORY

The accompanying table speaks eloquently of the extent to which the United States has underwritten Japan's war on China—supplying in the past year 90 percent of the vital scrap or old iron and steel, 91 percent of the copper, 66 percent of oil and its products, 45 percent of the lead, 67 percent of the metal-working machinery, and so on.

Aircraft and parts come in a special category. In 1938, according to Dr. Hu's figures, the United States provided \$17,454,000, or 77 percent, of the world supply to Japan. This trade has since almost dried up as a result of the voluntary boycott requested by Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, in May of last year. Substantial contracts in force previous to that time were supplied during the remainder of the years, but no new licenses for export have been issued by the State Department since November 1, 1938, and in 1939, the amounts actually shipped under old contracts amounted only to \$250,000 during the 5 months up to June 1. Parenthetically, these are the State Department's figures and include only aircraft and parts considered to be for war purpose; today airplane exports to Japan as reported by the Department of Commerce were approximately \$1,000,000 in May of this year and may include materials convertible to war purposes.

Another table prepared by Dr. Hu and too lengthy to reproduce here shows what amounts of all war supplies are furnished to Japan by the democratic powers, on the one hand, and by the axis powers on the other. Even a quick glance shows the overwhelming extent of control of the situation by the democratic powers. Their column shows one high percent after another, looking down the list of commodities in the 1937 and 1938 trade with Japan; while the column of percentages supplied by the axis contains one zero after another.

HOW TRADE ROSE

Only in the case of manufactured materials has the axis any significant share and even this is greatly outweighed by the supplies from the democratic powers which dominate these categories also. Only mercury should be mentioned as an exception, being entirely supplied from the axis side.

Another table shows the extent to which the war materials trade from the United States to Japan has increased between 1937 and 1938. In terms of quantity shipments gasoline and related fuels in containers more than doubled. Lead more than tripled. Aluminum went up 172 percent. Crude petroleum went up 35 percent. Significantly, also, a great many other items fell off, the most drastic of which was iron and steel scrap, which fell from 1,912,000 tons in 1937 to 1,382,000 tons last year. This was a decline of 29 percent in quantity and 44 percent in value. This was in line with a general curtailment of scrap from all sources which partly reflected the tightening of foreign exchange resources of Japan and partly reflected the taking over of the Lungyen iron-ore deposits in Chahar, China, which were opened up at the end of 1937.

Following are the salient figures with respect to the trade of Japan with the world as a whole:

The proportion of war material imports to all other imports rose from 29 percent in 1937 to 40 percent in 1938. War-material trade fell off only 3.4 percent, whereas total trade of all sorts fell off by 30 percent between these 2 years. "This reflects," says Dr. Hu, "Japan's policy of curtailing ordinary imports in favor of commodities that are necessary to the prosecution of war." In the case of cotton and wool for Japan's greatest nonmilitary export industry, the decline of imports was great, amounting to 49 percent for cotton and 69 percent for wool.

The total of world sales of essential war materials and articles to Japan amounted to \$306,000,000 in 1938, while sales of all commodities (including war materials) amounted to \$757,700,000.

HOW UNITED STATES AIDS JAPAN SHOWN

WASHINGTON, JUNE 27.

United States share in world exports to Japan essential for war purposes in 1938, as compiled from Government sources by the Chinese Council for Economic Research:

[Value in United States dollars]

Commodity	World exports, value	United States share, value	Percent
Total.....	\$306,393,950	\$171,574,167	56.00
Hides and skins.....	7,916,835	2,652,482	33.50
Leather.....	528,369	44,676	8.46
Scrap rubber.....	14,864,069	249,792	1.68
Petroleum and products ¹	81,034,885	53,135,672	65.57
Scrap or old iron and steel.....	24,407,089	22,061,212	90.39
Ferro-alloys.....	2,819,420	2,331,979	82.71
Other iron and steel semimanufactures.....	20,973,343	11,251,804	53.65
Copper.....	24,385,546	22,163,778	90.89
Aluminum.....	13,095,231	476,345	3.63
Nickel.....	6,624,440	157,317	2.38
Lead.....	4,613,888	2,100,054	45.52
Zinc.....	2,794,622	26,768	.96
Metals and alloys, not elsewhere specified.....	321,711	319,566	99.33
Automobiles, parts, etc. ¹	18,635,299	12,050,536	64.67
Metal-working machinery ¹	36,448,527	24,454,707	67.09
Internal combustion engines ¹	1,658,875	542,637	32.71
Aircraft and parts ²	22,692,655	17,454,477	76.92
Arms and ammunition.....	696,186	100,365	14.42
All others ³	21,882,960

¹ Including shipments to Manchuria.
² Including shipments to Manchuria. United States figure for 1938 includes shipments to Shanghai.
³ Includes ores, tin, antimony, mercury, mica, and asbestos.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a table showing the value of the exports to Japan, especially for war purposes, from various countries, by commodity groups, for the years 1937 and 1938.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TABLE 1 (b).—Value of exports to Japan essential for war purposes, from various countries, by commodity groups, 1938 compared with 1937

[Value in United States dollars]

Commodity	1938		1937		Increase (+) or decrease (-)	
	Value	Per-cent of grand total	Value	Per-cent of grand total	Value	Per-cent
Grand total.....	306,393,950	100.00	317,209,688	100.00	-10,815,738	-3.40
Hides and skins.....	7,916,835	2.58	12,832,580	4.04	-4,915,745	-38.31
Leather.....	528,369	.17	2,562,460	.81	-2,034,091	-79.38
Total.....	8,445,204	2.75	15,935,040	4.85	-6,949,836	-45.14
Rubber.....	14,864,069	4.85	28,678,611	9.01	-13,814,542	-48.17
Petroleum and products.....	81,034,885	26.45	71,598,824	22.57	+9,436,061	+13.18
Ores (other than iron).....	2,242,835	.73	2,332,950	.74	-90,115	-3.86
Iron ore.....	8,361,301	2.73	8,579,161	2.70	-217,860	-2.54
Ferro-alloys.....	2,819,420	.92	1,717,712	.54	+1,101,708	+64.14
Scrap or old iron and steel.....	24,407,089	7.97	44,752,546	14.11	-20,345,457	-45.46
Other iron and steel semimanufactures.....	20,973,343	6.84	49,218,217	15.52	-28,244,874	-57.39
Total.....	56,561,153	18.46	104,267,636	32.87	-47,706,483	-45.75
Copper.....	24,385,546	7.96	20,184,773	6.36	+4,200,773	+20.81
Aluminum.....	13,095,231	4.27	4,808,810	1.52	+8,286,421	+172.32
Tin.....	8,711,639	2.84	7,404,444	2.33	+1,309,195	+17.69
Nickel.....	6,624,440	2.16	5,740,697	1.81	+883,743	+15.39
Lead.....	4,613,888	1.51	7,708,198	2.43	-3,094,310	-40.14
Zinc.....	2,794,622	.91	4,967,672	1.57	-2,173,050	-43.74
Mercury.....	404,427	.14	264,613	.08	+139,814	+52.83
Antimony.....	32,501	.01	529,367	.17	-496,866	-92.86
Metals and alloys, not elsewhere specified.....	321,711	.10	158,406	.05	+163,305	+103.39
Total.....	60,984,005	19.90	51,764,980	16.32	+9,219,025	+17.81
Mica.....	793,110	.26	468,578	.15	+324,532	+69.26
Asbestos.....	1,337,147	.44	1,362,962	.43	-25,815	-1.89
Total.....	2,130,257	.70	1,831,540	.58	+298,717	+16.31
Automobiles, parts, and accessories.....	18,635,299	6.08	16,456,036	5.19	+2,179,263	+13.24
Metal-working machinery.....	36,448,527	11.90	17,578,766	5.54	+18,869,761	+107.34
Internal-combustion engines.....	1,658,875	.54	1,139,630	.36	+519,245	+45.56
Total.....	38,107,402	12.44	18,718,396	5.90	+19,389,006	+103.58
Aircraft and parts.....	22,692,655	7.41	3,538,757	1.11	+19,153,898	+541.26
Arms and ammunition.....	696,186	.23	2,626,918	.83	-1,930,732	-73.50
Total.....	23,388,841	7.64	6,165,675	1.94	+17,223,166	+279.34

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a table showing the shares of individual countries in total exports to Japan essential for war purposes, 1938, compared with 1937. I wish to point out this upon this particular table, Mr. President, because it is of interest. I read the same figure a few minutes ago as being the total percentage of exports from the United States to Japan, being 56 percent. During 1938, while we were furnishing 56 percent, we who are not allied in any way with Japan, we whose people almost unanimously abhor the methods which Japan is using in this war, Germany who is looked upon as an ally of Japan, furnished 7.68 percent, and Italy only 0.46 percent.

In 1937 we exported to Japan 54.54 percent, Germany 3.05 percent, and Italy 0.10 percent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the table will be printed in the RECORD.

The table is as follows:

TABLE 2 (a)—Share of individual countries in total exports to Japan essential for war purposes, 1936 compared with 1937
[Value in United States dollars]

Country	1938		1937	
	Value	Percent of total	Value	Percent of total
Total	306,393,950	100.00	317,209,688	100.00
United States of America	171,574,167	56.00	173,009,621	54.54
British Malaya	28,274,857	9.23	31,802,374	10.03
Netherlands India	26,417,420	8.62	29,648,992	9.35
Germany	23,522,500	7.68	9,679,486	3.05
Canada	18,375,282	6.00	16,025,057	5.05
British India	9,590,874	3.13	10,430,513	3.29
Australia	3,911,352	1.28	6,894,226	2.17
Switzerland	3,862,547	1.26	844,848	.27
Philippines	3,277,268	1.07	1,995,740	.63
United Kingdom	3,227,182	1.05	5,690,393	1.79
Sweden	2,000,000	.65	2,525,605	.80
Argentina	1,958,317	.64	1,690,443	.53
Norway	1,829,107	.60	1,384,879	.44
Italy	1,417,021	.46	325,427	.10
Belgium and Luxemburg	1,211,527	.39	5,380,016	1.70
China	1,017,217	.33	4,495,958	1.42
France	702,478	.23	2,141,012	.68
French Indo-China	515,909	.17	2,549,974	.80
Rumania	402,480	.13	421,280	.13
Poland	387,385	.13	586,423	.18
Ecuador	210,265	.07	191,657	.06
Czechoslovakia	191,088	.06	657,103	.21
Austria	134,951	.04	0	0
Hong Kong	134,260	.04	2,330,301	.73
Mexico	120,000	.04	0	0
Netherlands	54,459	.02	0	0
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	0	0	0	0
Others ¹	2,074,037	.68	6,508,360	2.05

¹ Only those countries which export rubber, leather, and hides and skins to Japan, but which are not separately listed in table 3.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, I next ask to have inserted in the RECORD tables showing shares of various groups of countries in total exports to Japan essential for war purposes. It shows that the United States and the Philippine Islands in 1938 furnished 57.7 percent. The United Kingdom, British Malaya, Canada, British India, and Australia furnished a total of 20.69 percent. The Netherlands and Netherlands furnished 8.64 percent. France and French Indochina furnished 0.40 percent. Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Austria furnished a total of 8.24 percent. In other words, it is the so-called democracies of the world which are furnishing these supplies to Japan to be used for the purpose of destroying the territorial integrity of China and using them in the way which I have described through the testimony of Dr. Judd.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TABLE 4.—United States exports to Japan essential for war purposes, 1938 compared with 1937¹

Commodity	1938		1937		Increase (+) or decrease (-)		Percent increase (+) or decrease (-)		
	Quantity	Value (dollars)	Quantity	Value (dollars)	Quantity	Value (dollars)	Quantity	Value	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Hides and skins, raw	pounds	24,501,850	2,652,482	15,526,653	2,090,983	+8,975,197	-38,501	+57.8	-1.4
Leather			44,676		702,942		-658,266		-93.6
Scrap rubber	tons	6,533	249,792	4,524	171,362	+2,009	+78,367	+44.4	+45.7
Petroleum and products (1 barrel=42 gallons):									
Crude petroleum	barrels	21,289,572	29,955,915	15,994,669	22,102,846	+5,294,903	+7,853,069	+33.1	+35.5
Gas and fuel oil	do	5,297,464	6,675,464	6,308,194	7,139,225	-1,010,730	-463,761	-16.0	-6.5
Gasoline and other petroleum motor fuel in bulk	do	501,356	1,929,054	915,392	2,427,333	-414,036	-498,279	-45.2	-20.5
Gasoline and other petroleum motor fuel in containers	barrel	557,277	5,783,799	177,637	1,255,807	+379,640	+4,527,992	+213.7	+360.6
Lubricating oil	do	288,722	2,614,236	444,405	5,518,074	-155,653	-2,903,833	-35.0	-52.6
Residual fuel oil	do	3,029,586	2,532,365	4,044,999	3,631,890	-1,015,413	-1,099,525	-25.1	-30.3
Total, petroleum and products	do	30,963,977	49,490,833	27,885,296	42,075,175	+3,078,681	+7,415,658	+11.0	+17.6
Iron and steel semifinances (1 ton=2,240 pounds):									
Iron and steel scrap ¹	tons	1,381,801	22,061,212	1,911,508	39,385,832	-529,707	-17,324,620	-28.7	-44.0
Pig iron	do	316,280	4,886,258	499,241	9,671,678	-92,961	-4,785,420	-22.7	-49.5
Steel ingots, blooms, billets, slabs, not containing alloy	tons	91,461	3,084,566	204,562	8,754,439	-113,101	-5,669,873	-65.3	-64.8
Timplate, taggers' tin and terneplate	pounds	28,669,178	1,649,174	95,624,271	4,484,478	-66,955,093	-2,835,304	-70.0	-63.2
Iron and steel plates	do	26,945,701	713,921	226,858,110	5,972,357	-199,912,409	-5,258,436	-88.1	-83.0
Wire rods	do	24,052,087	551,021	68,012,210	1,554,490	-43,960,123	-1,003,469	-64.6	-64.6
Steel sheets, black	do	3,393,324	366,864	30,965,752	2,238,878	-27,572,428	-1,872,014	-89.0	-83.6
Total, iron and steel semifinances			\$3,313,016		72,062,152		-38,749,136		-53.8
Ferro-alloys			2,331,979		1,366,062		+965,917		+70.7

See footnotes at end of table.
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TABLE 2 (b)—Share of various groups of countries in total exports to Japan essential for war purposes
[Value in United States dollars]

Country	1938		1937	
	Value	Percent of grand total	Value	Percent of grand total
Grand total	\$306,393,950	100.00	\$317,209,688	100.00
United States of America	171,574,167	56.00	173,009,621	54.54
Philippines	3,277,268	1.07	1,995,740	.63
Total	174,851,435	57.07	175,005,361	55.17
United Kingdom	3,227,182	1.05	5,690,393	1.79
British Malaya	28,274,857	9.23	31,802,374	10.03
Canada	18,375,282	6.00	16,025,057	5.05
British India	9,590,874	3.13	10,430,513	3.29
Australia	3,911,352	1.28	6,894,226	2.17
Total	63,379,547	20.69	70,842,563	22.33
Netherlands	54,459	.02	0	0
Netherlands India	26,417,420	8.62	29,648,992	9.35
Total	26,471,879	8.64	29,648,992	9.35
France	3,227,182	1.05	2,141,012	.68
French Indo-China	515,909	.17	2,549,974	.80
Total	1,218,387	.40	4,690,986	1.48
Germany	23,522,500	7.68	9,679,486	3.05
Italy	1,417,021	.46	325,427	.10
Czechoslovakia	191,088	.06	657,103	.21
Austria	134,951	.04	0	0
Total	25,265,560	8.24	10,662,016	3.36
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	0	0	0	0
Switzerland	3,862,547	1.26	844,848	.27
Sweden	2,000,000	.65	2,525,605	.80
Argentina	1,958,317	.64	1,690,443	.53
Norway	1,829,107	.60	1,384,879	.44
Belgium and Luxemburg	1,211,527	.39	5,380,016	1.70
China	1,017,217	.33	4,495,958	1.42
Rumania	402,480	.13	421,280	.13
Poland	387,385	.13	586,423	.18
Ecuador	210,265	.07	191,657	.06
Czechoslovakia	191,088	.06	657,103	.21
Austria	134,951	.04	0	0
Hong Kong ¹	134,260	.04	2,330,301	.73
Mexico	120,000	.04	0	0
Others ²	2,074,037	.68	6,508,360	2.05
Total	15,207,142	4.96	26,359,770	8.31

¹ Hong Kong is not included in the British Empire group since it serves primarily as a transshipment point to China's southwest.

² See footnote, table 2 (a).

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, I next ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD another table showing the details of our shipments to Japan for the year 1938, compared with the year 1937. The table shows the United States exports to Japan essential for war purposes. In connection therewith I also wish to have printed in the RECORD a table showing United States exports to Kwatung, Manchuria, of essentials for war purposes, because the figures of both tables should be taken together.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The tables are as follows:

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

TABLE 4.—United States exports to Japan essential for war purposes, 1938 compared with 1937—Continued

Commodity 1	1938		1937		Increase (+) or decrease (-)		Percent increase (+) or decrease (-)	
	Quantity 2	Value (dollars) 3	Quantity 4	Value (dollars) 5	Quantity 6	Value (dollars) 7	Quantity 8	Value 9
Nonferrous metals:								
Copper:								
Refined copper in ingots, bars, or other forms								
pounds	217,879,738	21,813,071	145,688,923	17,997,004	+72,190,815	+3,816,067	+49.6	+21.2
Copper, old and scrap	3,804,560	350,707	10,838,709	1,215,430	-7,034,149	-864,723	-64.9	-71.1
Total, copper	221,684,298	22,163,778	156,527,632	19,212,434	+65,156,666	+2,951,344	+41.6	+15.4
Lead:								
Pig, bars, sheets, pipes, etc.	66,406,420	2,099,691	15,198,914	738,297	+51,207,506	+1,361,394	+336.9	+184.4
Soldier	1,300	363	113,432	16,061	-112,132	-15,698	-98.8	-97.7
Total, lead	66,407,720	2,100,054	15,312,346	754,358	+51,095,374	+1,345,696	+333.7	+178.4
Aluminum:								
Bauxite concentrates	0	0	33	2,462	-33	-2,462	-100.0	-100.0
Ingots, slabs and alloys	1,458,554	203,238	1,469,410	248,777	-10,856	-45,539	-0.7	-18.3
Plates, sheets, bars, strips, and rods	396,038	201,249	68,158	28,822	+327,880	+172,427	+481.0	+598.2
Tubes, moldings, castings, and other shapes	59,980	71,858	0	0	+59,980	+71,858		
Total, aluminum		476,345		280,061		+196,284		+70.1
Nickel: Nickel, monel metal, and alloys in ingots, bars, etc.	375,471	157,317	432,664	218,638	-57,193	-61,321	-13.2	-28.0
Zinc:								
Ore concentrates and dross (zinc)	169,232	2,093	471,446	8,736	-302,214	-6,643	-64.1	-76.0
Cast in slabs, plates, blocks, rolled in sheets, etc.	463,823	24,255	387,990	44,685	+75,833	-20,430	+19.5	-45.7
Dust	6,000	420	6,000	576	Zero	-156	Zero	-27.1
Total zinc	639,055	26,768	865,436	53,997	-226,381	-27,229	-26.2	-50.4
Other metals and alloys in primary forms		319,566		94,852		+224,714		+236.9
Total, nonferrous metals		25,243,828		20,614,340		+4,629,488		+22.4
Metal-working machinery		23,811,408		12,151,886		+11,659,522		+95.9
Internal combustion engines		412,536		433,535		-20,999		-4.8
Automobiles, parts and accessories:								
Passenger cars and chassis	1,633	695,517	6,222	3,091,664	-4,589	-2,396,147	-73.8	-77.5
Motor trucks, busses, etc.	5,802	2,091,237	10,462	3,875,283	-4,660	-1,784,046	-44.5	-46.0
Automobile parts for assembly		3,624,222		3,541,058		+83,164		+2.3
Automobile engines	7,809	959,461	11,114	1,067,786	-3,305	-108,325	-29.7	-10.1
Others		2,772,007		2,005,587		+766,420		+38.2
Total, automobiles, parts, and accessories		10,142,444		13,581,378		-3,438,934		-25.3
Arms, ammunition, and implements of war:								
Aircraft and parts		11,062,477		2,483,946		+8,578,531		+345.4
Arms and ammunition		100,365		49,038		+51,327		+4.7
Total, arms, ammunition, and implements of war		11,162,842		2,532,984		+8,629,858		+340.7
Grand total		158,855,836		168,382,799		-9,527,026		-5.6

¹ Compiled and computed from data obtained from the Division of Foreign Trade Statistics, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C. Japan includes Taiwan and Chosen.

² Including tinplate scrap and waste-waste tinplate.

TABLE 4 (a).—United States exports to Kwantung, Manchuria, essential for war purposes, 1938 compared with 1937¹

Commodity 1	1938		1937		Increase (+) or decrease (-)		Percent increase (+) or decrease (-)	
	Quantity 2	Value (dollars) 3	Quantity 4	Value (dollars) 5	Quantity 6	Value (dollars) 7	Quantity 8	Value 9
Petroleum and products (1 barrel=42 gallons):								
Crude petroleum	916,863	1,372,462	673,003	974,002	+243,860	+398,460	+36.2	+40.9
Gasoline and other petroleum motor fuel in bulk	604,035	1,526,816	373,537	1,032,284	+230,498	+494,532	+61.7	+47.9
Gasoline and other petroleum motor fuel in containers	33,062	200,282	12,619	99,600	+20,443	+100,682	+162.0	+101.1
Gas and fuel oil			276,693	424,796	-276,693	-424,796	-100.0	-100.0
Lubricating oil	54,469	545,279	25,913	294,629	+28,556	+250,650	+110.2	+85.1
Total, petroleum and products	1,608,429	3,644,839	1,361,765	2,825,311	+246,664	+819,528	+18.1	+29.0
Iron and steel semimanufactures:								
Iron and steel plates, not fabricated, not containing alloy	61,829,313	1,278,905	68,414,210	1,720,850	-6,584,897	-441,945	-9.6	-25.7
Tinplate and taggers' tin	2,845,586	144,992	42,104,043	2,110,613	-39,258,457	-1,965,621	-93.2	-93.1
Steel bars, not containing alloy	36,931,003	830,121	18,255,899	548,236	+18,675,104	+281,885	+102.3	+51.4
Steel sheets, black (ungalvanized) not containing alloy	4,805,571	112,994	2,171,299	52,949	+2,634,272	+60,045	+121.3	+113.4
Iron bars	712,034	19,373			+712,034	+19,373		
Total, iron and steel semimanufactures		2,356,355		4,432,648		-2,046,263		
Ferro-alloys:		14,880				14,880		
Refined copper, ingots, bars, etc.	5,545,330	589,249	972,627	125,445	+4,572,703	+463,804	+470.1	+369.7
Lead	628,556	21,274	112,066	5,720	+516,490	+15,554	+460.9	+271.9
Aluminum	16,508	19,513	3,276	478	+13,232	+19,035	+403.9	+3,982.2
Automobiles, including parts and accessories		1,908,092		1,624,853		+283,239		+17.4
Metal-working machinery		643,299		71,638		+571,661		+798.0
Internal-combustion engines		130,101		105,020		+25,081		+23.9
Arms and ammunition		25		2,073		-2,048		-98.8
Grand total		9,357,657		9,193,186		+164,471		+1.8

¹ Compiled and computed from data obtained from the Division of Foreign Trade Statistics, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I also ask to have printed in the RECORD at this point a table showing our share in world exports to Japan essential for war purposes.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

TABLE 6.—United States share in world exports to Japan essential for war purposes
(Value in United States dollars)

Commodity	1938			1937		
	World exports (value)	United States share		World exports (value)	United States share	
		Value	Per-cent		Value	Per-cent
Total.....	306,393,950	171,574,167	56.00	317,209,688	173,009,621	54.54
Hides and skins.....	7,916,835	2,652,482	33.50	12,832,550	2,690,983	20.97
Leather.....	528,369	44,676	8.46	2,562,460	702,942	27.43
Rubber.....	14,864,069	249,792	1.68	28,678,611	171,362	.60
Petroleum and products ¹	81,034,885	53,135,672	65.57	71,598,824	44,900,486	62.71
Scrap or old iron and steel.....	24,407,089	22,061,212	90.39	44,752,546	30,385,832	68.01
Ferro alloys.....	2,819,420	2,331,979	82.71	1,717,712	1,366,062	79.53
Other iron and steel semimanufactures.....	20,973,343	11,251,804	53.65	49,218,217	32,676,320	66.39
Copper.....	24,385,546	22,163,778	90.89	20,184,773	19,212,434	95.18
Aluminum.....	13,095,231	476,345	3.63	4,808,810	280,061	5.82
Nickel.....	6,624,440	157,317	2.38	5,740,697	218,638	3.81
Lead.....	4,613,888	2,100,054	45.52	7,708,198	754,358	9.79
Zinc.....	2,794,622	26,768	.96	4,997,672	53,997	1.09
Metals and alloys, not elsewhere specified.....	321,711	319,560	99.33	158,406	94,852	59.88
Automobiles, parts and accessories ¹	18,635,209	12,050,536	64.67	16,456,036	15,206,231	92.41
Metal-working machinery ¹	36,448,527	24,454,707	67.09	17,578,766	12,223,524	69.53
Internal-combustion engines ¹	1,658,875	542,637	32.71	1,139,630	538,555	47.26
Aircraft and parts ²	22,692,656	17,454,477	76.92	3,538,757	2,483,946	70.19
Arms and ammunition.....	696,186	100,365	14.42	2,626,918	49,038	1.87
All others ³	21,882,960	None	None	20,940,075	None	None

¹Including shipments to Manchuria.

²Including shipments to Manchuria. United States figure for 1938 includes shipments to Shanghai.

³Including ores, tin, antimony, mercury, mica, and asbestos.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I also ask to have inserted in the RECORD a table showing the percentage contribution of democratic countries having interest in the Far East—group 1—and of axis powers—group 2—to various materials shipped to Japan.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

TABLE 7.—Percentage contribution of democratic countries having interests in Far East (group I) and of axis powers (group II) to various war materials shipped to Japan¹

Commodity	1938, percent of total		1937, percent of total	
	Group I	Group II	Group I	Group II
Hides and skins.....	48.72	0	43.50	0
Leather.....	68.89	9.37	70.68	10.50
Rubber.....	95.06	0	88.26	0
Petroleum and products.....	99.09	0	99.14	0
Ores (iron, manganese, etc.).....	99.21	0	90.54	.04
Scrap or old iron and steel.....	99.23	0	97.73	0
Ferroalloys.....	90.45	.70	81.66	0
Other iron and steel semimanufactures.....	88.76	.91	84.68	1.65
Copper.....	99.95	0	98.73	0.23
Aluminum.....	49.60	16.22	77.64	5.22
Tin.....	99.14	0	83.59	0
Nickel.....	100.00	0	89.33	0
Lead.....	99.86	0	99.50	0
Zinc.....	71.85	1.52	74.96	.33
Antimony.....	0	0	0	0
Mercury.....	0	100.00	0	100.00
Metals and alloys, n. e. s.....	99.33	0	59.88	0
Mica.....	100.00	0	100.00	0
Asbestos.....	100.00	0	100.00	0
Automobiles, parts and accessories.....	64.80	35.20	93.46	6.54
Metal-working machinery.....	71.25	26.61	73.95	21.88
Internal-combustion engines.....	32.71	40.94	47.26	47.52
Aircraft and parts.....	77.03	22.97	71.64	28.36
Arms and ammunition.....	14.42	40.96	1.87	96.39

¹ Group I includes (1) United States and Philippines; (2) British Empire—United Kingdom, British Malaya, Canada, British India, and Australia; (3) Netherlands and Netherland India; (4) France and French Indochina. Group II includes Germany and Italy, as well as Austria and Czecho-Slovakia.

PROFITS IN WAR

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, there can be no question in anyone's mind that we are actively participating in the war which Japan is conducting in China. As a matter of fact I do not know but the position of the Japanese might be considered a little more honorable than ours. They at least are sending out their men who are taking a chance on being killed. We do not take any chances on our lives in that war. All we do is to send our goods and materials over there that they use for military purposes and we get the profit out of it.

Mr. President, there has been much discussion in the Congress during the last 5 or 6 years about the question of profits in war. There has been and is a very sincere desire upon the part of the Congress, if it is possible, to work out legislation by which to prevent profits to accrue to our citizens from war, if we should be so unfortunate as to get into one. But certainly we cannot justify that sort of a position so long as we are actively furnishing to a nation in the world the supplies and the materials from which her munitions are manufactured for the purpose of destroying another nation, when we ourselves are obligated under the terms of a treaty to respect the territorial integrity of that nation.

What difference is there so far as international morality is concerned between furnishing the soldiers to shoot the bullets and providing the material with which the bullets are made? What difference is there so far as international morality is concerned between furnishing the driver of the truck or furnishing the truck and the gasoline that goes to operate that truck? What difference so far as international morality is concerned between furnishing the pilots who operate the airplane and the men in that airplane who pull the gadgets that let the bomb go down to destroy the lives of the people in the community and the nation that furnishes the gasoline which propels that airplane?

We have taken a high and lofty position in world affairs. We have told the nations of the world that we insist upon respect for treaties. We tell the nations of the world that our hands are clean and that we are "holier than anybody else." We claim the right to pick and choose our friends, because some of them violate treaties and others do not.

In our actions in reference to Japan and by our violation of the Nine Power Pact, we become just as flagrant a violator of international agreements as any other nation in the world. And it does not speak very well for us to be casting reflection upon other nations when we, just because we can make some money out of it, just because we can make the profits out of it, proceed to furnish, I think, probably 70 percent—I have not attempted to segregate these figures, but, as I pointed out, it is 56 percent of the total amount, and I think 70 percent of the really essential material that Japan is using in the transaction of this war.

What is the attitude of our people on this subject, Mr. President? I introduced this resolution to which I referred some weeks ago. Since I have been in the Congress I have never seen such a favorable response. And I was not surprised a couple of weeks ago in reading the Gallup poll, the last poll, which was printed on July 23, to find what the replies were. The question was submitted to people throughout the country:

How far do you think United States Government should go to protect American interests in China?

This was not the question I am presenting. I said at the outset that I did not present this problem from the point of view of protecting American interests in China at all. I presented it from the point of view of our responsibility and our obligation as a nation under a treaty into which we have entered.

But the question was presented upon a basis which, to my mind, would receive much more unfavorable response than the question as I presented it. They asked:

- How far do you think we should go? What should we do?
1. Fight Japan?
 2. Protest to Japan?
 3. Stop shipments of war materials?
 4. Do nothing?

The answers were, 4 percent of the people wanted to fight, 18 percent wanted to protest, 51 percent wanted to stop shipments, and only 25 percent wanted to do nothing.

In other words, basing their answers upon what it seems to me should be a much less popular question than the one I would suggest, 75 percent of the people who were queried, answered that we should take some sort of action, and the majority of them answered that we should stop our shipment of goods, 4 percent, saying that we actually should go over there to fight.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD at this point that particular portion of the article which refers to the Gallup poll in the United States, upon that question. I do not ask that the part with reference to the English poll be included.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VOTERS FAVOR EMBARGO ON WAR MATERIALS TO JAPAN, POLL SHOWS AMERICAN VOTEERS FEEL THEIR GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROTECT INTERESTS IN CHINA BY TAKING ACTION

(By Dr. George Gallup, Director, American Institute of Public Opinion.)

PRINCETON, N. J., July 22.—As the war between Japan and China enters its third year, majority sentiment in the United States, as indicated in a survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion, favors taking positive action to protect American interests in China.

Only one-fourth of the voters in the survey think the United States Government should "do nothing" about China. The remaining three-fourths favor three definite courses of action. One group—a small one—thinks the United States should fight Japan. A second slightly larger group is content to have the State Department merely lodge protests with the Japanese Government whenever American interests in China appear to be molested. A third group, the largest numerically, believes that the proper course of action is to stop all shipments of American arms and war material to the Japanese forces.

The survey was conducted among a cross-section of voters in every State on the question: "How far do you think the United States Government should go to protect American interests in China?"

Voters were given their choice of four policies which the Government might follow. Should the United States, they were asked:

1. Fight Japan?
2. Protest Japan through the State Department?
3. Stop all shipments of war materials from this country to Japan?
4. Do nothing?

The vote was as follows:

	Percent
Fight.....	6
Protest.....	18
Stop shipments.....	51
Do nothing.....	25

VOTERS IN FAR WEST STRONGEST FOR ACTION

The American survey revealed a number of interesting differences of opinion by geographical sections. The far West, which includes the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast States, is the section most in favor of taking action to protect American interests in China. The vote in favor of "doing nothing" was lower in the far West than anywhere else in the country, perhaps because that area is geographically the closest to Japan and most affected by events in the Pacific.

The vote by sections:

	Fight	Stop ship- ments	Protest	Do nothing
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
New England.....	7	44	15	34
Middle Atlantic.....	4	49	20	27
East Central.....	5	50	17	28
West Central.....	7	46	18	29
South.....	11	50	18	21
Far West.....	9	61	15	15

AVERAGE CITIZEN EXPLAINS ATTITUDE

In explaining their attitude toward Japan voters in the American survey gave a wide variety of reasons for favoring action. Those who favor the most extreme course—fighting Japan—declared that the United States "will have to fight Japan sooner or later" and that we should help "stop the gangster nations."

Those who favor an embargo on war materials to Japan echoed the sentiment of one voter, a housewife in Troy, N. Y., who said: "If we don't believe in war, why do we furnish the materials of war?"

Others argued that since Japan "cannot fight without supplies" the quickest way to clear up the issue of American rights in China would be to stop shipment of war materials to Japan.

In the group who favor an embargo or merely a series of protests through the State Department were many who took the view that the American people should not be expected to fight for the protection of purely commercial interests in China. As one voter put it:

"Why should we go to war to protect a few industrialists over there? The businessmen—and the missionaries—should remain there at their own risk."

WHAT AMERICANS SAY

Following are the results of a national survey of public opinion on the issue of what the United States should do to protect her interests in China:

"How far do you think the United States Government should go to protect American interests in China?"

	Percent
(a) Fight Japan.....	6
(b) Protest to Japan through the State Department.....	18
(c) Stop all shipments of war materials from this country to Japan.....	51
(d) Do nothing.....	25

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. At this point in my remarks I wish to have printed in the RECORD a number of excerpts from newspaper editorials from every part of the country showing the attitude of the newspaper editors upon this question.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of July 7, 1939]

It is with shame that most Americans learn that American metals and other war goods have been available to Japan during these last 24 horrible months.

[From the Christian Science Monitor of June 30, 1939]

Relations with Japan have one very curious aspect. The United States supplies most of the raw materials with which Japan makes armaments, with which she orders United States ships out of Chinese harbors. It's just like kicking oneself.

[From the Strasburg (Va.) North Virginia Daily of November 10, 1938]

We seem to have sold our birthright of trans-Pacific trade for a mass of munitions money.

[From the Conneaut (Ohio) News Herald of November 10, 1938]

Thus we lose the incalculable opportunities for the future that could have been expected from a revitalized, modernized China leagued with us in friendly trade. And we lose it largely by our own short-sightedness in selling to Japan most of the gasoline, steel, and other materials with which she has won her undeclared war. For transient millions we have given future billions.

[From the Alliance (Ohio) Review of November 8, 1938]

The most recent protest by the State Department against Japanese interference with American trade with China contained a veiled hint of possible retaliation.

A large part of our export trade to Japan since the beginning of its undeclared war on China has been in materials essential to the conduct of war and the supply of which Japan would hardly like to see cut off.

[From the Jamestown (N. Y.) Post of December 12, 1938]

We cannot afford longer to be a party to Japan's ruthless murder of civilian men, women, and children.

[From the Oswego (N. Y.) Semiweekly Times of January 6, 1939]

It is a situation which fills increasing numbers of Americans with deep concern and shame. We are, in effect, fighting with Japan against China although the overwhelming sympathies of our people are on the other side. Japan by herself alone, without these exports, could not possibly prosecute the war.

[From the Washington (D. C.) Post of January 5, 1939]

It is the overwhelming sentiment of the American people that military action against Japan must be ruled out.

Specifically, an embargo on Japanese goods might be imposed and, if it is necessary to go further, the United States might, through Congress, place an embargo on all exports to Japan.

[From the Athens (Ga.) Herald of January 12, 1939]

We hope that Congress will no longer delay its action in prohibiting the shipment of such large quantities of scrap iron, especially to unfriendly nations.

[From the Washington Star of January 10, 1939]

If it is right to withhold aircraft and bombs from Japan, why not scrap iron, which is so essential to the production of munitions?

[From the Christian Science Monitor of November 8, 1938]

Nevertheless, Americans in general feel some shame that their munitions have played a large part in the assault on China. Something can be done about this. Congress' first job should be to empower the President to stop this traffic to Japan.

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News of December 21, 1938]

We lose little by risking Japan's resentment, since Japan has no plans that would benefit us anyway.

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) Star of April 28, 1939, the Auburn (Ind.) Courier of May 2, 1939, and the Muncie (Ind.) Star of April 25, 1939]

There is almost complete national unity in sentiment regarding the shipment of munitions and war-making materials to Japan. The country may be divided on the neutrality issue. It resents deeply, however, the continued flow of supplies to the Japanese and deplores the failure of our Government to place an embargo on such shipments.

It may be true that other sources of supply might be available, although there is no other country with such resources open to export. Japan's anti-Communist allies can spare little. Russia is not aiding a prospective enemy and the democracies of Europe are conserving their supplies. America remains as a major aid to the Japanese in their conquest. If right and justice are joined with sentiment, an embargo should be placed on war materials to nations which obviously are aggressor or have violated treaties to respect territorial integrity of neighbors. Japan stands indicted on both of these counts.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer of November 20, 1938]

Japan will be only too glad to receive financing from the Occident to develop China. It now appears that the next step will be for western nations—particularly the United States and Britain—to decide whether they will finance Japan in explaining the fruits of her undeclared war. To do so would be to make permanent their own exclusion from the Asiatic commodity market.

[From the New York Post of June 22]

In this connection let us remember that the United States supplies Japan with more than 50 percent of her munitions, much of her oil, and with close to a million tons of scrap iron and steel annually. If Japan flouts a treaty she has signed, we are certainly under no obligation to sell her munitions, oil, or metal. We can embargo.

We think an embargo on all munitions and metal to Japan is the way. It won't bring war; the embargo alone draws Japan's sting. It might lead to a reintegration of world relations. Surely each nation has the same obligation to act lawfully against disregard of its rights, as has each citizen in a democracy to act against willful disregard of his rights.

[From the Alton (Ill.) Telegraph of April 19, 1939]

There can be no condoning the shipping of scrap iron and other war necessities to Japan when it is being used for imperialistic exploitation of China.

America's interest in stopping Japan is that soon or late Japan will be stepping into the Philippines, maybe using our own war materials to enforce seizure of the islands.

[From the Alliance (Ohio) Review of June 26, 1939]

The spectacle of congressional confusion on foreign policy encourages Japan.

It happens that Japan is extremely vulnerable to the kind of nonmilitary pressure which the United States could easily apply against her. More than half of all the strategic raw materials that Japan needs for the conduct of the undeclared war on China comes from the United States.

The Japanese do not underestimate the strength and importance of the United States. That is left for overtimorous Members of Congress.

[From the Detroit (Mich.) Evening News of March 12, 1939]

We in America, however, need nothing but determination to stop us from helping Japan conquer China. Our denunciation of the dictators and pressure for the open door would come with better grace from a nation that was not supplying Japan with a large share of raw materials, without which her chances of whipping China would dwindle considerably.

[From the Seattle (Wash.) Post Intelligencer of March 24, 1939]

Japan's warfare against China already has injured Pacific coast business severely.

It is daily growing more evident that one phase of the business that still exists—the shipment of scrap iron for replenishment of Japanese armaments—is repugnant to the conscience of our people.

Insistence upon continuance of this traffic holds a menace far outweighing the possible monetary profits.

It is time that this viewpoint should be expressed at Washington by members of the Pacific coast congressional delegations, with the full support of their constituents.

The only practicable solution is to embargo scrap iron.

169329—17262

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Morning Sun of March 12, 1939]

Nobody, surely not China, is asking us to send an army to rescue China or even to take a long-shot chance of becoming involved in a war. But it does not seem unreasonable to withdraw from our partnership with Japan, which we cannot do until we recover from the Nye notion that the United States of America must continue a foreign policy consisting in raising the hands in holy horror over the conduct of "both sides" while we supply copper and trucks and chemicals to the side whose triumph is rightly feared by our diplomats and our people.

[From the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch of February 11, 1939]

The results of our present policy are painfully clear. The story of how we fueled Japan's war machine during the conquest of coastal China has been told before. Most of Japan's steel shortage is made up by United States shipments. All of its special steel alloys come from this country. We supply over 90 percent of Japan's oil, copper, and scrap imports. Its 1938 scrap purchases, thanks to 500,000 tons bought after Canton fell, closely approximate the 1937 record of 2,000,000 tons. Its copper buying in 10 months of 1938 exceeded that for all 1937.

[From the Burlington (Vt.) Free Press of February 14, 1939]

Burlington is getting organized to join in the growing movement throughout the country to stop shipments of war materials to Japan, and to stop the purchase of Japanese goods which are playing a large part in financing the Japanese invasion of China.

It is stated on the authority of figures assembled by the Department of Commerce that 90 percent of the automobiles and trucks used by the Japanese were imported from the United States. Statistics gathered by competent authority show that 54 percent of all Japanese war materials were imported from the United States.

[From the Elkhart (Ind.) Truth of February 9, 1939]

Sympathizing with the Chinese as they do, most Americans do not realize that it is conservatively estimated that the United States has contributed \$300,000,000 or more of war materials to Japan for its murderous assault on China.

While of late our State Department has discouraged the sale of airplanes to Japan, scrap iron, cotton, and other materials have been going to that country in large quantities.

[From the Roanoke (Va.) World of February 23, 1939]

During the past 5 years, 12,000,000 tons of scrap iron have been exported from the United States, of which Japan has taken 7,500,000 tons, or nearly two-thirds. Without that metal, it is asserted, Japan could not have conducted its war of destruction in China. At the very time we are arming against Japanese aggression, constructing new battleships and discussing new naval bases, we are supplying Japan with one of the most essential elements of war making, an element in which Japan is most deficient. The exportation of scrap is still going on. Large fortunes have been made in America by reason of the world market for scrap. And each cargo of scrap metal shipped from our shores has drawn just that much away from the supply necessary for our own defense.

[From the Washington Post of February 23, 1939]

Had we refused to supply Japan with a virtually unlimited amount of scrap metal, it is almost certain that that country could not have prosecuted its ruthless campaign in China. We have, under the cloak of neutrality, not only made it possible for "our next probable enemy" to obtain essential materials for war against one of our friends but have at the same time cut seriously into our own supply of materials that would be urgently needed if we were confronted with a sudden emergency. We have been guilty of a tragic inconsistency in this matter—as we have in the matter of supplying Japan with other munitions—bitterly deploring Japanese savagery in China while permitting the aggressor without interruption to draw upon us for the materials which have made that aggression possible.

[From the Springfield (Ohio) News of February 14, 1939]

Twelve million tons of scrap iron have been exported from the United States in the last 5 years. Seven and a half million of these tons have gone to Japan. Japan has bled China with the scrap iron which we supplied.

In return for our iron Japan sent us mostly silk and shipped us some gold.

The silk wore out. The gold was buried in the Kentucky hills. The scrap iron was lost forever to the United States. It was shot away in Japan's war.

The transaction stands a total loss, the ruin of China being the deepest item in the "red."

[From the La Porte (Ind.) Herald of February 18, 1939]

Another voice has been raised against the shipment of scrap iron from our shores to Japan where it is eagerly sought to help carry on the conquest in China. Most of the cries of protest have come from individuals whose humanitarian feelings revolted against having the United States in the role of aider and abettor of war, of profiting in human blood and suffering. The statistics show

that our sale of scrap iron to Japan grew by leaps and bounds after the conquest of China began. The Japanese needed the metal for carrying on the war, being short on iron and steel of all kinds. The new voice who protests against our continued shipping of scrap metal to Japan or any place is Emory E. Smith, dollar-a-year Commissioner for the War Industries Board. The wholesale exporting of scrap iron is weakening our own position, he claims, until in case we should become involved in any war the shortage of scrap iron might tell the story against us.

[From the Sioux City (Iowa) Journal of March 9, 1939]

It is common sense to say that embargoes on goods to Japan and a free flow of goods to China would have protected American interests in the Far East through making the Tokyo Government aggressive campaign against the Chinese more difficult. So the Neutrality Act operated not only against China's interests but against our own.

[From the Albion (Mich.) Recorder of February 20, 1939]

We are now selling Japan more than 54 percent of the military supplies and munitions that enable her to carry on the aggression against China, and that without our help Japan could not continue. Some of these same munitions of American origin are even causing death and suffering to Americans in Chinese territory and damage to American property. At the same time, our Government is building up a vast military and naval machine to combat the very Japanese threat to supremacy in the Pacific it is aiding by allowing export of military supplies to Japan. There's something decidedly wrong in this picture.

[From the Athens (Ga.) Herald of March 8, 1939]

Congress should enact a law placing an embargo on the sale of scrap iron to foreign countries. It is a well-known fact that practically all of these nations making potential purchases are engaged in war or are preparing for fortifying themselves against attacks or defense for self-preservation.

While, of course, the American people are desirous of making every dollar they can by sales of all kinds of products, the sale of scrap iron is entirely different from the sale of commercial products to these countries.

[From the Morgantown (W. Va.) Dominion of March 9, 1939]

Italy, Japan, and Germany have been the big purchasers of scrap iron, the basic material for war munitions. Some exports claim that had we refused to sell scrap iron to the three nations named there would have been no war in China, no threat of war in Europe, because the nations mentioned could not have afforded to provide their war materials from metals available only from ores found in their own territories.

[From the Fort Worth (Tex.) Star-Telegram of March 14, 1939]

The nonofficial position that the United States has actually held toward nations at war in recent years has been both ridiculous and hypocritical. Lip service has been given to "righteous causes" in the Orient and in Europe, while American trade has poured millions of tons of iron and steel into Japan, Germany, and Italy. Other materials and supplies essential to the conduct of war has been furnished aggressors openly regarded as potential enemies of this country. The attitude is the same as that of the individual who professes loyalty to ideals which he ignores in the so-called necessities of daily living.

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Times of March 10, 1939]

But the situation remained unhappy because there was no way of preventing Japan from buying essential war materials in this country and taking them home, while it was almost impossible for China to do this. America thus has seen Chinese cities bombed with airplanes driven by American gasoline and Chinese soldiers and civilians shot down with arms and munitions manufactured from American scrap iron.

Here has been a dramatic illustration of the impossibility of framing rigid legislation to apply to American relations with a rapidly changing world.

[From the Winchester (Va.) Star of January 27, 1939]

Worst of all, citizens of the United States are aiding Japan to destroy China. While Americans condemn the Japanese outrages in China and its cruelties to helpless civilians, as well as the insolent attitude of Japan toward us, we go ahead, for dollars, supplying that nation with the sinews of war—scrap iron, oil, steel, trucks—all more necessary to her than manufactured munitions.

While we spend billions of dollars for armaments to protect us against the threats of such nations as Germany and Japan, we ship them supplies with which they can carry out their ambitions and menace our own security. This does not make sense.

We have not only the moral duty to stop this but the legal right, since Japan is warring upon China in violation of a solemn treaty of peace, of which the United States is a party.

[From the Salt Lake City (Utah) Deseret News of February 24, 1939]

The American people from the beginning of the Japanese invasion of China should have demanded with united voice that

America should not be a sharer in Japan's war guilt. Aiding Japan to conquer China does not make sense, neither does it make right or justice. It violates the moral sense of the American people.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Journal of January 26, 1939]

It is sheer folly for American factories to supply Japan with a large part of the munitions for her savage attack on China's independence.

[From the Washington (N. C.) Progress of January 25, 1939]

Millions of people in this country have not been able to reconcile the well nigh universal abhorrence of Japanese ruthlessness in China with the almost complete freedom with which Japan has continued to purchase war supplies in America.

[From the Bluefield (W. Va.) Telegraph of January 24, 1939]

If it is this Nation's foreign policy in this particular case to say we do not approve and endorse Japan's aggression in China and the implications thereof, then we certainly should not contribute as a people to such aggression.

[From the Washington (D. C.) Star of January 22, 1939]

Uncle Sam is the world's great purveyor of one of the basic raw stuffs from which death-dealing implements of war are fabricated.

But it seems inconsistent that we should be furnishing certain potential enemies of the United States with the basic material for weapons that may some day be turned against these shores and our own citizens.

[From the Monrovia (Calif.) Journal of January 26, 1939]

The American attitude toward the Japanese militarists is as well known in Tokyo as it is here, and these facts, therefore, will not come as news to the Nippon leaders. What is significant, however, is that the United States, as well as other nations, may actually take a vital part in a conflict between two foreign countries without sending armed forces abroad. Economic sanctions, indeed, may prove to be one of the most important measures for maintaining world peace.

[From the Lenoir (N. C.) Topic of January 13, 1939]

Japan has secured millions upon millions of dollars in supplies, consisting of junk and other war materials, with which they have waged ruthless war upon China while America has become horrified at the atrocities and murderous destruction of innocent men, women, and children in China. Destruction wrought by the very material they purchased from us.

[From the Durham (N. C.) Sun of February 6, 1939]

While then we are becoming more jittery year by year over the tension between this country and Japan, we are definitely making it possible for Japan to acquire military and economic status which make her dangerous to our own interests. Without the supplies sold Japan by the United States Japan could not approach the military strength it has reached and the potential strength which impends. Japan could not conquer and so command a vast range of raw materials and a great reservoir of bond-servant labor.

Since here in America we do not hesitate to take any economic advantage, even to buying Japanese goods while our own mills close down, there is not reason to believe why the Japanese, whom we consider less enlightened, will seize every advantage. If we cut off Japan's American supplies, we shall lose some money. If we do not, however, we may see our entire economic system shaken to its roots. Is it that we do not care about the America of the future? Do we dismiss the dark prospect with the mental reflection that it will not come until we have passed on? Do we simply intend to grab all we can for ourselves while we live, confident that we shall be dead before the consequences fall?

[From the Springfield (Ohio) News of February 6, 1939]

American scrap iron is fighting Japan's war against the Chinese. Our junked automobiles and other metal worn-out things cross to the West by the trainload for transshipment to the Japanese factories which turn our junk into instruments of death.

[From the Youngstown (Ohio) Indicator-Telegraph of January 14, 1939]

Shipments of steel scrap and other war materials are still going to Japan, and most Americans would be pleased to have Mr. Hull extend his request, so that our assistance would be denied any nation which bombs civilians.

[From the Carrolltown (Pa.) News of February 16, 1939]

The Congressmen who are so concerned over the shipment of planes to France do not seem to be worried about the purchases of oil that Japan is making in this country. Neither did they tear their hair about the immense quantities of scrap iron that Japan bought in this country evidently in preparation for her attack upon China.

[From the Jackson (Mich.) Citizen-Patriot of January 21, 1939]

A complete shut-down on the shipment of all war materials to Japan by United States, France, and England will be more effective than all the notes sent so far, and there have been plenty of them.

[From the Sheridan (Wyo.) Press of January 27, 1939]

The realization is spreading over the country that for some time we have been very greatly helping the Japanese conquest of China by furnishing to Japan material and supplies without which she could not conduct her Chinese campaign and which she probably could not get in sufficient quantities from any other country at this time. That is not a welcome thought to the majority of our people who not only sympathize with the Chinese but also do not look with complacency on the prospect of an aggressive and ambitious Japan dominating the Far East.

[From the Staunton (Va.) Leader of January 28, 1939]

Popular opinion is against furnishing war supplies to Japan and to do so while we simultaneously protest against air attacks on Chinese cities and extend credits to China is inconsistent, doing violence to our sympathies with China.

[From the Lakeland (Fla.) Ledger and Star-Telegram of December 29, 1938]

But Japan is violating every pledge and promise made with regard to the rights of other countries in China.

Other powers, including the United States, can wage an economic war against the aggressor that will count.

[From the Tacoma (Wash.) News-Tribune of November 8, 1938]

Is it not hypocritical to issue high-sounding pronouncements against Japanese aggression and at the same time sell enormous amounts of material to Japan to carry on that aggression?

[From the Lake Charles (La.) Press of December 27, 1938]

There is little fear of American war with Japan, which has its hands full. It seems safe, and it is probably the honorable and wise thing to do, to provide more liberal credits for China within the limitations of international law. This is not mere partisanship but fairness and decency, because we have been helping the aggressor by selling Japan huge war supplies. It is high time for China to "get a break."

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle of December 21, 1938]

By denying the United States free trade with China Japan can hardly be placing herself in the category of "friendly" nations, and therefore should not regard as strange any friendly gesture that this country made with respect to China.

[From the Providence (R. I.) Bulletin of December 21, 1938]

We should be closing our eyes to reality if we did not admit that this is so: That we have indicated our wish to see the Chinese Government strengthened to continue the resistance to Japan.

[From the New Haven (Vt.) News of December 29, 1938]

Officially our Government protests loudly against Japan's action in closing the open door in China, and all the while in the name of neutrality we allowed Japan to purchase in 1 month 320 tons of iron to be used in closing trade doors in China. While some of our citizens protested against the invasion of China, other citizens made about \$3,000,000 in November by selling iron to the invaders.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Morning Globe of December 21, 1938]

Credits to embattled China are but one weapon in the arsenal of retort to such tactic. Another, more devastating, is still reserved. It is a flat embargo upon her goods, because of her discriminatory policy against us in China. Such embargo is within the power of Washington under the Commerce Act. And it is about time it was used.

[From the Owensboro (Ky.) Messenger of January 19, 1938]

If Britain and the United States wish to protect their own interests in the Far East they can do so only by refusing in any way to aid Japan in her aggressions in Asia.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer of January 29, 1939]

While we cry crocodile tears over the slaughter in China, our manufacturers earn big profits from the sale of munitions to the robber nation. Fifty-four percent of the war supplies used by Japan are supplied by the United States. England is next in line with a mere 17 percent of the total war material.

[From the Benzenia (Mich.) Banner of January 26, 1939]

Altruists is a good title for the great majority of our American citizens; this is evident considering the firm stand they are taking against supplying Japan with war material with which to destroy China.

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[From the Anniston (Ala.) Star of January 22, 1939]

There may be a temporary profit in these sales to Japan, but in the long run they will be used to erect a Frankenstein that will destroy our Far Eastern trade entirely.

[From the Worcester (Mass.) Gazette of January 21, 1939]

The airplane ban against Japan is now complete. But there is no ban on the supply of scrap iron, oil, steel, and trucks. And these products are more necessary to Japan than manufactured munitions.

[From the Brunswick (Ga.) News of January 14, 1939]

Secretary Hull and his associates are to be commended for cutting off the American source of supply to those nations inhumane enough to bomb women and children and other noncombatants.

[From the Richmond (Va.) News Leader of February 7, 1939]

Nothing that Americans can do at this time will so menace the future of the Far East as for us to lend Japan money with which to exploit China and thereby to enslave the Chinese.

[From the Detroit (Mich.) Evening News of February 2, 1939]

Sharp distinction between cases accounts for the stoppage of sales of American war planes to Japan while their sale to France at the same time is allowed. If not technically, Japan actually is at war with China; she is a violator of trade and political treaties, a discriminator against the United States.

[From the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times of January 25, 1939]

We sell Japan old junk from which bullets are made and lend China money with which bullets are bought.

[From the Laurel (Del.) State Register of January 27, 1938]

Americans will welcome the news that moral suasion has ended the situation by which the United States was supplying airplanes for Japan's bombing of Chinese civilians.

[From the Oskaloosa (Iowa) Herald of November 5, 1938]

The American people are not exactly happy to know that Japan is using American gasoline for its bombing planes and American material in its Army equipment for the unjustified invasion of China.

[From the Lafayette (Ind.) Evening Courier of December 29, 1938]

To the average persons, declares the Danville (Ill.) Commercial-News, the spectacle of Japan drawing much of her war material from the United States, whose people are overwhelmingly against the tactics and objects, is objectionable.

[From the Ithaca (N. Y.) Journal of December 7, 1938]

No one wants the United States to go to war with Japan over China, but it does not appear, on the other hand, as the situation has developed, that we must necessarily continue to supply Japan with the sinews of war.

[From the Christian Science Monitor of July 1, 1939]

The Christian Science Monitor a few days ago published figures as to the size of the American stake in the Japanese war making in China. The fell work that those implements have done cannot be matched since the Dark Ages. It is time that Japan, Government and military, were told that this kind of "cooperation" will no longer be afforded.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I have said repeatedly that I do not present this matter from the point of view of our interest in China, and I do not present it from that point of view. However, I have heard the statement made that as a result of any action upon our part we would lose our cotton business in China, and I present data, not in the nature of an affirmative argument but in answer to those who are interested from the point of view of cotton. I shall not read it. But I ask permission to have placed in the RECORD two brief studies made by the Department of Agriculture and one argument in the magazine Contemporary Manchuria, found on page 44 of that magazine for January of this year, entitled "The Cotton Industry in North China."

There being no objection, the two studies and the article referred to were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRENDS AND POSSIBILITIES OF COTTON PRODUCTION IN CHINA
(By Fred J. Rossiter, agricultural economist, Bureau of Agricultural Economics)

China is the third most important cotton-producing country, being exceeded only by the United States and India. Cotton production in China has increased more than a million bales during the past 5 years. This recent expansion has become an important

factor in reducing the demand for American and other growths, which China had been consuming largely in the form of imported cloth. The total amount of cotton piece goods, yarn, and raw cotton imported annually into China from 1900 to 1932 averaged the equivalent of more than 1,250,000 bales of raw cotton.¹ During the past 2 years imports into China of cotton goods and raw cotton have almost ceased.

It is important to ascertain what brought about this increase in production and to see what the possibilities are as to further expansion. Is it possible for cotton production in China to increase beyond domestic needs and compete with other cotton on the world market?

During the past 15 years China's raw-cotton consumption has totaled about 3.5 million bales annually. The Chinese cotton crop in 1936 was placed at 3,870,000 bales. An early estimate of the 1937 production was 4,400,000 bales, but this estimate is expected to be revised downward materially, possibly to as low as 3,600,000 bales, as a result of excessive, late rains and military activities in some of the important producing districts. Thus China's production is already slightly in excess of domestic needs. Furthermore, in most producing sections in China cotton is still a minor crop. Soil and climatic condition in many parts are suitable for cotton growing, and, with abundance of labor and other favorable economic factors and a continuation of cotton improvement work, it is possible for cotton production to be increased considerably.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

China has been producing cotton for centuries. In an old Chinese classic written about 2205 B. C., mention is made of cotton as having been used in the manufacture of cloth and given as tribute to the rulers of the "Middle Kingdom."²

During the last half of the eighteenth century, records of shipping companies indicate that China was exporting cotton piece goods to Europe and America, so that China at that time evidently had a supply of raw cotton in excess of domestic requirements. By about 1800, however, a small amount of raw cotton was imported annually, which possibly offset the piece goods exported at that time. After 1820 and during the remainder of the nineteenth century, China was deficient in the supply of raw cotton, as total imports of cotton goods and raw cotton exceed exports. Cotton production evidently did not keep pace with the demand during this period when the population was increasing rapidly.

Foreign trade statistics for China indicate that imports of cotton piece goods and yarn in 1900 amounted to the equivalent of 1,000,000 bales of raw cotton. Since the Chinese population at that time was estimated at 400,000,000, China must, in addition, have been producing at least 1,500,000 bales of raw cotton to clothe this number of people.

RAPID INCREASE IN PRODUCTION SINCE 1932

Estimates of Chinese cotton acreage and production are available since 1920. These estimates, though perhaps somewhat incomplete for the earlier years, are continuous and give some indication of the trend. Without census data or land surveys, it is impossible to obtain accurate data. But the figures for the important producing provinces are believed to be fairly reliable.

Information available concerning the amount of Chinese raw cotton consumed by the modern spinning mills in China and the amount of raw cotton exported serves as a guide for production estimates. A large quantity of cotton is known to be used in home consumption, but accurate statistics are lacking. The severe winters and shortage of fuel north of the Yangtze River have given rise to the utilization of considerable raw cotton in padded winter garments and in so-called padded blankets. Raw cotton is still used for home spinning in the more remote sections of China.

TABLE 1.—Chinese cotton acreage, production, and yield, 1920–37

Year	Acreage harvested	Production	Yield per acre
	1,000 acres	1,000 bales	Pounds
1920	5,500	2,400	209
1921	5,830	2,200	180
1922	5,500	2,510	218
1923	5,425	2,400	212
1924	5,040	2,510	238
1925	5,000	2,460	235
1926	5,500	2,300	200
1927	6,000	2,824	225
1928	5,350	2,720	243
1929	5,960	2,458	197
1930	6,070	2,615	206
1931	5,620	2,092	178
1932	6,770	2,720	192
1933	6,720	2,980	212
1934	7,080	3,243	219
1935	6,250	2,667	204
1936	8,450	3,870	219
1937		3,600	

¹ Preliminary.

Shanghai office, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

² Bales of 478 pounds net are used in this article.

³ Fong, H. D., Cotton Industry and Trade in China, the Chihli Press, Inc., Tientsin, China, Aug. 1932, p. 1.

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China's cotton acreage from 1920 to 1931 averaged about five and one-half million acres, equal to about 15 percent of the United States acreage. During this period Chinese acreage showed no definite trend; but, beginning in 1932 and continuing into 1937, the acreage rapidly increased. Last year it was equivalent to about 25 percent of the acreage harvested in the United States.

Production of Chinese cotton, which fluctuated around 2,400,000 bales from 1920 to 1931, was equal to about 55 percent of the Indian crop for this period and 20 percent of the United States harvest. As a result of increased production, the Chinese harvest for the year 1936 equaled 70 percent of the Indian crop and over 30 percent of the United States harvest.

The yield per acre of Chinese cotton from 1920 to date shows no definite trend and only a slight variation from year to year, as compared with yields of most countries. This relative stability in yields is partially accounted for by the fact that, if a cottonfield gets a poor start in the spring, the farmer usually puts in a catch crop in place of the cotton; whereas, if a crop gets a fairly good start, the summer weather is generally favorable for producing at least an average harvest. Furthermore, the Chinese farmer seldom experiences disastrous diseases or insect infestation, at least not on as large a scale as in some countries.³

TABLE 2.—Chinese cotton acreage and production, by Provinces, 1936

Province	Acreage	Production
	1,000 acres	1,000 bales
Hopei	1,584	687
Shantung	928	484
Shansi	315	134
Honan	921	370
Shensi	646	254
Kiangsu	1,579	656
Chekiang	261	231
Anhui	213	140
Kiangsi	34	11
Hupei	1,349	722
Hunan	112	70
Others	592	155
Total	8,534	3,914

China Cotton Statistics Association. These estimates differ slightly from those in table 1, which are from a different source.

The yield per acre in China, as a result of intensive culture, averages higher than in the United States. The mature cotton plants are smaller in size than those in this country, but they are planted much closer together and, in addition, the crop is picked ever few days, with the result that there is little loss in harvesting.

MAJOR PRODUCING REGIONS

China has two rather distinct cotton-producing regions—the Yangtze Valley and North China. In addition, there are small producing districts between these two main regions and also a number of districts growing a small amount of cotton scattered over other parts of China. In the two principal producing regions, the basic factors affecting cotton production, such as climate, soils, and cropping systems, are materially different. Weather conditions that are favorable in one region are often unfavorable in the other. In the Yangtze Valley, cotton and a second crop are regularly produced on the same land each year. In North China, when cotton is grown, only one crop is raised per year. The recent expansion in cotton acreage has taken place largely in the North China region.

Yangtze Valley

The Yangtze Valley, which is in about the same latitude as southern Georgia, has been an important cotton-producing region for a long time. Two decades ago, this region furnished a large supply of commercial cotton. Of the 34 cotton-spinning mills in operation in China at that time, all but 2 were located in the Yangtze Valley.

The most intensive cotton-growing area is found along the Yangtze River in the Nantungchow district of Kiangsu Province. This Province has for many years been the leading producer of cotton. Cotton growing is also fairly extensive on the south bank of the Yangtze River and surrounding the city of Shanghai.

The second most important cotton-producing area in the Yangtze Valley is west and northwest of Hankow in Hupei Province.

In Chekiang Province, along the south bank of Hangchow Bay, is a small area where production is intensive. Cotton produced in this section matures earlier than elsewhere in China and usually reaches the Shanghai market about the first of September.

A few cotton-producing districts are located at Anhwei, Kiangsi, Hunan, and Szechwan Provinces, but these sections supply only a small part of the commercial staple consumed in the modern spinning mills. A marked expansion in cotton acreage has taken place in recent years in northern Hunan.

North China

The North China cotton region is in about the same latitude as North Carolina and the southern half of Virginia. Production

³ Many observations in this article are based on field investigations made by the writer from 1931 to 1936, while stationed at Shanghai.

in this region is heavily concentrated in the Yellow River Valley. The heaviest producing area is in southern Hopei, north-west Shantung, and northern Honan Provinces. Another important cotton-growing area in the Yellow River Valley is in northwest Honan, southern Shansi, and eastern Shensi. China's long staple comes from this area, and during the past few years a considerable expansion in acreage has taken place in Shensi Province.

Minor producing areas in the North China region are north-central Shantung Province and the Tientsin area. These two districts are of particular importance, as the recent expansion has consisted largely of improved staple.

Manchuria

Some consideration should be given to Manchuria because of the recent efforts to increase production in this area. Climate, soil, and cropping conditions are somewhat different from those in North China. The soil is more fertile, the growing season shorter, and rainfall somewhat more certain than in North China. In general, only one crop is grown in Manchuria per year. Manchuria has been growing native types of cotton for many years and producing approximately 40,000 to 50,000 bales each year. As a result of a great deal of effort by the new government in Manchuria to increase production and improve the staple, the cotton crop has been increased to approximately 90,000 bales; government officials plan to increase production within 15 years to approximately 400,000 bales. Private concerns, however, have lost interest in Manchuria as a supplier of raw cotton because production has increased so slowly, despite the heavy investments already made.

PHYSICAL FACTORS AFFECTING PRODUCTION

As far as physical factors, such as rainfall, temperature, and soil, are concerned, China appears to be well adapted to cotton production. Most of the sections in the Yangtze Valley region are suitable for cotton growing, and in North China the temperature and soil are fairly well adapted, although rainfall is somewhat uncertain.

Much of the total area in China is mountainous, but practically all of the cotton is produced at an altitude of less than 500 feet. The only exceptions are small acreages in South China, Yunnan Province, and part of the acreage in Szechwan Province. In some sections of the Yangtze Valley and in North China cotton is grown on lowlands, which are usually flooded in years of excessive rainfall.

Climate and soil generally favorable

The amount of rainfall in the Yangtze Valley corresponds with that of the eastern Cotton Belt of the United States. The annual amount averages 45 to 50 inches and is well distributed seasonally for cotton production. While the average annual distribution appears nearly ideal, the year-to-year distribution is irregular.

Excessive rainfall and droughts frequently damage the cotton crop in some of the important areas in the Yangtze Valley region. Too much rainfall damages the crop on the low-lying fields, where poor drainage exists. On the other hand, a dry period exceeding 2 or 3 weeks during the summer months seriously injures the cotton plants, as the temperature is usually high and the moisture is not retained so long as in some countries because of the lack of organic matter in the soil. In several sections, however, farmers irrigate their fields by pumping water from streams or canals when rainfall is deficient. In the Yangtze Delta typhoons (severe wind and rainstorms) occur in some years and cause considerable damage to the cotton crop.

TABLE 3.—Rainfall in cotton regions of China

Month	Yangtze Valley		North China		
	Shanghai, 53-year average	Hankow, 44-year average	Tientsin, 35-year average	Taming, 17-year average	Shanchow, 6-year average
	Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches
January	2.0	1.8	0.2	0.4	0.2
February	2.4	1.9	.1	.3	.1
March	3.4	3.8	.4	.5	.6
April	3.7	6.0	.7	.5	.8
May	3.6	6.5	1.1	.8	2.2
June	7.4	9.6	2.5	2.4	2.2
July	5.9	7.1	6.9	5.2	4.1
August	5.7	3.8	5.2	5.6	4.0
September	4.7	2.8	1.9	3.1	2.6
October	3.1	3.2	.6	.5	1.1
November	2.0	1.9	.4	.4	.2
December	2.5	1.1	.1	.2	.2
Total	46.4	49.5	20.1	19.9	18.3
Highest	62.5	82.9	31.3	34.1	26.5
Lowest	27.9	22.8	10.0	9.9	7.8

Chapman, B. Burgoyne, The Climatic Regions of China, University of Nanking, Bull. No. 3, 1933.

In the North China cotton region, the annual rainfall amounts to about 20 inches as compared with about 30 inches for central Texas. Although the annual precipitation is low, the average distribution is quite well suited for cotton growing, approximately 70 percent occurring during June, July, and August. While the

average annual distribution is satisfactory, the year-to-year uncertainty in this region is a very important factor in determining the cotton acreage in any particular year. Most areas of North China are subject to the possibility of insufficient moisture in April and May, and often the summer rains do not come until the middle of July. Under such conditions cotton acreage is materially reduced. Such a reduction occurred in 1935, when the intentions to plant pointed to an acreage above that of the preceding year but, as a result of the dry weather during May and June, the actual acreage was substantially lower. On the other hand, July and August rains are sometimes excessive and result in floods, which damage the crops in some localities.

Well irrigation, which was promoted by the China International Famine Relief Commission about 16 years ago, has become quite common in many districts in Hopei and has developed to some extent in other Provinces in North China. A farmer having a good well is usually able to obtain a satisfactory cotton crop each year. In a few districts approximately 50 percent of the farmers have wells, but in a great many sections only a few wells have been dug. Many farmers in North China lack sufficient capital for digging a well, the average cost of which is estimated to be around \$50.

Temperature in the Yangtze Valley and North China regions is amply warm, and the growing season is sufficiently long in most sections to insure suitable cotton production. In all sections of China the cotton plants, in general, cease growing and dry up during the last half of September, variable weather having but little effect.

TABLE 4.—Temperature in cotton regions (Fahrenheit)

Month	Yangtze Valley		North China		
	Shanghai, 44-year average	Hankow, 29-year average	Tientsin, 10-year average	Taming, 4-year average	Sian, 8-year average
	Degrees	Degrees	Degrees	Degrees	Degrees
January	38	40	25	28	33
February	39	43	29	33	39
March	46	50	40	42	50
April	56	62	55	58	63
May	66	71	67	71	75
June	73	80	75	78	83
July	80	85	79	84	86
August	80	85	79	82	82
September	73	77	69	71	72
October	63	67	58	61	63
November	52	55	40	44	44
December	42	45	27	33	36
Average date of—					
Last frost	Mar. 15	Feb. 23	Mar. 31	Mar. 25	Mar. 10
First frost	Nov. 22	Dec. 17	Nov. 5	Nov. 8	Nov. 19

Chapman, B. Burgoyne, The Climatic Regions of China, University of Nanking, Bull. No. 3, 1933.

The temperature in the Yangtze Valley is very similar to that in southern Georgia though the spring months are slightly cooler. In central China, however, summer months are somewhat warmer and winters are colder in comparison with seasons in the same latitude in the United States. The average period free from frost in the Yangtze Valley is over 250 days, or slightly longer than in southern Georgia.

In North China, the temperature in the spring months is similar to that of North Carolina and Virginia. The summer months in North China, especially inland from the coast, are warmer and the winters colder in comparison with these States. Contrary to general opinion, the season free from frost in North China is not too short for cotton production. It averages about 225 days, or nearly the same as in North Carolina and Virginia. It is true that the lack of sufficient moisture in the early summer months often retards the growth of the cotton plants. Furthermore, imported American cottonseed, before becoming acclimatized, often fails to ripen.

Chinese cotton is produced on soils largely of alluvial deposits, which have a good mechanical texture but are low in fertility and organic matter. In both of the major producing regions, the crop is grown on what is considered good farm land. The production of most of the cotton on alluvial soils is further evidence that the crop is raised largely at a low altitude.

In the Yangtze Valley, the soils are principally of a gray alluvial type, especially those west of Hankow and near Shanghai. In the Yangtze delta along the seacoast are saline alluvial deposits where the heavy cotton-producing section of Nantungchow is located. This type of soil is found also in the cotton district on the south bank of Hangchow Bay in Chekiang Province. Most soils in the cotton sections of the Yangtze are acid.

The principal soil of the North China cotton-producing region is a brown calcareous alluvial deposit found in central and southern Hopei, northern and western Shantung, and northern Honan. This type of soil has been washed down by the Yellow River from

the loess deposits of the west. In northwest Honan, Shansi, and Shensi Provinces, cotton is grown on a chestnut loess soil. The loess deposits are fairly deep, with the result that most of the cotton produced in this section is grown on land with a slight elevation. In the Tientsin area, most of the cotton is produced on a saline alluvial type of soil.

Cultural practices

Cotton planting and harvesting in the two major producing regions occur at approximately the same dates. Planting is usually begun about the 1st of May, although wet weather in some localities in the Yangtze Valley and the lack of moisture in north China may make later planting necessary. It is possible to plant cotton up to the end of May. If moisture conditions are not suitable by that time, some other crop is eventually planted.

In many sections of the Yangtze Valley cottonseed is commonly broadcast in the wheat or barley crop. When the grain crop is harvested the last of May or the 1st of June, the young cotton plants are from 1 to 3 inches high. In north China the cottonfields are spring-plowed and harrowed and the seed is planted by hand in rows. The principal cultivation in both regions is hoeing by hand. Well irrigation in north China requires considerable work. The water from the wells is brought up by small containers attached to an endless chain, which is operated by a power wheel pulled by a donkey, horse, or cow. A number of farmers, however, pull the water up by means of a hand windlass.

Various kinds of fertilizers are used for the cotton crop. The Chinese have a saying, "If seeds are planted, feed must be provided for the young plants." Barnyard manure, canal and pond mud, ashes, and, to a limited extent, vegetable oilseed cakes are some of the common fertilizers used. The oilseed cakes, however, are used more extensively for rice and wheat, which generally give a higher return per acre.

Picking the cotton crop in China is work at which all members of the family lend a hand. Several pickings are made during the season, but fully 70 percent of the crop is harvested during the month of September. In Chekiang Province, where cotton matures the earliest, the first picking begins about the middle of August. Late pickings in north China end in early October.

ECONOMIC FACTORS LIMIT COTTON ACREAGE

Though physical factors are reasonably favorable to cotton production in China, economic factors account for the fact that only a small percentage of the cultivated land in China is today producing cotton.

The density of population is estimated at about 1,560 people per square mile of cultivated land as compared with 200 in the United States. This fact makes it necessary for the Chinese people to use a very large percentage of their land for producing food for human consumption. Even in the heaviest cotton-producing section, Nantungchow, it is estimated that on an average only 33 percent of the land is in cotton. No estimates are available to indicate the amount of cultivated land in the two major cotton regions that is used for cotton production, but crop estimates would indicate it to be less than 5 percent. This compares with over 40 percent of the cropland in the nine Cotton Belt States of the United States. Approximately 90 percent of the cultivated land in China is used for producing food for human consumption, and small percentages are in tobacco, hemp, ramie, mulberry trees, etc. No cultivable land is left in hay or pasture, nor is any used for producing feed for livestock.

In land utilization cotton occupies a minor place in both producing regions. In the Yangtze Valley, two separate crops are produced on most of the land each year. Cotton is grown in competition with other summer crops, such as rice and soybeans. Winter wheat is the most important winter crop, while barley, broadbeans, rapeseed, and peas are also grown extensively during the winter season. Rice is considered the most profitable crop. Some farmers, however, raise cotton or beans, since rice is more expensive to produce in that it requires much greater amounts of labor and fertilizer.

In North China, about 50 percent of the land is in winter wheat each year. The other half is fallowed during the winter and in the spring such crops as kaoliang (grain sorghum), millet, and cotton are planted. Kaoliang and millet are harvested in time for seeding winter wheat, but in this region cotton requires the entire season. Summer crops, such as soybeans, millet, peanuts, sweetpotatoes, and corn, are planted after the winter wheat is harvested. Cotton, in some sections, is grown on the same land each year, but it is more common in a 2- or 3-year rotation.

The amount of cotton planted each year depends not only on climatic conditions but also, to a certain extent, on the price of cotton in comparison with other crops. When food prices are high in relation to cotton, or vice versa, it is believed the Chinese farmer makes a shift in the crops planted. Available information giving acreages of various crops from year to year is not sufficient to judge the extent of the shifts in plantings caused by changes in farm-price relationships. Agricultural prices at Shanghai, according to table 5, indicate that in the autumns of 1935 and 1936, raw-cotton prices were more favorable than those of rice and peanuts, compared with prices of previous years. Whether there was a decrease in the acreage of rice and peanuts the following year is not known, but estimates of cotton acreage for China show large increases in 1936 and 1937.

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TABLE 5.—Agricultural prices at Shanghai, 1930-36

Date	Chinese dollars per 100 pounds				United States dollars per 100 pounds			
	Raw cotton	Rice	Soy-beans	Pea-nuts	Raw cotton	Rice	Soy-beans	Pea-nuts
November:								
1930.....	36.19	8.50	4.54	7.86	10.09	2.37	1.27	2.19
1931.....	36.19	7.13	3.41	7.82	8.99	1.77	.85	1.94
1932.....	33.17	5.12	4.41	5.61	6.99	1.08	.93	1.18
1933.....	24.34	4.56	2.98	4.43	7.94	1.49	.97	1.44
1934.....	31.75	7.51	4.72	4.08	10.64	2.52	1.58	1.37
1935.....	33.57	6.70	5.08	5.62	9.90	1.98	1.50	1.66
1936.....	39.01	5.66	4.99	5.90	11.51	1.67	1.47	1.74

Shanghai office, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and Shanghai Monthly Prices and Price Indices.

In spite of good prices for cash crops such as cotton, the Chinese farmer's first goal is to produce sufficient food for himself and his family. Most farmers carry only a small reserve supply and have but little cash with which to purchase food in years of poor crops. With inadequate transportation facilities, food prices are always very high in years of crop failure. In the North China region, therefore, where crop production is somewhat uncertain, the average farmer grows a variety of crops and does not put in so large a cotton acreage as he probably would if he lived in an area with a more dependable climate. If ample food supplies were assured, the Chinese farmer would undoubtedly be willing to grow proportionately more cotton.

An attractive price, nevertheless, induces farmers to plant cotton. The price of Chinese cotton is, of course, affected by supply and demand conditions in China. Since comparatively small quantities of cotton are exported at the present time, the demand is determined largely by the activities of the modern spinning mills in China. This demand, in turn, depends upon the market for yarn, which is affected materially by economic conditions in the country, such as favorable crops, level of farm prices, and stability of the Government.

In general, however, prices of Chinese cotton follow the trend of world prices. Prices of foreign growths at Shanghai are affected by changes in import duties and fluctuations in foreign exchange. For example, when Indian and United States currencies were devalued, prices of foreign cotton became cheaper in Chinese currency. In 1935, when Chinese currency was devalued, prices of foreign cotton became proportionately higher at Shanghai.

The Chinese Government, by raising the import duty on raw cotton from 42 cents per 100 pounds* in 1929 to \$1.72 in 1934, increased the cost of foreign cotton in China and thereby raised the price of domestic staple. During recent years, the price of Chinese cotton has followed rather closely the price of Indian Akola at Shanghai, with the Chinese staple usually remaining slightly below the price of Indian. When prices of Indian Akola at Shanghai become cheaper, cotton mills begin to buy Indian staple.

MARKETING METHODS AND MARKET CENTERS

Marketing of cotton in China requires a great deal more labor than in the United States, and methods are relatively inefficient. Most of the ginning is done in the home during the fall and winter when there is little demand for farm labor, by means of a spike gin operated by the foot. Only in remote places is the seed separated from the lint by hand. Near some of the cotton centers, farmers sell their seed cotton to a central gin. The majority sell their ginned cotton to a local buyer, who, in turn, sells to a visiting middleman to ship to a concentration point or to a central market. Cooperative marketing has been undertaken by farmers in a few districts during the past few years.

After the cotton is ginned, it is tied up by a home-made press into a native bale varying in weight from 100 to 150 pounds. If the cotton is consumed in a nearby locality, it is sold to the mills in the native bales. Cotton produced in distant sections is brought to central marketing points, where it is usually resold, taken to modern presses for putting into bales of 300 to 400 pounds, and then shipped to the consuming centers.

There are five principal cotton-marketing centers in China; namely Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin, Tsinan, and Chengchow. At each center are several cotton dealers, who have large warehouses for storing cotton. Most of these dealers are financed by the leading Chinese banks.

Shanghai, which is the largest market, receives cotton from all parts of China. Fifty-two percent of the country's cotton spindles are located there. Prices paid at Shanghai usually determine prices paid at other centers.

Hankow is the market for cotton produced in the upper Yangtze Valley and receives a small amount by railroad from Honan and Shensi Provinces in the North China region. Hankow, having only six cotton mills, has a considerable excess of raw cotton. Several modern press packing plants located there re-press the surplus and ship it to Shanghai.

* This includes import duty, customs surtax, flood-relief surtax, and conservancy fees.

Chengchow, located at the junction of the east-west and north-south railways in Honan Province, is an important cotton center. A large percentage of the cotton grown in western Honan and Shensi Provinces is sold at Chengchow, where it is re-pressed before shipment to Shanghai, Hankow, or Tsingtao. Markets like Chengchow receive hourly radio cotton quotations from the Shanghai Cotton Exchange.

Tsinan, in Shantung Province, also located at a railroad junction, is a market for cotton produced in the western part of the province. While there are three cotton-spinning mills at Tsinan, considerable quantities of raw cotton are shipped to Tsingtao and some to Shanghai.

Tientsin has long been a cotton market, receiving cotton from most of the districts of Hopei, some from northwest Shantung, northern Honan, and Shensi Provinces. Tientsin has for many years exported a type of cotton produced in Hopei and desired in foreign markets.

The cost of marketing cotton is high because of the many middlemen and the lack of adequate transportation facilities. This is especially true of cotton produced inland from railroads and waterways.

QUALITY OF COTTON HAS IMPROVED

Chinese cotton has long been known for its short staple and poor spinning qualities. There are, however, many degrees of quality and lengths of staple grown in China, although there is no reliable information as to the quantities of the various grades produced. Staple produced from Chinese seed that has been native to the country for a long period is short in length, and until recent years little effort has been made to improve Chinese cotton. In the last few years considerable work has been done to improve the staple, and during 1937 cotton produced in China was used almost entirely for spinning yarn up to 40 count. A few years ago most of it was suitable only for spinning yarn of 16 count and below.

In staple length the bulk of native cotton produced is from one-half to three-fourths inch. The best native cotton produced in the Yangtze Valley is in the Nantunchoo area, and averages about three-fourths inch in length. The native staple of the Hankow area averages about five-eighths inch. Most of the native cotton grown in North China has been short in staple and of poor quality.

A type known as rough cotton has been produced in Hopei Province for many years in fairly large quantities. A small volume of rough cotton also has been produced in northeastern Hupeh Province. This type, about one-half inch in length, is wiry in character and has not been used to any extent by modern power spinning mills, except possibly for 10- to 12-count yarn. It has, however, been in demand in foreign countries for padding and for mixing with wool. At times it has commanded higher prices than improved American cotton in some of the world markets. The yield per acre of this type, however, is relatively low, and production has declined rather rapidly in recent years, as farmers have shifted to improved varieties.

An improved staple has been grown for several years in northwest Honan and Shensi Provinces which has been called German cotton. This cotton is from American seed introduced by German missionaries some 20 or 30 years ago. Although the seed has degenerated, cotton produced in this area is considered one of the best staples in China and is known as Lingpao.

TABLE 6.—Samples of Chinese cotton classified by the Cotton Division of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics

Cotton-producing district	Staple length (inches)	Classification according to American standards
1. Lingpao, Honan	1 5/16 to 1 1/2	Strict Middling Spotted.
2. Shantung, American seed	7/8	Good Middling Spotted.
3. Shensi	3/4	Strict Middling Spotted.
4. Tientsin, rough	1/2	Do.
5. Tientsin, American seed	7/8	Do.
6. Nantunghow, Kiangsu	3/4	Good Middling Spotted.
7. Shanghai	5/8	Middling Spotted.
8. Hankow	1/2 to 3/4	Strict Middling Spotted.

Chinese agricultural experiment stations have for several years been growing American and improved Chinese cotton varieties and in the past few years have supplied farmers with increasing quantities of improved cottonseed. In north China, more extensive work has been done than in the Yangtze Valley. In several districts of Shantung Province, near Tientsin, and in central Hopei Province, the use of improved seed has resulted in a marked increase in production of staple three-quarter to 1 inch in length. Also in Shensi Province, the Government has been active in distributing improved cottonseed. The improvement work has been more noticeable in north China as a result of the expansion in acreage and the shift from the rough type to the improved staple production.

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TABLE 7.—Tentative Chinese cotton classes

Classification	Description	Staple length
1. Long staple American seed	All varieties possessing soft, fluffy, brilliant, silky appearance.	1 inch or more.
2. American short staple	All varieties of improved staple	3/4 to 1 inch.
3. Chinese black seed	Native types of black seed, fine fiber, of creamy color.	5/8 inch.
4. Chinese white seed	Native types of white seed, slightly silky in appearance.	5/8 to 1 1/16 inch.
5. Coarse fiber	Native type, slightly rough character, and white color.	1/2 to 3/4 inch.
6. Extra-coarse fiber	Rough, harsh quality, dull white in color.	1/2 inch.

Chinese Economic Journal, Shanghai, November 1934. Standards established by the Shanghai Bureau of Testing and Inspection.

Improved cottonseed has also been distributed to farmers in the Yangtze region, but to a lesser extent than in the north. Some improvement work has taken place in practically every cotton-producing Province in the Yangtze, the largest amount probably in Hupeh Province.

No statistics are available that indicate the amount of improved cotton being produced. In the Yangtze Valley there is a considerable quantity of approximately three-fourths-inch staple being produced, but that above seven-eighths inch in length is still quite limited. In north China improved cotton with a staple length of three-fourths inch or longer is now being produced in several districts of Shantung and Hopei Provinces and in western Honan, but the annual quantity probably does not exceed 400,000 bales. The improved seed that has been distributed in recent years may, however, result in larger production of improved-quality cotton during the next few years, both in north China and in the Yangtze region.

TABLE 8.—Staple lengths of Chinese cotton marketed at Shanghai¹

Staple length	Percentage of total	Staple length	Percentage of total
Inches:		Inches:	
Under 3/4	0.8	2 3/4	7.6
3/4	16.5	1 5/8	7.1
2 3/4	29.2	3 1/2	2.4
1 3/4	20.2	1 or more	2.4
2 7/8	5.7		
7/8	8.1	Total	100.0

¹ Based on tests made by the Shanghai Testing and Inspection Bureau from about 100,000 bales from the 1933 crop. These results were obtained by laboratory measurements and probably averaged slightly higher than if determined by commercial practice.

Chinese Economic Journal, Shanghai, November 1934.

DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION OF RAW COTTON INCREASING

The increased consumption of Chinese cotton and the decreased consumption of foreign cotton, directly and indirectly, in China during the past 18 years are more pronounced than the increased production. An examination of these trends brings out striking results in the loss of the market for American and other foreign growths. In 1921 modern spinning mills in China used about 1,000,000 bales of native staple, or 74 percent of the total consumed. During the same year China imported 470,000 bales of raw cotton, and, in addition, imported piece goods and yarn made from American and Indian growths approximately equal to 982,000 bales of raw cotton. In 1936 the spinning mills in China used 2,372,000 bales of Chinese staple, or 92 percent of the total consumption. China's imports of raw cotton in 1936 fell to 188,000 bales, and imports of cotton piece goods and yarn declined to an equivalent of approximately 44,000 bales of raw cotton. Thus the combined imports of foreign cotton and cotton textiles was equivalent to 1,452,000 bales in 1921 compared with only 232,000 bales in 1936.⁵

A large volume of Chinese cotton is still used for home consumption in China. In the remote places spinning is still a home industry. A considerable quantity of raw cotton is used for padded garments and padded blankets. The total quantity used in home consumption has been roughly estimated at 800,000 to 1,000,000 bales annually. Since much of this cotton does not enter commercial channels, it is impossible to arrive at an accurate production figure.

Cottonseed is largely consumed within the country. In most of the heavier producing districts the oil is crushed from the seed. The oil is used largely for cooking purposes and the cake for fer-

⁵ An article dealing with the development of the cotton-textile industry in China and its effects on the market for American cotton is in preparation.

tilizer and, to a small extent, for feeding livestock. China for a number of years has annually exported from 60,000 to 150,000 short tons of cottonseed, the bulk of which goes to Japan. During the past 3 years China has also exported small quantities of cottonseed oil.

IMPORT AND EXPORT COTTON TRADE

From 1920 to 1936 China was a net importer of raw cotton. Increased demand was created for suitable spinning cotton at the close of the World War by the construction of a large number of power spinning mills. During the period 1920-36 the spinning mills more than doubled their output of yarn. This, in turn, required a much larger quantity of desirable raw cotton and made it necessary to import from India and the United States. The large raw-cotton imports in 1931 and 1932 were attributed to the low prices of foreign staple and the short Chinese crop of 1931. China was the fourth best customer of the United States for raw cotton during 1931-32, taking 12 percent of our exports.

TABLE 9.—Chinese imports of raw cotton, average 1916-20 to 1931-35, annual 1931-37

Period	United States	British India	Japan ¹	Others	Total
Average:	Bales	Bales	Bales	Bales	Bales
1916-20	7,533	50,667	33,034	11,589	102,823
1920-25	55,653	289,466	105,426	8,715	459,260
1926-30	216,218	363,958	150,861	7,987	739,024
1931-35	466,958	229,095	19,672	22,642	738,367
Annual:					
1931	717,924	505,182	68,917	15,670	1,307,693
1932	865,370	126,535	24,807	20,814	1,037,526
1933	355,013	182,338	3,539	15,663	556,553
1934	269,232	233,201	727	33,855	537,015
1935	127,250	98,221	370	27,209	253,050
1936	43,428	94,825		49,417	187,670
1937 ²	11,399	27,448		31,804	70,651

¹ Reexports, principally of United States and Indian cotton.

² Preliminary.

Compiled from the Maritime Customs, Foreign Trade of China.

The Chinese cotton crop, which began to increase in 1932, has been sufficiently large during the past 2 years to reduce the demand for foreign growths to an insignificant amount. At the present time only small quantities of American and Egyptian cotton are needed in China for spinning yarns above 40 count. Small quantities of Indian cotton also are imported, generally when prices of equal grade at Shanghai are below Chinese staple. As long as the present import duty remains in effect, however, imports of foreign staple into China will probably continue to be small except in years of short Chinese crops.

China has been an exporter of raw cotton for many years; prior to 1920 exports had exceeded the volume of imports for more than three decades. The bulk of cotton exported during these many years was primarily of the rough type produced in north China and shipped from Tientsin. The principal market for this type was Japan, with small quantities exported to the United States and to Europe. The decline in exports reflects the decrease in production of rough cotton. Exports reached their peak in 1927, amounting to 403,000 bales, and by 1934 had fallen to only 96,600 bales. Since 1935 there has been a gradual increase in exports. While the shipments of rough cotton to the United States have increased recently there has been an increase in staple suitable for spinning exported to Japan from both the Yangtze Valley and north China.

TABLE 10.—Chinese exports of raw cotton, average 1916-20 to 1931-35, annual 1931-37

Period	Japan	United States	Germany	United Kingdom	Chosen	Others	Total
Average:	Bales	Bales	Bales	Bales	Bales	Bales	Bales
1916 to 1920	201,892	31,469	58	6,206	1,235	5,933	246,793
1921 to 1925	195,794	31,949	4,622	2,641	1,711	3,557	240,274
1926 to 1930	235,785	37,627	8,736	1,221	2,775	4,308	290,452
1931 to 1935	132,113	21,734	6,733	58	2,400	6,764	169,802
Annual:							
1931	194,170	19,065	1,179	98	2,684	3,123	220,324
1932	137,054	30,732	6,874	540	2,581	7,230	185,011
1933	153,116	37,057	2,074	419	2,328	6,855	201,850
1934	76,881	10,285	2,855	209	2,340	4,012	96,582
1935	99,342	11,535	20,684	401	2,066	11,217	145,245
1936	119,207	33,602	8,011	542	5,532	3,120	169,923
1937 ¹	108,074	43,774	11,409	308	4,564	7,994	176,123

¹ Preliminary.

Compiled from The Maritime Customs, Foreign Trade of China.

FACTORS CAUSING RECENT EXPANSION IN PRODUCTION

As a result of all the work that has been done to improve and increase cotton production during the last 4 years, China has now become practically self-sufficient, both as to quantity and as to quality of raw cotton.

The increase of approximately 3,000,000 acres in cotton during the period 1932 to 1937 has been accomplished largely through a

shift from other crops, as probably less than 5 percent of the increase has been on new land. An increase of 3,000,000 acres planted to cotton would not appear large in the United States, but in China this amount of land diverted from food-producing crops means a decrease in the food supply at least equivalent to that required for 7,000,000 people. During recent years, China has not increased imports of food, but since 1934 has considerably reduced imports of wheat, wheat flour, and rice. Just what crops cotton has replaced is not definitely known, but it appears that they include kaoliang, soybeans, and, in some districts, peanuts. Three explanations have been offered for the adequacy of food supplies during the period of expanding cotton acreage: First, improved transportation has facilitated a freer movement of food crops from surplus areas; second, relatively peaceful conditions have prevailed in almost all sections of the country; and, third, favorable prices for farm products have stimulated more intensive cultivation.

It has been pointed out that cotton production has increased to the point where China no longer finds it necessary to consume annually more than 1,000,000 bales of foreign cotton, but is now growing a supply ample for domestic requirements at the present level of consumption. In order to have a basis for evaluating future possibilities, it is necessary to consider how this increased production has been brought about.

ENCOURAGEMENT BY DOMESTIC AGENCIES

Chinese cotton farmers have received encouragement, not only from their own Government and private agencies, but from foreign interests as well.

The most important single factor has probably been the raising of import duties on yarn, piece goods, and raw cotton by the Chinese Government. Between 1919 and 1934, the import duty on yarn was increased six different times. The import duties on piece goods were raised five times between 1929 and 1934, a total increase of 370 percent in less than 6 years. These large duty increases resulted in a tremendous reduction in the quantity of yarn and piece goods imported. During this period, the domestic-milling industry was expanded and the demand for raw cotton increased. Annual imports of yarn and piece goods prior to 1920 were equivalent to more than a million bales of raw cotton, but in 1936 they amounted to less than 50,000 bales. Likewise, the National Government from 1929 to 1934 increased the import duty on raw cotton several times.

During the world depression, China developed a very unfavorable balance of trade. While the visible Chinese trade balance had been unfavorable for several decades, the trend became more pronounced after 1930. A number of important factors contributed to this situation. Overseas remittances by Chinese living abroad declined more than 50 percent; the devaluation of foreign currencies made it easier for foreign goods to enter China; and the large Manchurian soybean export trade was lost after 1931. To counteract these developments, the Chinese Government raised import duties several times on practically all commodities between 1931 and 1934.

Another important factor influencing Chinese cotton production is found in the promotional activities of the Government. A program to improve and increase cotton production was started in 1931. In 1932, the Chinese Government set up the National Economic Council, the purpose of which was to improve economic conditions. One of the main activities of this organization was cotton improvement, which was to follow three main lines; namely, distribution of improved seed, increased credit facilities for cotton farmers, and improvement of marketing facilities. The National Cotton Control Commission was organized under the auspices of the Economic Council in October 1933 to carry on the cotton-improvement work.

The National Government established a central agricultural experiment station near Nanking in 1934, which also cooperated with the provincial experiment stations on selection and distribution of cottonseed. An American plant breeder was employed for several years to assist the Federal and provincial experiment stations in these activities.

The Government also set up testing and inspection bureaus at several of the important marketing centers. One of the main functions of these bureaus was to test cotton offered for sale in an endeavor to improve the quality of cotton marketed, by reducing adulteration and moisture content.

In November 1935 the Chinese Government abandoned the silver monetary standard and adopted a managed-currency system. This increased the price of imported cotton and contributed to the rise in domestic farm prices. The competitive position of Chinese cotton as compared with foreign growths was improved, and an acreage expansion was thereby stimulated.

Cheaper interest rates to farmers through cooperative credit societies, sponsored directly and indirectly by the Government, assisted farmers in some localities to dig wells for irrigation and in some districts to market their cotton. The loan agencies often assisted members of the cooperative societies in selling their cotton. By eliminating several middlemen, the producer obtained a large percentage of the market value of his cotton.

The provincial governments in practically all the important cotton-producing Provinces, the municipalities of Shanghai and Tsingtao, the leading Chinese banks, and the China International Famine Relief Commission also have aided in the cotton-improvement work and acreage expansion.

Japanese influence

The Japanese have shown an interest in cotton production in China for a number of years. Of the 5,100,000 spindles in China,⁶ approximately 40 percent are owned by Japanese. The Japanese mills are especially interested in improved cotton, as they spin a high percentage of the fine-count yarn made in China and produce an important quantity of the yarn and piece goods exported. Certain Japanese leaders have proclaimed on several occasions that they were interested in securing a source of raw-cotton supply for Japan near home, the purpose of which would be to replace as much Indian and American staple as possible. For instance, a Japanese monthly publication, the *Oriental Economist*, of August 1935 stated: "If China can be induced to grow cotton in such volume and quality as will meet the expanding requirements of Japanese spinning and weaving mills, the benefits accruing to both nations therefrom will be manifold."

The Japanese cotton mills and the Japanese Government have also been assisting in Chinese cotton-improvement work, particularly in Shantung and Hopei Provinces and Manchuria.

In Shantung Province the Japanese cotton mills (there are nine large Japanese mills at Tsingtao) organized the Shantung Cotton Improvement Association. For 4 years this association has been distributing American acclimatized cottonseed from Chosen, known as the King variety, to cotton farmers in eastern Shantung. In 1936 it was reported that 133,000 pounds of cottonseed were imported at Tsingtao.

Japanese industrial and agricultural experts have visited Hopei Province in North China several times in recent years. The South Manchurian Railway (Japanese-owned) now maintains a large office in Tientsin employing many statisticians and research workers engaged in studying general economic conditions, including the cotton-growing industry. Japanese interests have, during the past 2 years, acquired possession of several cotton mills in Tientsin.⁷

The Japanese have taken an active part in the work at the agricultural-experiment station owned by the Peiping-Mukden Railway located about 20 miles northeast of Peiping. This station, consisting of about 50 acres, has been managed since 1934 by a trained Japanese agricultural expert and has been stressing cotton acclimatization and growing seed for distribution. One of the principal types of cotton grown at this station is from American seed that has been acclimatized in Chosen. It is reported that the railway and Japanese interests each pay half of the operating expenses of the experiment station. How much of the improved seed has been distributed is not known, but American-type cotton can now be seen growing along the railways in several districts where native types were formerly raised.

In Manchuria the Japanese Army and the cotton-textile industry of Japan began an energetic cotton-improvement program in 1933. The Manchurian Cotton Producing Association was organized for the purpose of increasing cotton production from about 50,000 bales in 1933 to 400,000 in 1948. New cotton-experiment stations were established, farmers were furnished seed, and marketing organizations were set up. Because of unfavorable weather conditions in 1934 and 1935 there were only slight increases in production. This confirmed the general opinion that climatic conditions in Manchuria are unfavorable for cotton production. As a result, the Japanese cotton industry lost interest, but the Army has continued the program on a reduced basis and, after further experimentation, expects to develop cotton varieties more suitable to the Manchurian climate. An early estimate of the 1937 crop placed the production in Manchuria at 91,000 bales, but this figure will undoubtedly be revised downward because of heavy rains in the late summer.

POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE PRODUCTION

It has been pointed out that in the last few years China has reached a point of practical self-sufficiency in cotton production and thereby replaced over a million bales annually of American and Indian cotton formerly imported. This increase has been the result of a number of developments, including the imposition of import duties on raw cotton and cotton textiles, favorable cotton prices in relation to other crops, improved transportation facilities, and the crop-improvement program.

So far, the increase in production has resulted in practically eliminating foreign cotton from the Chinese market. In view of the growing desire of Japanese interests to obtain cotton from nearby sources, it is of particular interest to determine whether or not Chinese cotton production can be expanded further and thereby replace American and other growths in the other markets of the Orient.

Under certain conditions, such an expansion in Chinese production appears possible. Import duties imposed by the Chinese Government will not, of course, encourage production beyond the point of domestic self-sufficiency, but the other factors that have aided in bringing about the recent increase in production may be effective in expanding the production of cotton for export.

The competition for land that exists between cotton and other crops is particularly severe in China. Even where the price of cotton is favorable, a farmer may not grow it, because he is interested first of all in assuring a sufficient supply of food. This is particularly true in regions where transportation facilities are

inadequate. It is probable that an improvement in transportation facilities will be made. This may make it possible to bring foodstuffs into North China from the surplus-food-producing regions of Manchuria and certain sections of North China and result in a further expansion of cotton acreage.

In addition to helping solve the question of food supply, improved transportation would in many places also reduce cotton-marketing costs. In many of the cotton-producing sections, the crop passes through the hands of a number of middlemen, each of whom moves the cotton along another stage to market. Better transportation and the resulting reduction in the number of middlemen would result in lower costs of raw cotton to the mills and possibly higher prices to the farmers.

On the other hand, improvement in the economic status of the Chinese farmer resulting from better transportation facilities might effect some increase in the domestic consumption of raw cotton, thereby reducing supplies available for export. Furthermore, should increased industrialization be developed in north China, a larger volume of cotton would likely be required for local consumption.

There are still certain areas in China where new land might be brought into use for the production of cotton. Some of these are located along the seacoast of Hopei Province and in the coastal region north of Shanghai. The reclaiming of this land, which will require a large amount of capital, would necessarily devolve upon the Government, and such a project is not likely to be undertaken for some time.

Even more uncertain are the possibilities of bringing new land into cultivation in northwestern China. Large areas of land are available in that part of the country, where the rainfall is extremely light and the growing season shorter than that of Hopei Province. Expansion of the crop acreage in this region would be dependent upon irrigation, for which water supplies are rather limited.

Some increase in the crop acreage in the Yangtze Valley might be made through large-scale drainage operations. Here again, however, it would be a question of a Government undertaking. Furthermore, in most sections of the Yangtze cotton region, rice is generally a more profitable crop than cotton, and it is not probable that more than a small part of any new land brought into cultivation would be devoted to cotton.

A continuation of the cotton-improvement work appears likely, once the current conflict in China is ended. The program has been primarily effective in improving the quality of the crop, but in the long run it should result in higher average yields. Production of higher-quality cotton would, of course, make the Chinese crop more competitive in the export market.

At the present stage of developments, Chinese cotton is more suitable for replacing Indian cotton than American. Little information is available with respect to the comparative advantages of cotton production in India and China. On the basis of general farming practices, however, and the much higher yields per acre in China, cotton production there is considered more efficient.

In conclusion, it is believed that, if an energetic program for expanding the acreage and improving the quality of the crop is continued, especially in North China, cotton production will exceed Chinese requirements. This cotton would be sold in other oriental markets, supplanting a certain amount of American cotton but offering stronger competition to Indian cotton. Uncertain rainfall in North China, however, will no doubt result in an irregular supply from year to year.

One of the most important questions in respect to future Chinese cotton production is the extension of Japanese influence in China. The purchase of Chinese cotton with Japanese currency not only would ease the Japanese foreign-exchange situation but would create a larger market for Japanese goods in China. As such developments occur, they may be expected to result in the utilization by the Japanese cotton industry of larger amounts of Chinese cotton, which would replace other foreign growths.

As long as military activity continues, however, cotton production will be materially reduced. Some Chinese cotton will probably be exported to Japan, because of the large number of cotton mills that have been closed in China.

THE COTTON INDUSTRY IN NORTH CHINA

- I. Cotton cultivation and exportation of North China.
- II. Advantages of cotton cultivation in North China.
- III. Natural conditions for cotton cultivation in North China.
- IV. Varieties of cotton cultivated in North China.
- V. Cotton policy, encouragement and experimental facilities.

COTTON CULTIVATION AND EXPORTATION OF NORTH CHINA

The history of cotton cultivation in North China goes back to remote ages, beginning almost contemporaneously with the introduction of Buddhism into China. This crop was first raised as an agricultural product about 1,000 years ago, but its propagation and encouragement among the masses did not take place until rather recently. To be more exact, it was not until 1919 when cotton cultivation received a strong impetus from the spinning industry which recorded a sudden spurt about that year and continued to encourage cultivation. In consequence land used for the raising of cotton has increased in area considerably.

According to the 1937 statistics the area of land used for cotton cultivation in China totaled 3,500,000 hectares and production of raw cotton amounted to 14,000,000 tan (1 tan equals 60 kilograms), an amount which is equivalent to 12 percent of the world's total production, and next to the United States and India in rank. The three provinces of Hopei, Shantung, and Shansi are

⁶Since the beginning of Sino-Japanese hostilities in August 1937 several hundred thousand spindles at Shanghai and Tsingtao have been destroyed or damaged.

⁷From a report of the American Consulate General, Tientsin, September 2, 1936.

the main producing centers of North China whose average annual production is about 3,770,000 tan or 36 percent of China's total. The area of land under cultivation and the cotton production of these three provinces for the past 5 years ending in 1936 are given in the table below.

China's cotton cultivation and North China's position

Year	Land under cultivation (1,000 mu)			Cotton production (1,000 tan)		
	China	3 provinces of North China	Percentage of North China	China	3 provinces of North China	Percentage of North China
1932	37,000	12,288	33.1	8,160	3,206	33.3
1933	40,454	12,790	31.6	9,774	3,416	34.9
1934	44,971	15,096	33.6	11,203	4,771	42.6
1935	35,026	9,185	26.2	8,143	2,826	34.7
1936	55,041	17,685	32.1	14,430	4,750	32.9
Average for 5 years	42,518	13,409	31.2	10,331	3,774	36.5

1 mu is equivalent to 1,000 square meters.
Statistics from S. M. R. North China office, Hokushi Bosckigo Kiso Shiryo (Source: book on the Spinning Industry in North China), 1938.

Adding the productions of Honan and Shenhsi Provinces to those of the three mentioned above, the total for North China becomes 49.7 percent of the entire country. Since there are in North China only 26 percent of the country's total number of spindles which are the main "consumers" of raw cotton, the chances of exportation of this product are great indeed.

The following table gives the amount of cotton exported and consumed at home during the years 1933 to 1936.

Demand and supply of North China cotton
[1,000 tan]

	1933	1934	1935	1936
Production	3,416	4,771	2,826	4,750
Imports	121	53	37	11
Exports	461	162	202	329
Internal consumption	3,076	4,662	2,661	4,432

Statistics from ibid.

ADVANTAGES OF COTTON CULTIVATION IN NORTH CHINA

Unlike the highly mechanized and industrialized cotton cultivation in the United States, cotton growers in North China are farmers of an extremely low standard, striving for the best to get a meager livelihood. These people barely meet their fundamental needs, such as food, clothing, and shelter through their main agricultural pursuits, and anything more that they want they must get through raising cotton, wheat, and other commercial products. Since cotton cultivation yields the largest income among farm products, it is quite indispensable in the rural regions of North China, and is consequently regarded as one of the big five crops, namely, maize, kaoliang, millet, and wheat. The importance which cotton cultivation holds in agricultural economy is very great, as it can be seen from the following table, and, in fact, forms the basis of agriculture in this region.

Income and expenditure of 1 mu of land according to crops
[Unit—Yuan]

	Income	Expenditure	Profit
American cotton	25.80	17.90	7.90
Native cotton	19.25	16.17	3.08
Wheat	10.50	11.30	-.80
Kaoliang	10.50	9.70	.80
Millet	11.70	12.20	-.50
Soya Beans	9.10	7.20	1.90
Groundnuts	14.40	15.60	-1.20
Maize	8.50	9.90	-1.40

Statistics from S. M. R. Hokushi Yoran (General Survey of North China), 1937.

Moreover, the cotton yield of Hopei and Shantung is 26 chin (1 chin equals 0.60 kilograms) from 1 mu of land, which is a little better than the 22-chin-per-mu average for China as a whole, indicating that this part of the country is more favorably suited for raising this particular crop.

NATURAL CONDITIONS FOR COTTON CULTIVATION IN NORTH CHINA

Since cotton is a native plant of tropical countries, it demands more sunshine and higher temperature than other crops. The location of the cotton-raising regions of North China is 37 degrees north latitude, or slightly to the north of the average location of the world's principal centers which is generally regarded as 35 degrees north latitude. This places North China on a climatic and geographic disadvantage, and consequently the cultivation of the higher-grade varieties of cotton is limited. Varieties like the Egyptian cotton, which require a much longer time to

attain growth, a warmer climate, and much humidity, cannot be raised in this region. Therefore, the selection of the best type for cultivation is very essential, since there are species like the American upland cotton which does quite well under dry climate and irregular rainfall and ripens within a relatively short time. Regardless of the poor climatic conditions (in comparison to the best producing centers of the world) North China is by far the best suited than Japan, Chosen, or Manchuria.

Period of maturity: In North China seeds can be sowed in the middle of April and harvested in early November or a period of 200 odd days. This period is somewhat longer than that of Manchuria or Chosen, but a month shorter than the American cotton belts. In short, the period of growth is satisfactory.

Temperature: The temperature of the cotton-growing season, namely, for the 6 months between May and October is nearer to the ideal. The weather for June, July, and August is especially good, the highest temperature for this period being 30 degrees Centigrade, and seldom below 20 degrees Centigrade at the lowest. Unlike Chosen and Manchuria the thermometer rarely registers below 10 degrees Centigrade in May, thus facilitating germination considerably.

Rainfall: Rainfall in North China is about 600 millimeters on the average which is approximately equal to that of Manchuria but half of that of Japan. Subtracting the rainfall of the rainy months, July and August, which is between 300 to 400 millimeters, the year's average, according to months is exceedingly low.

In a word, rainfall of North China is relatively small and distribution very irregular. Crops must face a dry season from the very beginning to the time they attain full growth, then during their fertilization period or in July and August rainfall is so heavy and thunder so frequent that a poor yield results. However, the rainy season ceases with the passing of these 2 months and with the coming of September and October dry climate sets in again to promote ripening and harvest.

Sunshine: To make up for the low rainfall North China enjoys much sunshine. Being a wet month, the month of August is an exception to this rule, but the average number of sunny hours for the 6 months is approximately 250 hours per month, which is about the same with Manchuria. Both have plenty of sunshine.

Varieties of cotton cultivated: Native cotton and the American upland cotton which has been imported from America are the main varieties under cultivation in North China. Special characteristics of the former are its short but strong fibers and high ginning percentage. It is best suited for making threads below No. 20 size, for thick-thread spinning, for making cotton for stuffing, and for making woolen and cotton mixtures.

King and Tries varieties are the primary upland cottons which are grown. These varieties ripen very early, their fibers are longer than the native variety, and are used mainly to produce threads of the No. 30 or 40 sizes. For these reasons these two varieties have become very popular, and their cultivation has increased tremendously in recent years. It is predicted that they will hold a more prominent position than the native variety in the near future. It is interesting to note here that the significance of upland cotton was first recognized with the earnest encouragement by the Japanese in Shantung and central Hopei Provinces from about the year 1917.

THE COTTON POLICY AND ENCOURAGEMENT AND EXPERIMENTAL FACILITIES

Policy of increasing production: The question of increasing cotton production in North China has long been a matter of deep concern on the part of the proper authorities. Deliberations on the question have been going on for some time between the provisional government of Peking and the Japanese, both of whom are represented in the Japan-China Economic Council, but of late cotton has been recognized "as a profitable agricultural product for native farmers and an important raw material for Japan." In line with this conclusion a policy for increasing production was adopted, execution of which will begin with the present year. The main points embodied in this plan are as follows:

1. In North China a plan calling for increasing cotton production to 10,000,000 tan per annum at the end of a period of 9 years beginning with 1933 will be carried out.

2. The area of land allotted for cotton cultivation will be increased to 30,000,000 mu. Much care will be taken to prevent the decrease which might occur in the cultivation of wheat and other grains in enlarging the area for cotton cultivation.

3. King's Improved and Tries will be selected for encouragement together with superior native varieties.

Parts of the plan to be carried out each year are given in the table below.

Projected cotton production for each year

[In 1,000 tan]

	American variety	Native variety	Total
1938	2,246	1,958	4,204
1939	2,499	2,154	4,653
1940	2,803	2,369	5,171
1941	3,470	2,357	5,827
1942	4,199	2,343	6,542
1943	5,070	2,327	7,397
1944	5,972	2,310	8,282
1945	6,837	2,359	9,196
1946	7,665	2,335	10,000

The following are the points which will be carried out in the fulfillment of the policy.

1. To increase and encourage the cultivation of superior varieties.
2. To advance loans for the establishment of irrigation facilities.
3. Establishment of publicity and encouragement organs.
4. Strengthening of the supervisory system.
5. Improvement of farming methods and the eradication of pests and plant diseases.
6. Readjustment of land leases for small tenant farming, improvement of transportation facilities, rationalization of transportation rates, readjustment of the customs, encouragement of immigration, and the encouragement for increasing the production of foodstuffs.

The total estimated expenditure needed to carry out the nine-year plan is approximately 29,128,000 yuan, while the establishment of irrigation facilities will require an additional 72,362,000 yuan which will bring the total well up to the 100,000,000 yuan mark.

Upon realization of the plan and cotton production subsequently boosted to 10,000,000 tan per annum, this amount will be apportioned as follows:

Three and one-half million tan to be consumed by the spinning industry of North China which will have by then a total of 1,300,000 spindles.

Other local consumption—1,000,000 tan.

Upon the revival of the spinning industry, Central China is expected to demand 2,500,000 tan, leaving 3,000,000 tan available for exporting to Japan.

Encouragement and experimental facilities: With the unrestricted support of the Japanese authorities, the Provisional Government of Peking is working assiduously to complete its organization for the encouragement of the cotton industry, and other organs connected with the cotton policy. The various organizations are outlined briefly below.

1. North China Cotton Industry Association: The membership of this organization is composed of prominent Hopei, Shantung, and Shanhsi men in the cotton industry and reorganized groups of provincial cotton-encouragement organs, and has its headquarters in Peking. For some time in the past the provisional government has given assistance in the promotion of enterprises, financing and supervision in Shantung, Hopei, and Shanhsi Provinces. This organization is semi-official in nature and is a juridical person of the Chinese Republic. Its capital is subscribed jointly by the Government and by the Japan-China Spinners' Association. It has invited Japanese experts to supervise cultivation, improve quality, and to increase output. Through the Rural Agricultural Associations it distributes seeds of improved varieties, supervises cultivation, and makes advances to those in need of funds.

2. North China Cotton Co.: This organization was formed at Tientsin last spring as a cotton-purchasing firm under the joint auspices of the Japan-China Spinners' Association and the Cotton Industry Association. A present it owns three press factories and engages in the distribution of seeds and the financing of rural cotton-raising communities, but since its small capital of 3,000,000 yuan tends to limit its sphere of activities preparations to increase it to 40,000,000 to 60,000,000 yuan are now under way.

Agricultural experiment stations in North China: The experiment stations dealing with cotton and other agricultural products that have existed from pre-China incident days are listed in the following paragraphs.

1. Tsung-hsien Cotton Experiment Station: This experiment station is located to the east of Peking and was founded by Yin Tung, chief of the former Pei-Ning Railway Bureau, who with the assistance of the Japanese (especially Dr. Yoshida) created the experiment station under the management of the railway in 1934. The services of a Manchurian expert (Mr. Iwasaki) were acquired from the S. M. R. which has operated a long string of experiment and encouragement institutions. This expert selected the most suitable site for the purpose and with the completion of the buildings, the station was ready for real work in 1935.

Since the foundation of the station up to the outbreak of the China incident a total of six Japanese instructors and experts have been dispatched but two out of this group gave their lives to their cause, the weather conditions being disagreeable. Thanks to the untiring services of the other four pioneers of peaceful industrial development and to the generous efforts of Chinese assistants good progress was made, but unfortunately a brutal fate had to befall upon all of them in the form of bloody Tsung-chow massacre carried out by the Chinese soldiers. The loss of these men is a grievous matter for the Chinese themselves.

Since then more earnest assistance has been given by Japan and 14 Japanese experts (S. M. R. men) detailed to the station in November 1937, have carried on the work, while buildings and lands have been readjusted and a new entomology section created. Twenty-one Chinese who are cooperating heartily in the work have been added to the staff.

Today this station is carrying on experiments to produce high-grade seeds and to improve cultivation methods, while fertilizers and irrigation matters are also receiving due attention. In addition wheat, kenaff, and other grains are being studied, and the eradication as well as the prevention of insect pests are occupying much of the experimenters' time. The benefits which the gen-

eral farmers of North China will shortly receive from the enthusiastic work of the station will be great indeed.

2. Peking Municipal Agricultural Experiment Station: 64 chobu of land (1 chobu is equal to 2.45 acres or 99.17 ares). Director, mayor of Peking; 6 sections.

3. First provincial agricultural experiment station of Hopei at Tientsin: Yearly expenditure, 4,000 to 6,000 yuan; 10 persons on staff.

4. Hantan second station: Yearly expenditure, 4,000 to 5,000 yuan; personnel, 8.

5. Tsochochen Third Station: Personnel, 8; yearly expenditure, 4,000 to 5,000 yuan.

6. Titan Fourth Station: Annual expenditure, 3,000 yuan; personnel, 6.

7. Linfen Cotton Experiment Station: Unknown.

8. Linching Cotton Experiment Station: Unknown.

9. Chengting National Cotton Experiment Station: Unknown.

10. Tsitung National Cotton Experiment Station: Unknown.

11. Tsinan Agricultural Experiment Station: Unknown.

12. Ting-hsien Experiment Station for Public Enlightenment.

With the outbreak of hostilities the responsible persons of these experiment stations fled into safer regions carrying with them all valuable material and documents. Then came the anti-Japanese elements who utilized these stations for military purposes and left only the wrecks as reminders of what had existed before. No information regarding these stations was available under such conditions but with the coming of the Japanese anything that can still be used is being put in order. Before long the former stations will be in working order again.

The above-related policy of the Government to increase cotton production is presently marking time, awaiting the full adjustment of the encouragement organs and institutions but upon their completion the plan will be pushed enthusiastically to the limit. From the very beginning the Japanese Nation has given substantial assistance toward the materialization of the plan. The Ministry of Overseas Affairs purchased in the spring of this year 1,000,000 chin (a load for 68 freight cars) of improved Chosen upland cotton seeds and through the provisional government distributed them free of charge to North China farmers. In addition, experts and instructors have been sent to North China and Chinese employees are being given training in the field. In truth the Japanese are giving all the assistance and help that they can give. On the other hand the Peking Provisional Government is doing its part, if not more. Fully realizing the importance of cotton, it is contemplating the creation of a central organ to deal with everything that has to do with cotton, and to entrust to this organ the work of promoting and encouraging cultivation, experimenting, and the purchasing of produced cotton. Of course, separate organs will take care of the functions just listed, but they will be incorporated in the central organ. All these activities will help to bring about the speedy realization of the large-scale cotton production program which all circles concerned have placed much interest and expectation.

S. OKADA.

NOVEMBER 1938.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. KING. I am sure the Senator if he will expand the argument will contend that we do have interests aside from trade relations in China. First we have the open-door policy under which we have moral as well as material interests in China. We have property rights there, we have schools, hospitals, eleemosynary institutions, and have treaties with China under the terms of which through reciprocity we have interests there as well as China having trade relations with the United States.

Mr. President, it seems to me the Senator, if he has not already done so, could very properly expand to show that we do have interests in China, spiritual interests, moral interests, educational interests, property interests, all of which Japan is attempting to destroy, and to assert, as the Senator has contended, that dictatorial, autocratic control over the entire territory and domain of China.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I may say to the Senator from Utah that I did develop that from all except one point of view, and that is actual investments in China.

I leave that out deliberately—perhaps not properly. The Senator knows that any time we talk about investments in foreign countries somebody makes a speech saying that we do not want to do anything to protect the Standard Oil Co. in China. We were not even very much outraged about the Panay incident because of the fact that there were some Standard Oil tankers about. I wish to eliminate that part of the argument entirely; and in a desire to eliminate it I have omitted it from my discussion on this question.

However, on the question of future possibilities, and what we may lose as a result, assuming that Japan succeeds in conquering China, I wish to read from two articles. The first is a speech delivered in Washington at the Mayflower Hotel by Mr. C. H. French, of Shanghai, who was vice president of the Chinese-American Foreign Trade Council, based upon knowledge acquired through years of business connections in the Orient. He said:

The potentialities of China are so great as to justify the prediction that, if permitted to retain her sovereignty as contemplated by the nine-power treaty she will within the next generation eclipse every other nation in the world as a market for United States products, * * * and a steady export trade to the value of \$750,000,000 per annum, to say nothing of the enormous quantities of capital goods which will be required of us in the meantime while the intensive construction program is in process. Our greatest all-time customer in the past has been the United Kingdom, where we now have a well-established market in excess of \$500,000,000 a year. America stands ready to fight, if necessary, to protect that trade with Great Britain. Does not every consideration of self-interest demand that we protect our trade with a country which, if permitted to retain its sovereignty, is destined to become our greatest all-time customer of the future?

Her area is greater than that of the United States; her population is in excess of 450,000,000; her natural resources are enormous; her projected industrialization as planned by her Government is on a scale comparable to that which has characterized the development of our own country west of the Mississippi since the completion of our first railway to the Pacific.

The Government of China is now headed by a group of able Chinese who are sincerely devoted to the task of securing for their country a worthy and honorable position in the family of nations. In this connection it is pertinent to call attention to the appeal formulated by the Japanese Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai early in 1937 beseeching their Government and the Japanese people to change their attitude of hostility toward China for one of peaceful cooperation in recognition of the tremendous progress made by the Chinese in political unity, financial rehabilitation, and economic advancement.

ARTICLE BY ARNOLD

In addition, Mr. President, I wish to read briefly from an article written by Julien Arnold, for many years a commercial attaché in the Far East—a man who has had probably as frequent contacts with problems of a commercial nature as any man in the United States. I call the attention of the Senate to some of the facts pointed out by Mr. Arnold.

So far as railroads are concerned, he points out that China has only 10,000 miles of railroad, as compared with our 250,000 miles. She needs within the next 10 years, if the war should be ended, 50,000 miles. For each thousand miles of railroad she would need \$50,000,000 worth of equipment. She would need the facilities of our railroad organization. The construction of 50,000 miles of railroad would mean the use of 100,000,000 wooden ties. We in the Pacific Northwest, with our lumber industry, should at least be interested in the possibility of that sort of an outlet for our products.

During the past decade China has constructed 60,000 miles of highways. Prior to that time she had no roads usable for automobiles. She now has about 75,000 motorcars, of which 80 percent are constructed in the United States. If she could be permitted unmolested, under her new leadership, to develop herself economically, the automobile industry of this country would receive the benefit.

She has installed a network of air lines, making it possible to cover important cities. In 1936 they carried 27,000 passengers. She needs further air lines and further air equipment, which would come very largely from the United States.

During the past 10 years more cities and towns were reconstructed in China than in any other country in the world for a similar period.

Nanking, China's new capital, exhibited a most active building program and was destined, except for the war, to become one of the world's most beautiful capitals. The population of Nanking increased from 350,000 in 1925 to 1,100,000 in 1937. The material for the further development of that city would come from the United States. Mr. Arnold says:

A China free to work out her own destiny would undoubtedly offer opportunities which, within a decade or two, would surpass those of Japan and most other countries, giving us an export trade with China probably tenfold that of the year 1936.

Thus at the beginning of 1937, America was just at the threshold of realizing in a big way on the potentialities in China's vast modernization program.

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What country is better prepared financially to step in and realize upon China's potentialities than America? Shall we make credit advances to China for constructive developments and thereby conserve our future on the Pacific, or shall we make these funds available to Japan to further the ambitions of her military overlords and thereby jeopardize our entire future on the Pacific?

I now ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the article by Julian Arnold be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHINA'S FAITH AND AMERICA'S FUTURE

(By Julian Arnold)

Americans are mainly interested in the present struggle in Asia because of its possible effects upon them. Japan's invasion of China is the most appalling tragedy in all of human history, because it was launched at a time when that most populous of nations was at the very threshold of a huge constructive modernization program. When one of our outstanding American journalists tells his radio audience, as one recently did, that China has made no progress during the past 20 years, it is time that someone who knows better stepped forward and gave the facts. After serving my country for 37 years in China and Japan, I have had an opportunity to see, hear, and learn much. I shall now attempt to present frankly my views upon the situation, as I believe it affects our people and our country. I am presumptuous enough to hold the opinion that in any presentation of statistics regarding trade and economic conditions in China and Japan, one would be stupid indeed were he not to use great care intelligently to interpret them for otherwise they might be very misleading.

WHAT WERE THE CONDITIONS IN CHINA BEFORE THE JAPANESE INVASION?

"The National Government in China is now completely secure with capable hands in control of the nation's finance and economy."

"China's financial structure has become firmly laid as has been proved by the considerable improvement in her international payments."

A British journalist in Shanghai some years ago accused me of being an incurable optimist regarding China. Had the above statements been imputed to me, they might have elicited no surprise. Certainly very few people would have expected sentiments of this sort from a Japanese. They are, nevertheless, taken from a report of Mr. Seiji Yoshida, chairman of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Shanghai and manager of the Mitsubishi Bank in Shanghai. The report as broadcasted through the press of the Far East emanated from Tokyo under date of March 1, 1937. This news item further states:

"Pointing out the strengthening of the Chinese Government, Mr. Yoshida believes the present is an opportune moment for the Japanese Government and people to rectify their erroneous China policy as hitherto employed;" and

"Regarding the much-talked-of economic cooperation between the two countries as is being followed by Japan, Mr. Yoshida said that this would be possible only as long as China remains a semi-feudal, semicolonial state, but China's political and economic progress in recent years has been rapid, and the Chinese people have been earnest in working out their destiny."

This news item makes no mention of any comments by Mr. Yoshida on communism in China, undoubtedly for the reason that he realized, as did all unbiased observers, that communism in China had by 1937 just about spent its force and was no longer a matter of serious concern to those interested in China's modernization.

WHAT WERE AMERICA'S PROSPECTS IN CHINA BEFORE THE JAPANESE INVASION?

No other country on the face of the earth had made such phenomenal strides in modernization as had China during the past 10 years. These presaged big potentialities in the trade of the future. They spelled a transition in imports from consumer to capital goods. They indicated manyfold increases in the country's imports. Those with vision appreciated their significance in its extensive ramifications. Mr. Yoshida and his colleagues sensed this when they made their report. They appreciated the potentialities in trade which a self-rejuvenated China could offer. Now, what about the possibilities of realizing on those potentialities? To be specific, let us consider this subject under definite concrete subtopics:

Railroads: China has but 10,000 miles, compared with America's 250,000 miles.

During the past few years China rehabilitated existing lines and was engaged in construction of several thousand miles of new railroads.

China is the only country still needing as much as 50,000 miles. For each 1,000 miles of railroads, \$50,000,000 worth of equipment is needed.

The country has the experienced railroad engineers and operators necessary for handling its railroad problems.

Chinese bankers were participating in financing railroad construction.

Great Britain, France, Germany, and Belgium eagerly signed loan agreements for the construction of new lines under Chinese auspices,

stipulating that materials must be purchased from their respective nationals.

Export-Import Bank, Washington, was prepared to negotiate credits for the several hundred million dollars for American materials, bringing big trade opportunities to American manufacturers and labor.

Sales of railroad equipment to China represent mainly manufactured goods and no war materials. The construction of 50,000 miles of railroads means the use of 100,000,000 wooden ties. This prospect is of special interest to our Northwest lumber interests.

Highways: During the past decade China constructed 60,000 miles of highways, mostly in sections of the country which previously had had no roads.

About 80 percent of the 75,000 motor cars in China are American.

Further plans embraced several hundred thousand miles with provision for coordination with railroads and waterways.

A prospering China will need millions of motor vehicles for the highways necessary to her economic transportation.

Waterways: The improvement of China's waterways was well advanced by 1937.

Existing steamship lines were reorganized and improved.

Schools were established in China for training personnel for the new fleet.

China had purchased new steamers from England. She was preparing to negotiate for the purchase of American ships.

Airways: China had installed a network of air lines, making it possible to cover all important cities by regular schedules. In 1936 they carried 27,000 passengers.

A Chinese-American company occupied an important place in commercial aviation, operating about 3,000 miles of lines on a profitable basis and was prepared to extend its operations and equipment several fold.

American equipment and personnel were outstanding factors in China's airways.

China completed airway connections with America, England, and France.

Telegraphs, telephones, and radios: Wireless-telegraph stations were installed in the principal cities.

Radio telephone communications were opened with America May 1937.

A network of long-distance telephones was completed connecting important cities, although the total number of telephones was only 250,000.

Largest telephone company in China is an American concern in Shanghai.

Radio broadcasting stations were installed in important cities. America occupied first place in the supply of radio equipment.

Industrial developments: China made greater progress in the installation of modern industrial plants during 1936-37 than at any other time in her history.

Throughout the interior smokestacks vied with pagodas for a place in the sun of new China.

Among the larger industries were: Cotton spindles, 5,000,000; looms, 50,000; flour mills, yearly capacity, 25,000,000 barrels; cigarette factories, yearly capacity, 80,000,000,000. The largest electric-power plant, with 300,000-kilowatt capacity, is American owned.

The imports of industrial machinery and equipment presented prospects for ever-increasing sales of American-manufactured goods and promised steadily rising economic levels among the masses in China, hence increased purchasing power.

Building construction: During the past 10 years more cities and towns were reconstructed in China than in any other country in the world for a similar period.

Nanking, China's new capital, exhibited a most active building program and was destined, except for the war, to become one of the world's most beautiful capitals. The population had increased from 350,000 in 1925 to 1,100,000 in 1937.

With the beginning of 1937, China embarked upon a modern building program, offering well-grounded hopes for big sales of American building materials, heating, lighting, ventilating, and air-conditioning equipment.

Agricultural developments: With 80 percent of China's population rural, agriculture is of prime importance.

Improvements among rural masses during the years 1932-37 were a striking factor in effectively combating communistic activities.

The installation of credit cooperatives, giving farmers money at 8 percent annually instead of the former 2 and 3 percent a month, was of outstanding significance.

Better conditions among the masses were reflected in steadily increased purchasing power.

Financial betterments: With the beginning of 1937 China was definitely headed for currency stabilization, uniform currency throughout the country, and adequate provision for refunding her outstanding foreign and domestic loans.

Improved national credits were evidenced by the resumption of foreign loans and credits by foreign countries, especially in long-term credits to government organs for constructive projects.

The American silver policy which forced China onto a managed-currency basis with notes of the Government banks as legal tender proved helpful to China's financial reorganization. It represents the most helpful contribution to the country in its present crisis as it enabled China to establish substantial credits abroad through her nationalization and exports of silver.

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Political conditions: Following the revolution of 1911 China suffered serious internal disruptions for two decades, but by 1930 conditions began definitely to improve and by 1937 national unification became a reality.

The restoration of confidence in the central government was evidenced by the increasing support of the country's bankers in constructive development projects.

Foreign trade: Had China been privileged to execute her modernization program upon which she was so well embarked in 1937, she would have startled the world by the huge volumes of foreign trade which would have followed in its wake. It portended a vastly greater emphasis upon capital goods, which were destined for constructive purposes.

Salient facts in America's trade with China: During the 5 years preceding 1937, America led in both China's exports and imports, taking about 30 percent of the former and selling about 20 percent of the latter.

Our exports to China represented mainly manufactured products and agricultural commodities.

Our imports from China, which amounted to upward of \$100,000,000 a year, represented mostly raw materials or semimanufactured products, hence were essential to our manufacturing industries.

Invisible items in our trade with China include banking, shipping, insurance, tourists' expenditures, missionary and Government expenditures, the maintenance of American business and industrial concerns in China, and American investments.

The aggregate of American investments in China are about \$250,000,000, including about \$50,000,000 in missionary and other eleemosynary institutions.

American trans-Pacific steamship companies early in 1937 reported the most encouraging outlook for years, especially in the American tourist trade.

In 1937 there were about 12,000 Americans resident in China, including about 4,000 resident in Shanghai.

American business houses, American schools, American missionaries, and other American institutions and organizations all contribute toward the popularizing of American goods, American methods, and American ideas, among the Chinese people.

American motion picture films have been an important factor in popularizing things American. About 80 percent of the imported films are American.

With the severance of Manchuria from China, our import and export returns with China were considerably reduced.

Our 400 American concerns in China were unanimous in early 1937 in proclaiming that the country presented the most hopeful outlook ever offered, with prospects for a record year and still better opportunities for succeeding years.

A China free to work out her own destiny would undoubtedly offer opportunities which, within a decade or two, would surpass those of Japan and most other countries, giving us an export trade with China probably tenfold that of the year 1936.

Thus at the beginning of 1937, America was just at the threshold of realizing in a big way on the potentialities in China's vast modernization program.

What country is better prepared financially to step in and realize upon China's potentialities than America? Shall we make credit advances to China for constructive developments and thereby conserve our future on the Pacific, or shall we make these funds available to Japan to further the ambitions of her military overlords and thereby jeopardize our entire future on the Pacific?

WHAT WERE JAPAN'S PROSPECTS IN HER TRADE WITH CHINA BEFORE THE HOSTILITIES?

Mr. Yoshida is quoted as stating in his report as mentioned above:

"While other foreign powers are trying to create new opportunities to meet the new situation in China, Japan has remained inactive. Japan must henceforth discard her vigorous China policy and adopt one that is morally acceptable to the Chinese Government and is practical. It is absurd that Japan has always charged China with insincerity or befriending other foreign powers to antagonize Japan, for which Japanese diplomatic and other Government authorities must be held partially responsible."

During the years immediately preceding the Japanese invasion, Japan's trade with China was on the increase, even discounting the smuggling trade in north China which did not enter into the returns of the Chinese customs. Had Japan followed the advice of her chamber of commerce at Shanghai and pursued a policy of friendly cooperation, it is patent that the Chinese were prepared to accord Japanese trading, industrial, and financial interest, opportunities equally as good as those accorded other foreign nations. For instance, the Chinese Government expressed a willingness to negotiate credit-loan agreements with the Japanese for railroad construction on terms similar to those offered other foreign nationals. However, Japan's military overlords demanded a degree of supervision over the construction and operation of these lines, which was repugnant to an independent China naturally set upon the preservation of her territorial integrity and sovereign rights.

Furthermore, it is more than probable that if Japan had been prepared to play the game on the basis of a recognition of the policy of the open door, American financiers and manufacturers would have been willing to participate with Japanese in development projects in China. In fact, Japan, with her close geographi-

cal proximity to China and her natural facilities for tapping the Chinese markets, stood to gain by everything which other foreign interests might have done toward stimulating the vast modernization program upon which China had embarked.

WHAT ARE JAPAN'S POLICIES IN THE INVASION OF CHINA?

Prince Konoye, Japanese Premier, August 28, 1937, proclaimed Japan's only course in China is to beat China to her knees so that she may no longer have the spirit to fight. Communism in China had almost spent its force, hence this could not be cited as a legitimate pretext for the invasion.

Japan hopes:

1. By a policy of terrorism to subjugate the great masses in China, and thereby establish a Japanese feudal military overlordship on the Asiatic Continent.

2. To prevent the Chinese from developing the training or equipment for military protection, but to impress into the service of the Japanese armies as much of the Chinese manpower as can be safely and effectively used under Japanese military direction.

3. To set up on the Asiatic Continent a grandiose Japanese military machine in preparation for further conquests in the Pacific and eventually to achieve Japan's so-called manifest destiny to rule the world.

4. To secure monopolistic control of China's economic resources, thereby freeing Japan from reliance on America for cotton, tobacco, iron and steel, heavy chemicals, and certain other essential products. In North China the Japanese are trying to force Chinese farmers to grow American-type cotton even at the expense of cereal production, to guarantee to Japanese mills the needed cotton at prices probably less than half the production costs of cotton in America.

5. To control and direct all modern industrial developments in China, utilizing the greatest manpower in the world on a mere subsistence-wage basis, thereby making possible the flooding of the markets of the world with cheap Japanese-manufactured products.

6. To create in China a monopolistic market for Japanese-manufactured products through a control of all means of communications and through preferential tariffs and marketing facilities.

7. To set up Japanese-controlled regional puppet governments vested with responsibility, but with little or no authority, and answerable to their Japanese military overlords.

8. To eradicate from the Asiatic Continent American and other westernizing influences, substituting the Japanese language for English and putting into the schools textbooks written in Japan.

9. Under the fiction of relinquishing special Japanese concessions and extraterritoriality, to induce other nations to do likewise and in reality develop China as one huge Japanese concession with Japanese nationals enjoying preferential considerations.

EFFECTS OF JAPAN'S UNDECLARED WAR ON CHINA

Military conditions

[Statistics are estimates for Jan. 1, 1939.]

Number Japanese troops landed in China to date.....	1, 300, 000
Number Japanese troops landed in Manchuria to date...	300, 000
Number Japanese casualties.....	600, 000
Number Japanese killed.....	250, 000
Number Chinese Government troops in the field.....	3, 500, 000
Number Chinese guerillas (no estimates available).....	
Number Chinese troops casualties.....	1, 500, 000
Number Chinese troops killed.....	600, 000
Number Chinese civilian casualties (aerial bombs).....	150, 000
Number Chinese civilian deaths.....	75, 000
Number Chinese civilians forced to flee before invading armies.....	40, 000, 000
Number Chinese civilian refugees in summer of 1938....	30, 000, 000

General effects

Hundreds of colleges, schools, and hospitals, thousands of industrial plants and business establishments, as well as tens of thousands of houses, have been destroyed or occupied by Japanese.

Hundreds of industrial plants, business establishments, and private houses have been appropriated without compensation.

Scores of cities and towns have been looted and hundreds of tons of art treasures shipped to Japan.

In areas occupied by Japanese the Chinese customs revenues are being held by Japanese, and none are released for foreign commitments against revenues. China's financial reforms, which were nearing perfection before the invasion, are now threatened with chaos.

Occupied areas are scoured for metal coins, hence are depleted of silver and copper.

Military notes, irredeemable and inconvertible, in denominations as low as 1 cent, the equivalent of about one-seventh of a cent American currency, are forced on the populace.

Opium shops and narcotic peddlers follow the Japanese armies; hence Japanese collect toll while demoralizing the population.

Wholesale disorder and brigandage are spreading over occupied areas, with general political and economic break-down.

Japanese occupied areas in China at beginning of 1939 (estimates):

- Manchuria and adjoining areas, about 580,000 square miles.
- Other sections of China, about 390,000 square miles.
- Population of occupied areas, 180,000,000 (40 percent of total population).
- Percentage of area under Japanese control, 23 percent.
- Occupied area includes most of modern industrial plants.
- Occupied area includes principal trading ports.

(g) Occupied area includes much rich agricultural and mineral resources.

(h) Occupied area includes two-thirds of China's railway mileage.

Chinese communications in operation, April 1939:

1. China coast ports Ningpo, Wenchow, and Foochow, through which exports, principally tung oil and tea, get out in limited quantities.

2. Yunnan-Haiphong Railway, connecting by highway with Chungking.

3. Yunnan-Burma highway connecting Chungking with Rangoon.

4. Szechuan-Lanchow to Soviet Russia by motor cars and camels.

5. About 200 tons of cargo daily are shipped over routes 2 and 3.

6. About 1,000 tons monthly pass over Lanchow route.

7. The Hunan-Kwangsi Railway in southwest China permits transport across Kwangsi Province to Yunnan.

8. Commercial airplane services maintained between west China points and Hong Kong and Hanoi (Indo-China).

9. Trans-Pacific air service thrice monthly with Hong Kong, thence via Hanoi to Chungking and west China cities.

10. Sino-American airline operates between Yunnan and Burma and between Yunnan and Hong Kong.

11. Radio-telephone services inaugurated between Chungking and Moscow and telecommunications extended throughout Chinese-controlled territory.

12. The most powerful broadcasting station in the Far East is at Chungking, the present temporary capital of China.

Industrial conditions beginning 1939:

1. In Manchuria emphasis is placed upon projects essential to war industries.

2. In Japanese-occupied areas Japanese have destroyed or taken over principal Chinese industrial plants.

3. Chinese Government in areas under its control encourages economic self-sufficiency by promotion of "industrial cooperatives" with machinery available and by expanding handicraft industry. Banks are aiding in financing these developments.

4. Significant is the widespread modern economic development in areas under Chinese control, especially in Szechuan, Yunnan, and west China generally, and includes expediting the development of latent mineral resources.

WHAT ARE AMERICA'S PROSPECTS IN CHINA AFTER JAPAN'S INVASION?

Railroads: A Japanized China will build and operate railroads primarily to further Japan's policies of military and economic domination of the Far East, using as soon as possible a maximum of Japanese equipment, even to the extent of tapping the stands of timber in Manchuria for ties or sleepers. Although we may be offered some alluring initial orders to secure our financial backing, yet as soon as Japan gets her financial wind, we shall have very soon to be content to take the crumbs that drop from the master's table and these will get drier as time goes on. Japanized railroads will be so operated as to give preferential consideration to Japanese trade and other Japanese interests.

Highways: Roads will be built as accessory to railroads and waterways and primarily for Japan's military purposes and to further her plans for tapping the economic resources of China. As for equipment, American branch plants in Japan may, for some years, be permitted to supply cars, but all accessories will be manufactured by Japanese concerns. In fact, Japan is already engaged in developing a plant in Mukden for the manufacture of motor cars and trucks.

Waterways: The Japanese flag will enjoy exclusive privileges on the inland waterways and coastal trade of China, under a Japanized China. Vessels will be built in Japanese shipbuilding plants. Through the control of all internal water routes, Japan will have a stranglehold on the trade and economic developments of China.

Airways: American participation in the operation of China's commercial aviation will cease immediately under a Japanese-dominated China. Japan will dictate the terms under which we shall be permitted to operate our trans-Pacific air clippers in making connections with China, and if possible, other sections of the Far East as well. A minimum of American equipment will be purchased, the quantities decreasing as Japan is able to produce her own airplane industry.

Telegraphs, telephones, and radios: With a Japanized China, American equipment will become as rare as snow on the streets of San Francisco. Broadcasting will be censored so that China will be fed what "Master" Japan wants to give her, and send out what he wants her to say.

Industrial developments: With a Japanized China, here is where America will be hoodwinked into believing that she is going to get some good business. Exact long-term credits, Japanese will take American machinery but only to build up industries whereby they may use Chinese labor on mere subsistence wages, so as to outdo the rest of the world in production costs and then flood the world with their cheap-manufactured products. We shall then be faced with a real "yellow peril." Thus, we shall be invited to furnish capital and equipment to help Japan undermine our wage scales and standards of living. Furthermore, Japan will be especially concerned with building up her war industries on the Asiatic Continent, so that we shall be asked to help finance these, as we have been helping Japan to build up her war industries in Manchuria. What sort of investments will these present for American capital?

Trade and cultural stakes: Following the outbreak of hostilities, several thousands of Americans were evacuated from or had to

leave the country because of the Japanese invasion. Huge quantities of American cargo destined to China had to be diverted. American properties in China have been destroyed or occupied by Japanese armed forces. In fact, foundations in trade and cultural contacts built up after decades of labor and with outlays of hundreds of millions of dollars are being destroyed by this undeclared war on China.

The \$250,000,000 in American investments in China under a Japanized China will be threatened with extinction. By forcing exports and imports in China to be handled through Japanese concerns, our banks, insurance companies, steamship companies, and other servicing organizations now constituting important items in our invisible trade will leave to do what our companies in Manchuria did, namely, to get out.

The losses, direct and indirect, to American interests will aggregate more than the total of our trade with Japan for some years.

America has been tobogganed from first to third place in China trade, with heavy reductions in both exports and imports.

America has depended upon China for large quantities of materials which enter into her manufacturing industries, such as tung-oil for our varnish; bristles for our brushes; vegetable oils for our cooking, fats, and soaps; wool for our carpets; goatskins for women's shoes; antimony for type and babbitt metals; tungsten for high-speed machine tools and electric-light filaments; and tin for our tinned plate. We were her best customer, taking 30 percent of her exports. Japan aims to secure control of these commodities, purchase them with fiat money, force us to buy them with good American money, and pay tolls to Japanese brokerage houses, Japanese banks, Japanese insurance companies, and Japanese ships. She may even force us to take them in processed form if she chooses.

Japan's plans for the increased production of American-type cotton and leaf tobacco in China, if successful, spell the doom of our former lucrative trade in the Far East in these commodities. Japan will be able to force the Chinese at the point of the bayonet to raise American-type cotton at 3 or 4 cents a pound. Recent news flashes from China inform us that the Japanese authorities plan to rush their cotton-production program by making cotton planting in North China compulsory, while attempting to prohibit the planting of cereals, counting upon Manchuria to supply the latter to North China.

Through the use of their Federal Reserve Bank of China notes, which are inconvertible and irredeemable, the Japanese are shutting out American competition in imports and exports in Japanese-controlled areas.

Through preferential tariffs, transportation and travel facilities, and currency exchange manipulations, Japanese traders and goods are forcing Americans and American commodities out of the market. Her policies threaten the elimination of the American mercantile marine from the Pacific.

Through the control of the telegraphs, posts, and all other means of communication, Japan will set up annoying barriers against American contacts with China.

Anti-American propaganda is being broadcast in Japanese-controlled areas for the purpose of killing the effectiveness in American trade and other relations of American-educated Chinese and those friendly with our institutions, goods, and methods.

The appalling destruction of property and lives has reduced the purchasing power of the population, curtailing seriously import possibilities for American goods, which in China sell on a quality basis.

By the wholesale operations in China of Japanese opium and narcotics vendors, our difficulties in shutting out narcotics from our country will be multiplied very considerably.

IS AMERICA AN ALLY OF JAPAN?

While public opinion in America sympathizes with China's cause in the defense of her country from foreign invasion, yet as circumstances have developed, we actually find ourselves rendering far more material aid to Japan than to China. The vast bulk of our exports to Japan during these past few years have been in war materials or commodities which figure in Japan's war industries. A recent United Press news item from Tokyo informs us that 10,000 taxis have been taken out of service in Tokyo alone, while private owners of cars are limited to 1½ gallons of gasoline daily, so rigid are the rations of materials used for the prosecution of the war. In Japan's needs for iron, it states cast iron and rubber splash guards have been taken off automobiles, and bicycles no longer have tin license plates. Efforts are being made to substitute porcelain for iron for mail boxes. In the same way, the Government control of textiles has reduced purchaseable linen, woolen, and cotton almost to nothing.

Some have boasted of our increased imports to Manchuria during these past 2 years, but reports from official sources from Manchuria show that nearly all of the exports are for war industries. Thus during these last few years comparatively little of our exports to Japan, which roughly total about \$300,000,000 annually, are other than war materials.

If one were to follow the Japanese armies in China and witnessed all the American-mechanized equipment, he might think, except for the personnel, that he was following the American armies.

By the purchase of Chinese commodities from Japanese concerns in the Japanese-controlled areas we are helping further to assist Japan in the purchase of war materials. She buys these products with irredeemable and inconvertible paper, or fiat money, and we

have to pay American money, thereby helping her to establish credits abroad.

It is estimated that there are being sent back to Japan annually by the 280,000 Japanese resident in America upward of \$20,000,000. Thus we are furnishing this Japanese population in our country with opportunities for the accumulation of surpluses from their earnings which contribute substantially to the country's war chest. On the other hand, Americans resident, or having interests in Japan or Manchuria, are forbidden by the exchange-control laws from sending any money from those territories.

Japanese are permitted to flood our country with tons of propaganda, to broadcast over our radio, and to send their spokesmen around pleading Japan's cause, while we are prevented from the opportunity of presenting to the Japanese people our interpretation of our views and our interests in the China situation.

The longer we delay taking positive action to protect our interests in Asia and the Far East the more difficult will become the task, because the more deeply the Japanese penetrate China the larger the sources of supply upon which she will be able to draw for assisting her in carrying on her war.

SUGGESTED COURSES OF ACTION OPEN TO AMERICANS

Whereas Japan has violated the nine-power treaty and the Kellogg Pact, and whereas America enjoys extraterritorial rights in her treaty with China which impose on her certain responsibilities to her nationals, which she is now unable to discharge because of Japan's undeclared and unprovoked war on China, therefore it is proposed that we institute certain reprisals against Japan in our efforts to protect our rights and interests in China. Among the suggested reprisals which may well receive consideration are the following:

1. Devise some method of effectively controlling the flow of American war materials to Japan.

2. Study carefully America's needs in essential war materials in case of emergency demands, so as to safeguard our country against the depletion of stocks necessary for our own armaments.

3. Impose prohibitive import tariff duties on commodities imported primarily from Japan. In this connection an import tariff of one or two hundred percent on raw silk, which constitutes over 50 percent of our imports from Japan, may prove quite effective in curtailing this trade.

4. So long as Japanese military or other organizations continue to occupy American premises in China without due compensation or permission, consider some such reciprocal action as the closing down of Japanese-language schools in our country. There are 189 of these in the Hawaiian Islands.

5. In order to help Americans in their purchases of Chinese commodities in Japanese-controlled areas, require that purchases of Chinese commodities be accompanied with consular certificates showing that they were financed through American currency transactions, with no discriminations against American buyers.

6. So long as the Japanese refuse to allow the free passage of American commodities in the waterways of China and embarrass our American concerns operating in China through the imposition of disastrously discriminatory treatment, which in some cases amounts to confiscation, restrict Japanese ships in their use of American harbors.

7. So long as Americans in Japan and Manchuria are prohibited from sending money from those countries, devise some method of making it difficult to send money from America to Japan.

8. Discourage American manufacturers and bankers extending credit accommodations to Japan while Americans are discriminated against in trading in China.

9. Insist that American manufacturers do not shift the handling of their business in China from American to Japanese houses.

10. Encourage American manufacturers and exporters to organize export syndicates effectively to prevent Japanese importers and exporters from operating under monopolistic conditions, playing one concern off against another.

11. So long as Americans are not privileged to send material into Japan to enlighten the Japanese people concerning the situation in China affecting American interests, prohibit Japanese propaganda from being disseminated in the United States.

12. America and American broadcasting stations should be prohibited from receiving Japanese broadcasts while American broadcasts are not received in Japan.

13. So long as Japanese in China censor American mail and other communications going into Japanese occupied areas, institute a censorship on mail and other communications coming into America from Japan and the Japanese occupied areas in China.

14. Extend credit facilities to China for the purchase of American commodities, as one way of helping the Chinese to make their defense effective. A loan of a few hundreds of millions of dollars at this time would be tantamount to insurance on a Pacific peace policy. In this connection, the facilities of the Export-Import Bank should be extended to make the advancement of these credits possible.

HOW IMPORTANT ARE OUR RESPONSIBILITIES AS A PACIFIC POWER?

Much has been said in the past about an impending Pacific era. Few of our people now realize that with Japan's invasion of China, which is in fact one of the most momentous events in all of history, the Pacific era has been ushered in. It is here. Henceforth, what may transpire in this section of the world is likely to be of even greater concern to us as a nation than what may happen on the other side of the Atlantic.

America is essentially more of a Pacific than an Atlantic power. It is feasible to construct a bridge across the Behring Straits whereby it may be possible to drive our motorcars across onto the Asiatic Continent. In fact, the shortest distance from St. Louis in the Mississippi Valley to Hankow in the Yangtze Valley is along the great circle traversing the Behring Straits. Furthermore, we have a greater Pacific coast line than has any other occidental nation.

Modern means of communications have brought our Asiatic neighbors into a stone's throw of us. We can now hail them across the water. We cannot any longer build up walls of isolation shutting us away from the rest of the world. The Pacific Ocean is no longer a formidable barrier separating us from the Far East—better now called the Far West.

Many Americans with little background in things Japanese but prominent in our business, industrial, professional, and other walks of life have visited Japan, and their Japanese hosts found it easy to fit them with Japanese glasses and ear trumpets, which enable them to see and hear the Japanese versions of Far Eastern matters. Some of these, after returning to America, continue to wear these Japanese glasses and ear trumpets, indicating quite clearly that our whole educational system is at fault in not furnishing our people with the means of a good education in the fundamentals of the civilizations and institutions of these important Asiatic peoples.

We have spent hundreds of millions of dollars and sent tens of thousands of our nationals to China and Japan in efforts to carry American ideals and ideas to the Far East. Millions of Chinese and Japanese speak, read, and write English and understand us and our institutions. How many Americans are there who possess a substantial knowledge of China and Japan and understand the psychology of the Chinese and Japanese?

Japan moved into Manchuria, a territory larger than Germany and France combined, and now threatens to occupy an area greater than the United States with a population nearly three times larger, yet we show more concern over the taking of a few hundred square miles in Europe by a European power than we manifest toward what constitutes a major threat to our entire civilization.

If Japan succeeds in her conquest of China, she will not stop there. Her occupation of Hainan Island and the Spratley Islands indicates that she has greater ambitions. She aims to set herself up as master of the Pacific. How long will it be before she will, with 150,000 Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands, demand that the Japanese flag be hoisted over this important American outpost in the Pacific?

Japan has exhibited a persistent interest in the rich fishing resources in the Alaskan waters. How long will it be, should she succeed in her ambitions on the Asiatic continent, before she pushes her fishing fleet into our northern waters and begins colonization in Alaska?

There are 140,000 Japanese on our mainland, mostly on the Pacific coast. In Los Angeles alone there are in so-called Little Tokyo 40,000 Japanese. Should Japan succeed in her military domination of the Far East, how long will it be before she will make demands that our immigration bars be let down still lower? While we are quite willing to continue to permit Japanese merchants, students, and travelers admission into our country, we feel the necessity of safeguarding our standards of living against the influx of hordes of laborers on low economic levels.

In January of 1929 Mr. Sado Saburi, the Japanese chargé d'affaires in London, was quoted in the Shanghai press as having given utterance to the following sentiments:

"There are those who think that a stage has been reached in the life of Japan when she must decide whether she shall throw in her lot with the East or West. The idea is manifestly one which presupposes antagonism ultimately leading to conflict between the two civilizations and is comprehensible only if one tolerates the policy of a 'yellow peril.' It is, however, entirely too narrow in its conception and far too terrible in its potential consequences to merit consideration by Japan, who in her pursuit of the goal of enduring peace and the continuous advancement of mankind aspires to serve as a link connecting and harmonizing the civilizations of the East and the West."

Taking these sentiments, along with those of Mr. Yoshida as quoted in the earlier part of this article, one must be convinced that there are Japanese who think very differently from their military leaders, who are now dictating their country's policies. Were Japan's destinies entrusted to those possessed of these forward looking sentiments, we should have good reason then to be optimistic regarding the prospects of developing policies of peaceful cooperation with our neighbors on the Pacific. But in our ignorance and apathy we have thus far chosen to give our material support to Japan's militarists, who are obsessed with the ambition to set themselves up as military masters of Asia and of the Pacific, preliminary to world domination, all of which is in keeping with what they are taught to revere as Japan's "manifest destiny." Shall we not, if we continue our drifting policies, invite the annihilation of our standards of living and our democratic institutions?

Pasadena, California, April 22, 1939.

NOTE.—The above summary of conditions in China concerning America and American interests was compiled by Julean Arnold while on an extended leave of absence in this country. The opinions and sentiments expressed are personal and are not intended to imply a reflection of the ideas or opinions of any of our Government departments or representatives.

169329—17262

Mr. President, on June 1, I introduced the joint resolution to which I have referred; and during the remainder of my discussion I wish to discuss the joint resolution. I now ask unanimous consent that the joint resolution be printed in the RECORD at this point in connection with my remarks.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That in compliance with our treaty engagements, and to conserve our resources for national-defense purposes, there shall be retained within the United States, and denied export therefrom, all goods, wares, merchandise, munitions, materials, and supplies of every kind and character, except agricultural products, which there is reason to believe will, if exported, be used, directly or indirectly, in violation of the sovereignty, or the independence, or the territorial or administrative integrity of any nation, whose sovereignty, independence, and territorial and administrative integrity the United States is obligated by treaty to respect.

SEC. 2. The President shall issue from time to time as may be necessary public proclamations specifying articles and materials to be retained within the United States and denied export therefrom under this act, and the extent to which and the terms and conditions under which such articles and materials shall be so retained and denied export. Any such proclamation shall become effective on the date specified therein.

SEC. 3. Any proclamation issued under section 2 of this act, together with a statement of the facts upon which it is based, shall be transmitted by the President to the Congress forthwith, or, if the Congress is not in session, at the beginning of the next session. If the Congress shall thereafter disapprove of such proclamation by concurrent resolution, such proclamation shall not be effective after the date of such concurrent resolution.

SEC. 4. The President may, from time to time, promulgate such rules and regulations, not inconsistent with law, as may be necessary and proper to carry out any of the provisions of this joint resolution; and he may exercise any power or authority conferred on him by this joint resolution through such officer or officers, or agency or agencies, as he shall direct.

SEC. 5. It shall be unlawful to export, or attempt to export, or in any manner contribute to the export of, any article or material from the United States in violation of the terms or conditions of any proclamation issued under section 2. Any person violating the provisions of this joint resolution or any rule or regulation issued hereunder shall, upon conviction, be fined not more than \$50,000 or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, the joint resolution provides:

That in compliance with our treaty engagements, and to conserve our resources for national-defense purposes, there shall be retained within the United States, and denied export therefrom, all goods, wares, merchandise, munitions, materials, and supplies of every kind and character, except agricultural products, which there is reason to believe will, if exported, be used, directly or indirectly, in violation of the sovereignty, or the independence, or the territorial or administrative integrity of any nation whose sovereignty, independence, and territorial and administrative integrity the United States is obligated by treaty to respect.

Mr. President, I read that language because of the fact that the joint resolution is not an embargo against any other nation. It is not an embargo against any particular nation. It is a resolution which does two things:

First, the Nine Power Pact binds our citizens as well as our Government. The resolution prevents our citizens from themselves exporting to any nation goods which will be used in violation of that treaty. Second, the joint resolution is not an embargo against a nation. It is an embargo against goods. Under the provisions of the joint resolution we could send any kind of goods we chose to Japan except goods which were destined to be used for the purpose of destroying the territorial integrity of China. In the joint resolution nothing is said about Japan. It simply says that if any nation uses goods exported by our citizens for the purpose of destroying the territorial integrity of any country the territorial integrity of which we have agreed to respect, we will stop our citizens from exporting them.

As a matter of fact, if we want to be technical about it, its first point of application would be against England and Canada, because a very large part of the goods prohibited from shipment under the resolution are shipped in English and Canadian ships. There is nothing in the joint resolution which compels an embargo against any particular nation or against any goods except those which are intended to be used in violation of our treaty obligations.

After this question arose there was presented the question as to whether or not we had a right to pass the joint

resolution which I described, or the joint resolution introduced by the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee [Mr. PITTMAN]. The basis of the argument was that in 1911 we entered into a treaty with Japan under which we agreed to give to Japan the same sort of treatment, so far as the export of goods is concerned, as any other most-favored nation.

Mr. President, that treaty was proclaimed on February 21, 1911; and I think it is desirable, in order that the RECORD may be complete, that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the treaty was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TREATY OF COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN, AT WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 21, 1911; RATIFICATION ADVISED BY THE SENATE, WITH AMENDMENT, FEBRUARY 24, 1911; RATIFIED BY THE PRESIDENT, MARCH 2, 1911; RATIFIED BY JAPAN, MARCH 31, 1911; RATIFICATIONS EXCHANGED AT TOKYO, APRIL 4, 1911; PROCLAIMED, APRIL 5, 1911

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States of America and the Empire of Japan, was concluded and signed by their respective Plenipotentiaries at Washington on the twenty-first day of February, one thousand nine hundred and eleven, the original of which Treaty, being in the English language, is, as amended by the Senate of the United States, word for word as follows:

The President of the United States of America and His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, being desirous to strengthen the relations of amity and good understanding which happily exist between the two nations, and believing that the fixation in a manner clear and positive of the rules which are hereafter to govern the commercial intercourse between their respective countries will contribute to the realization of this most desirable result, have resolved to conclude a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation for that purpose, and to that end have named their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

The President of the United States of America, Philander C. Knox, Secretary of State of the United States; and

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Baron Yasuya Uchida, Jusamm, Grand Cordon of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun, His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I.

The citizens or subjects of each of the High Contracting Parties shall have liberty to enter, travel and reside in the territories of the other to carry on trade, wholesale and retail, to own or lease and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses and shops, to employ agents of their choice, to lease land for residential and commercial purposes, and generally to do anything incidental to or necessary for trade upon the same terms as native citizens or subjects, submitting themselves to the laws and regulations there established.

They shall not be compelled, under any pretext whatever, to pay any charges or taxes other or higher than those that are or may be paid by native citizens or subjects.

The citizens or subjects of each of the High Contracting Parties shall receive, in the territories of the other, the most constant protection and security for their persons and property, and shall enjoy in this respect the same rights and privileges as are or may be granted to native citizens or subjects, on their submitting themselves to the conditions imposed upon the native citizens or subjects.

They shall, however, be exempt in the territories of the other from compulsory military service either on land or sea, in the regular forces, or in the national guard, or in the militia; from all contributions imposed in lieu of personal service, and from all forced loans or military exactions or contributions.

Article II.

The dwellings, warehouses, manufactories and shops of the citizens or subjects of each of the High Contracting Parties in the territories of the other, and all premises appertaining thereto used for purposes of residence or commerce, shall be respected. It shall not be allowable to proceed to make a domiciliary visit to, or a search of, any such buildings and premises, or to examine or inspect books, papers or accounts, except under the conditions and with the forms prescribed by the laws, ordinances and regulations for nationals.

Article III.

Each of the High Contracting Parties may appoint Consuls General, Consuls, Vice Consuls, Deputy Consuls and Consular Agents in all ports, cities and places of the other, except in those where it may not be convenient to recognize such officers. This exception, however, shall not be made in regard to one of the Contracting Parties without being made likewise in regard to all other Powers.

Such Consuls General, Consuls, Vice Consuls, Deputy Consuls and Consular Agents, having received exequaturs or other sufficient authorizations from the Government of the country to which they

are appointed, shall, on condition of reciprocity, have the right to exercise the functions and to enjoy the exemptions and immunities which are or may hereafter be granted to the consular officers of the same rank of the most favored nation. The Government issuing exequaturs or other authorizations may in its discretion cancel the same on communicating the reasons for which it thought proper to do so.

Article IV.

There shall be between the territories of the two High Contracting Parties reciprocal freedom of commerce and navigation. The citizens or subjects of each of the Contracting Parties, equally with the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, shall have liberty freely to come with their ships and cargoes to all places, ports and rivers in the territories of the other which are or may be opened to foreign commerce, subject always to the laws of the country to which they thus come.

Article V.

The import duties on articles, the produce or manufacture of the territories of one of the High Contracting Parties, upon importation into the territories of the other, shall henceforth be regulated either by treaty between the two countries or by the internal legislation of each.

Neither Contracting Party shall impose any other or higher duties or charges on the exportation of any article to the territories of the other than are or may be payable on the exportation of the like article to any other foreign country.

Nor shall any prohibition be imposed by either country on the importation or exportation of any article from or to the territories of the other which shall not equally extend to the like article imported from or exported to any other country. The last provision is not, however, applicable to prohibitions or restrictions maintained or imposed as sanitary measures or for purposes of protecting animals and useful plants.

Article VI.

The citizens or subjects of each of the High Contracting Parties shall enjoy in the territories of the other exemption from all transit duties and a perfect equality of treatment with native citizens or subjects in all that relates to warehousing, bounties, facilities and drawbacks.

Article VII.

Limited-liability and other companies and associations, commercial, industrial, and financial, already or hereafter to be organized in accordance with the laws of either High Contracting Party and domiciled in the territories of such Party, are authorized, in the territories of the other, to exercise their rights and appear in the courts either as plaintiffs or defendants, subject to the laws of such other Party.

The foregoing stipulation has no bearing upon the question whether a company or association organized in one of the two countries will or will not be permitted to transact its business or industry in the other, this permission remaining always subject to the laws and regulations enacted or established in the respective countries or in any part thereof.

Article VIII.

All articles which are or may be legally imported into the ports of either High Contracting Party from foreign countries in national vessels may likewise be imported into those ports in vessels of the other Contracting Party, without being liable to any other or higher duties or charges of whatever denomination than if such articles were imported in national vessels. Such reciprocal equality of treatment shall take effect without distinction, whether such articles come directly from the place of origin or from any other foreign place.

In the same manner, there shall be perfect equality of treatment in regard to exportation, so that the same export duties shall be paid, and the same bounties and drawbacks allowed, in the territories of each of the Contracting Parties on the exportation of any article which is or may be legally exported therefrom, whether such exportation shall take place in vessels of the United States or in Japanese vessels, and whatever may be the place of destination, whether a port of the other Party or of any third Power.

Article IX.

In all that regards the stationing, loading and unloading of vessels in the ports of the territories of the High Contracting Parties, no privileges shall be granted by either Party to national vessels which are not equally, in like cases, granted to the vessels of the other country; the intention of the Contracting Parties being that in these respects the respective vessels shall be treated on the footing of perfect equality.

Article X.

Merchant vessels navigating under the flag of the United States or that of Japan and carrying the papers required by their national laws to prove their nationality shall in Japan and in the United States be deemed to be vessels of the United States or of Japan, respectively.

Article XI.

No duties of tonnage, harbor, pilotage, lighthouse, quarantine, or other similar or corresponding duties of whatever denomination, levied in the name or for the profit of Government, public functionaries, private individuals, corporations or establishments of any kind shall be imposed in the ports of the territories of either country upon the vessels of the other, which shall not equally, under the

same conditions, be imposed on national vessels in general, or on vessels of the most favored nation. Such equality of treatment shall apply reciprocally to the respective vessels from whatever place they may arrive and whatever may be their place of destination.

Article XII.

Vessels charged with performance of regular scheduled postal service of one of the High Contracting Parties, whether belonging to the State or subsidized by it for the purpose, shall enjoy, in the ports of the territories of the other, the same facilities, privileges and immunities as are granted to like vessels of the most favored nation.

Article XIII.

The coasting trade of the High Contracting Parties is excepted from the provisions of the present Treaty and shall be regulated according to the laws of the United States and Japan, respectively. It is, however, understood that the citizens or subjects of either Contracting Party shall enjoy in this respect most-favored-nation treatment in the territories of the other.

A vessel of one of the Contracting Parties, laden in a foreign country with cargo destined for two or more ports of entry in the territories of the other, may discharge a portion of her cargo at one of the said ports, and, continuing her voyage to the other port or ports of destination, there discharge the remainder of her cargo, subject always to the laws, tariffs and customs regulations of the country of destination; and, in like manner and under the same reservation, the vessels of one of the Contracting Parties shall be permitted to load at several ports of the other for the same outward voyages.

Article XIV.

Except as otherwise expressly provided in this Treaty, the High Contracting Parties agree that, in all that concerns commerce and navigation, any privilege, favor or immunity which either Contracting Party has actually granted, or may hereinafter grant, to the citizens or subjects of any other State shall be extended to the citizens or subjects of the other Contracting Party gratuitously, if the concession in favor of that other States shall have been gratuitous, and on the same or equivalent conditions, if the concession shall have been conditional.

Article XV.

The citizens or subjects of each of the High Contracting Parties shall enjoy in the territories of the other the same protection as native citizens or subjects in regard to patents, trade-marks and designs, upon fulfillment of the formalities prescribed by law.

Article XVI.

The present Treaty shall, from the date on which it enters into operation, supersede the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation dated the 22nd day of November, 1894; and from the same date the last-named Treaty shall cease to be binding.

Article XVII.

The present Treaty shall enter into operation on the 17th of July, 1911, and shall remain in force twelve years or until the expiration of six months from the date on which either of the Contracting Parties shall have given notice to the other of its intention to terminate the Treaty.

In case neither of the Contracting Parties shall have given notice to the other six months before the expiration of the said period of twelve years of its intention to terminate the Treaty, it shall continue operative until the expiration of six months from the date on which either Party shall have given such notice.

Article XVIII.

The present Treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Tokyo as soon as possible and not later than three months from the present date.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty in duplicate and have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done at Washington the 21st day of February, in the nineteen hundred and eleventh year of the Christian era, corresponding to the 21st day of the 2nd month of the 44th year of Meiji.

PHILANDER C KNOX [SEAL]
Y. UCHIDA [SEAL]

And whereas, the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States to the ratification of the said Treaty was given with the understanding "that the treaty shall not be deemed to repeal or affect any of the provisions of the Act of Congress entitled 'An Act to Regulate the Immigration of Aliens into the United States,' approved February 20th 1907;"

And whereas, the said understanding has been accepted by the Government of Japan;

And whereas, the said Treaty, as amended by the Senate of the United States, has been duly ratified on both parts, and the ratifications of the two Governments were exchanged in the City of Tokyo, on the fourth day of April, one thousand nine hundred and eleven;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, William Howard Taft, President of the United States of America, have caused the said Treaty, as amended, and the said understanding to be made public, to the end that the same and every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

169329—17262

Done at the City of Washington this fifth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eleven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-fifth.

[SEAL]

By the President:
P C KNOX
Secretary of State.

WM H TAFT

DECLARATION.

In proceeding this day to the signature of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Japan and the United States the undersigned, Japanese Ambassador in Washington, duly authorized by his Government has the honor to declare that the Imperial Japanese Government are fully prepared to maintain with equal effectiveness the limitation and control which they have for the past three years exercised in regulation of the emigration of laborers to the United States.

Y. UCHIDA

FEBRUARY 21, 1911.

PROTOCOL OF PROVISIONAL TARIFF ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN. SIGNED AT WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 21, 1911; RATIFICATION ADVISED BY THE SENATE, WITH AMENDMENT, FEBRUARY 24, 1911; RATIFIED BY THE PRESIDENT, MARCH 2, 1911; RATIFIED BY JAPAN, MARCH 31, 1911; RATIFICATIONS EXCHANGED AT TOKYO, APRIL 4, 1911; PROCLAIMED, APRIL 5, 1911.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas a Protocol of a provisional tariff arrangement between the United States of America and the Empire of Japan was concluded and signed by their respective Plenipotentiaries at Washington, on the twenty-first day of February, one thousand nine hundred and eleven, the original of which Protocol, being in the English language is, as amended by the Senate of the United States, word for word as follows:

PROTOCOL.

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of Japan have, through their respective Plenipotentiaries, agreed upon the following stipulation in regard to Article V of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Japan signed this day to replace on the 17th of July, 1911, the Treaty of the 22nd of November, 1894:

Pending the conclusion of a treaty relating to tariff, the provisions relating to tariff in the Treaty of the 22nd of November, 1894, shall be maintained.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this Protocol in duplicate and have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done at Washington the 21st day of February, in the nineteen hundred and eleventh year of the Christian era, corresponding to the 21st day of the 2nd month of the 44th year of Meiji.

[SEAL] PHILANDER C KNOX
[SEAL] Y. UCHIDA

And whereas, the said Protocol, as amended by the Senate of the United States, has been duly ratified on both parts, and the ratifications of the two governments were exchanged in the City of Tokyo, on the fourth day of April, one thousand nine hundred and eleven;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, William Howard Taft, President of the United States of America, have caused the said Protocol to be made public, to the end that the same and every article and clause thereof, as amended, may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this fifth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eleven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-fifth.

WM H TAFT

By the President:
P C KNOX
Secretary of State.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, I do not agree that the 1911 treaty should have prevented our Government from adopting the joint resolution which I introduced. I concede, however, that like all legal questions about which there is an argument, there can be an argument about that question. Under those circumstances I certainly am in no way critical of the Members of this body who contended that before we took further action the 6-months' notice should be given Japan. In matters of this kind, in which we base our position upon a treaty, certainly we must be punctilious. I do not think there was any necessity for our recognizing the 1911 treaty as an obstacle to the proposed action. However, as I say, I am not arguing that point with a view of arguing that my joint resolution or the Pittman joint

resolution should be adopted during this session of the Congress.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCHWARTZ in the chair). Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, in view of the obligations upon our Government, as well as upon the other signatories to the Nine Power Treaty, does not the Senator believe there would be some moral, if not legal, obligation on the part of the United States if one of the signatories to the treaty violated its terms in such a flagrant manner as Japan has violated its terms in its treatment of China? There is an obligation upon our part to respect that treaty and to respect the obligations therein contained by insisting that the territorial integrity and political independence of China shall be respected. Is not that an obligation which imposes upon us the duty to protest against the infraction of the treaty by the assault by Japan upon China, which, of course, is covered by the terms of the treaty referred to?

RESPONSIBILITY IS AMERICA'S

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. The whole thesis of my remarks is that by reason of the nine-power agreement we have an obligation upon us to respect the territorial and administrative integrity of China; and that we are violating that obligation. I present this matter as an affirmative violation on our part. The agreement is binding not only upon our Government, but upon our citizens. When our Government sits by and permits our citizens to violate the treaty by making the profit they can make out of sending to Japan materials which we know are to be used by Japan for the purpose of destroying China's territorial integrity, I say we are violating the Nine Power Agreement.

One of the positions I take is that we cannot justify our violation of the Nine Power Agreement, signed 11 years later, upon the basis that we might possibly violate the 1911 treaty with Japan, because Japan also joined with us in the Nine Power Agreement; and it is she who has brought about the situation which makes it necessary for us to insist upon our obligation to comply with the provisions of the Nine Power Treaty.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I think the Senator is correct if I understand his thesis.

In January of last year I discussed this question and the flagrant violation of the terms of the Nine Power Treaty by Japan, and insisted that our Government take some course which would indicate its condemnation of Japan's policy and our affirmative desire to protect China against the invasion of Japan.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I yield.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I am asking for information. I wonder if the Senator includes shipments of food, gasoline, trucks, and such materials not in the nature of guns or manufactured war weapons.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. The resolution does not contemplate a limitation to arms, munitions, and implements of war. As a matter of fact, our furnishing of them to Japan is very unimportant. Japan does not need us to furnish arms, ammunition, and implements of war. What Japan needs is our gasoline, our scrap iron and steel, and other commodities which she uses to manufacture or to propel the manufacture of those things she manufactures for war purposes.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Do I understand the Senator to advocate that we should cut off all such exports?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Yes.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Including food?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. No. I do not include food, for the reason that it is almost impossible to tell, when it comes to food, which civilian population would be punished, whether it would be the population of China or that of Japan, to use that as an illustration. It is almost impossible to know whether the food would be used to feed people

in China or in Japan, and I think a sense of humanity requires that agricultural products used for food should not be included in the embargo.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Does the Senator have a schedule or list?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. That would be a function of the executive branch of the Government. The resolution says:

Except agricultural products, which there is reason to believe will, if exported, be used, directly or indirectly, in violation of the sovereignty, or the independence, or the territorial or administrative integrity of any nation.

Mr. LUNDEEN. The Senator is now referring to the resolution introduced by himself?

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Yes.

Mr. President, going back to the question raised by the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING], which fits right into the point I am discussing, I wish first to read a short quotation from the work, *International Law*, by Charles Cheney Hyde, found in volume 1, page 422, in which he says:

The setting in motion outside of a state of a force which produces an injurious effect therein, justifies the territorial sovereign in prosecuting the actor when he enters its domain.

It is true we did not actually send our soldiers, we did not enter into China for the purpose of destroying her, but this authority recognizes that the setting in motion outside of a state of forces which later result in the destruction of a territory constitutes an act against them to almost as great an extent and almost as directly as if they were actually within the territory.

I wish to call attention to a proclamation which President Coolidge issued when he proclaimed the Nine Power Treaty:

To the end that the same in every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof—

ATTITUDE OF THE COURTS

For the purpose of getting into the RECORD in order that such use may be made of them as Senators may see fit, I desire to give a few citations in reference to the attitude of our courts upon the question of treaties. I have said several times that a treaty into which the Government enters is obligatory not merely upon the Government but upon its citizens. My reason for repeating it is that the function of the joint resolution I have introduced is to stop our citizens and not merely to stop our Government. That statement was made by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Poole v. Fleeger* (229 U. S. 447), in which they said:

A treaty is binding upon the Nation and all its citizens and subjects.

The Constitution of the United States itself provides:

This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land (art. VI, sec. 2).

In the case of *Missouri v. Holland* (252 U. S. 415), Mr. Justice Holmes used this language in reference to our attitude toward the treaties and indicates a treaty to be of higher sanctity than an act of Congress:

Acts of Congress are the supreme law of the land only when made in pursuance of the Constitution; while treaties are declared to be such when made under the authority of the United States.

In the case of *Foster v. Neilson* (2 Peters 253-314), the Court said:

Our Constitution declares a treaty to be the law of the land. It is, consequently, to be regarded in courts of justice as equivalent to an act of Congress whenever it operates of itself without the aid of any legislative provision.

In the case of *Davies against Hale*, found in 91 United States Reports, page 13, the Court said this:

Treaties which are complete within themselves need no supplementary legislation to give them force and validity.

In construing this particular treaty, knowing the relationship between the nations which were involved at the time, I think it is all important to understand the attitude of our Supreme Court upon the question of the relationship

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Mrs. JOSEPH A. SCHUMPETER - WINDY HILL - TACONIC, CONNECTICUT

August 30, 1939

Dear Dr. Spear —

I would very much like to have you read the enclosed reprint. It takes up certain problems which trouble me, and which I should like to discuss with you some time.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Schumpeter

THE PROBLEM OF SANCTIONS IN THE FAR EAST

ELIZABETH BOODY SCHUMPETER

THERE ARE two main groups of opinion on the feasibility of enforcing economic sanctions against Japan. One group—by far the larger—believes quite sincerely that an official embargo on the sale of materials to Japan and a refusal to admit Japanese imports would stop the war in China within a relatively short time with little or no danger of serious economic reprisals or of an extension of the conflict. Another much smaller group is convinced that weak sanctions would not be effective and that strong sanctions would lead to war. Prominent and active in the first group are representatives of organized labor, the Christian missionaries in China, a number of Western journalists and writers, and friends of Soviet Russia; and in a more passive role the general public. In the second group are a smaller number of journalists actually stationed in the Far East, a small group of scholars at work on Far Eastern problems, responsible government officials in the foreign or diplomatic service of their countries, isolationists in the Congress of the United States, and a much smaller proportion of the general public. There are, of course, other groups and various positions between the two extremes. Some people believe in multilateral but not in unilateral sanctions. Some advocate sanctions only if they are likely to stop the war, whereas others would employ them as a moral gesture whatever the consequences. To discuss this problem with any clarity it is necessary to define the object in view as well as the nature and extent of the sanctions contemplated.

For simplicity economic sanctions may be defined as an official boycott on imports or an official embargo on exports or both together. There are also proposals for discriminatory duties and the cutting off of credit and port facilities, but these would reduce Japan's ability to buy raw materials and industrial equipment in a less drastic manner than a complete boycott and embargo. It is obvious

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that success would depend on the completeness of the boycott or embargo, the length of time during which sanctions were energetically imposed, the number of countries participating, and the vulnerability of those countries to economic, military, or naval reprisals. The exclusion of oil, for example, in the case of Italian sanctions because of the fear of reprisals on the British navy in the Mediterranean doomed that movement to failure. The fact that Japan has large quantities of war materials in storage for the expected war with the Soviet Union automatically rules out the possibility of success within a few weeks or months. The non-participation of the Netherlands might be fatal because the Netherlands Indies are in a position to supply oil to Japan.

The supporters of economic sanctions against Japan at this time are by no means unanimous as to what they hope to accomplish, but, for the most part, they would employ sanctions for one or more of the following three purposes:

1. To stop the war in China.
2. To prevent or retard Japan's industrial development and keep it from becoming a first class industrial nation.
3. To show disapproval and moral indignation.

There is no answer to the people who advocate sanctions as a moral gesture because they are prepared to face economic loss for their fellow countrymen and even the possibility of war. This is a strong and unassailable position. It is, however, not the position of most people who favor economic action. There are also people who believe that firm and prompt action by the League of Nations and all the signatories to the Nine-Power Treaty might have stopped Japan in 1931, or that concerted action at the time of the Brussels Conference in the autumn of 1937 might have been effective, but that now it is too late. They believe that Japan is now too deeply involved to withdraw from China under this type of pressure and that it may succeed in securing a measure of economic and strategic security within the Yen Bloc, though at a tremendous cost.

There is a very real difference of opinion between the experts on the one hand and the general public and propaganda groups on the other hand as to whether or not sanctions would stop the war in a

relatively short time and with no special risk. As this article is being written in June, the newspapers bristle with demands from various organizations that economic action be taken by governments to end the war in China. It has been suggested that Great Britain respond to the blockade of its Tientsin concession by closing British ports to Japanese shipping or by an outright boycott on imports, but the Cabinet's Foreign Policy Committee on June 19, 1939 decided against any economic or financial reprisals for the present. It is impossible to predict now the outcome of this controversy. The Chinese Council for Economic Research in Washington, D. C., released to the press on June 16 a statement that 85 per cent "of the imported sinews of war without which Japan might be unable to continue her invasion of China" came from the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and their dependencies. The United States alone, it was claimed, supplied 57.07 per cent of the Japanese imports of essential war materials in 1938. The American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression made public on June 17 an appeal to Congress by 69 prominent American clergymen, asking that the United States Government stop the sale to Japan of materials for military use. This request differed from most in that it did not request a general boycott or embargo. It raised the question of the definition of a war material, which is by no means easy to settle. The *New York Times* of June 19, summarizing a report issued the previous day by the Foreign Policy Association, emphasized the importance of the United States as a source of Japan's war materials. "Noting that about three-fourths of Japan's war supplies¹ come from Britain and the United States, the report indicated that Japan would be in an exceedingly precarious position if these were cut off." For months writers in newspapers and magazines and various organizations interested in China have worked incessantly on the American public, calling the United States "Japan's partner in war guilt" and insisting that the war could not go on without American assistance.

¹ It is quite possible that the author, T. A. Bisson, stipulated "imported" war materials, but there was no qualifying adjective in the *Times* summary. This is typical of the confusion which exists in connection with this particular problem when the experts are quoted by others.

v

The results of this campaign are reflected in a recent survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion. These surveys based on a cross-section of the population have been extraordinarily successful in the past in forecasting elections and in showing the trend of public opinion in the United States. When the present poll is compared with the one taken in September 1937, it shows a growing sympathy for China and a desire to exert some form of economic pressure on Japan. The poll submitted inquiries as to a private boycott or an embargo on arms but did not raise the issue of a general official boycott or embargo. Of the people interviewed, 74 per cent were sympathetic to China and 24 per cent had no feeling for either side. In September 1937, 47 per cent sympathized with China and 51 per cent had no feeling for either side. Two-thirds of the people interviewed expressed a willingness to join in a boycott against Japan as against 37 per cent in September 1937. There was a substantial sentiment in favor of an official embargo on the shipment of arms and ammunition to both Japan and China with 72 per cent of those interviewed opposing such shipments to Japan and 40 per cent opposing similar shipments to China. Despite their genuine sympathy for China, it has been difficult to enroll the American people in the various voluntary and private boycotts against Japan. Very few American women, for example, are wearing lisle or rayon stockings instead of silk. The American Government has already succeeded in stopping shipments of arms and ammunition to Japan without the necessity of a formal act of Congress, or invoking the neutrality legislation. *Absolutely no orders* for arms, ammunition, or implements of war have been placed by Japan in the United States since the beginning of 1939 and very few between July and December, 1938.

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There is no doubt that the sympathy of the peoples and of the governments of England, France, and the United States is with China in its present struggle against Japan and that this has been so from the beginning. It would be so even if they did not feel that their rights and privileges in China were being violated. There is, however, a very real doubt that the peoples of these countries would be willing to help China in ways which would lead to becoming involved in a war with Japan; there is a very real doubt whether it is

within the power of these governments to stop Japan by measures which do not entail the danger of serious reprisals and even of war. The responsible people in the various governments realize this and prefer not to precipitate an incident or a crisis if it can be avoided without too much loss of face. A time may come when the risk must be taken, but it will be a risk, and it is folly to misrepresent the situation and to minimize the danger. ✓

The British Cabinet hopes fervently that the Tientsin episode may be settled without resort to drastic economic or military action at a time when all of Britain's strength must be concentrated in Europe. The French Government found it prudent to curtail shipments of war materials into China by way of French Indochina. Early this year the Australian Government forced the waterside workers to abandon their attempts to prevent the shipment of pig iron to Japan because such action might be dangerous and could not be contemplated except in conjunction with other countries. The American Government has shown clearly that it would like to help China but has not ventured beyond diplomatic protests, refusal to invoke the Neutrality Law so that arms and munitions could be shipped to China, a thinly disguised political loan to China, and an embargo on exports of airplanes and parts enforced not by law but by the moral suasion of the State Department. Some sections of this government obviously appreciate the possible danger of the kind of action urged by various pressure groups in a state of constantly mounting emotional tension. ✓

THE GENERAL public does not understand this reluctance because it is given a partial and unbalanced picture of the situation by writers and speakers who are themselves in some cases the victims of "wishful thinking" and in other cases merely badly informed. Some of the most competent and able of them have been prophesying a financial collapse and a social revolution in Japan within six months ever since the outbreak of the China Incident in the summer of 1937. Now after two years of war, competent observers on the scene say that the situation is difficult but by no means desperate and that there is no immediate danger of an internal collapse.² This is typical

² See W. H. Chamberlain, "Japan at War" in *Foreign Affairs*, April 1939, and also Hugh Byas, *New York Times*, June 18, 1939.

of the inadequate treatment of Japan's economic strength and weakness. In no case has there been a careful and scholarly analysis of the possible vulnerability of Japan to sanctions in the literature available to the public. This does not mean that there is not a perfectly good case for sanctions as a possible weapon against Japan, but it is time that we stopped pretending that it would be a relatively short and simple affair to end the war in China.

The following statement, for example, is issued by one of the best and most high-minded of the organizations interested in enforcing sanctions against Japan:

Despite her violation of treaties with us we are today "Japan's Partner," supplying more than half of the sinews of war which she must have from abroad in order to continue her aggression against China. The least we can do is to *stop arming Japan!* Without our help her task will be hopeless. The risks involved in such a stoppage are slight compared to the mounting threat of successful militarism in Asia and throughout the world.³

✓ After reading this appeal and many reports of the type already commented on in the current news, the general public comes to believe that Japan obtains most of its war materials from the United States and Great Britain and that without these imports it would be helpless. The ordinary reader does not notice the qualificative "imported" in connection with these large percentages because little or nothing is said about the extent to which Japan can produce these materials at home, in Korea, and in Manchukuo or obtain them from regions in Southeastern Asia, which its navy is able to control at present. There is no emphasis as a rule on amounts of essential materials in storage. Where an embargo on "war materials" alone is advocated, the difficulties involved in defining such materials are usually ignored. Almost every raw material may be useful in carrying on a war; on the other hand even in time of war every such material has wide uses of a purely peaceful nature.

the news? ✓

If economic sanctions are ever to become a useful method for maintaining collective security, the problem must be treated in an objective manner. It is natural for the Chinese and their missionary ✓

³ From a printed appeal for financial assistance sent out on March 28, 1939 by the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression.

friends to minimize the difficulties because they are so anxious to obtain assistance which will not be forthcoming if the risks seem considerable. Before the Western nations can come to any intelligent decision as to the vulnerability of Japan to sanctions, it is necessary to consider not only imports of raw or war materials but also the following five points:

1. Production in Japan and Japanese controlled territory.
2. The amounts of essential materials in storage.
3. Alternative sources of imports.
4. The possibilities of substitution.
5. The extent to which these materials are necessary for carrying on the war in China, and the extent to which they are being used to expand productive capacity.

It is, of course, impossible to cover these points adequately in a single brief article, but an attempt will be made to block out the main arguments. The detailed statistical information upon which these arguments are based will be soon available in print in a study of *The Recent Economic Development of Japan* undertaken by four economists under the auspices of the Bureau of International Research at Harvard University and Radcliffe College.

Many people who would be opposed to a general embargo, would like to see an embargo on arms, ammunition, and "war materials." They are not aware that Japan is almost entirely self-sufficient in arms and ammunition or that the United States, for example, is not now exporting to Japan any arms, ammunition, or implements of war.⁴ Under implements of war are included all types of aircraft, aircraft engines and parts. The export of articles in this category must be licensed by the State Department, and no such licenses were issued during the first five months of 1939. As far back as July, 1938, the Department stated that it disapproved of the export of airplanes and aeronautical equipment to countries whose armed forces bombed civilian populations. By the end of the year it had succeeded in convincing the American manufacturers that they did not want to apply for licenses to export these articles to Japan. On the other hand, the Department continues to license the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to China, and the Export-

⁴ Except very small amounts for which licenses were issued in 1938.

Import Bank lent China \$25,000,000 with which to purchase trucks to use in transporting military supplies over the new Burma Road. The State Department has stopped the sale of war supplies to Japan by the voluntary action of manufacturers and without the necessity of enacting legislation. Between July 1, 1937 and May 31, 1939, the Department issued licenses for the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to China in the value of \$14,029,382.90 and to Japan in the value of \$10,719,384.78.

The problem involved in stopping the sale of the so-called "war materials" to Japan is a much more complicated one. There is practically no raw material which is not useful in carrying on a war. The United States Department of Commerce recently designated seventeen important groups of exports to Japan as possible war materials. A war material might be anything utilized in the manufacture of arms, ammunition, warships, and airplanes, or in transporting troops, or in feeding and clothing the fighting forces. This would include almost the entire list of Japanese imports. For Germany in the Great War, food was an important war material which England tried to exclude by every possible means, some of which involved the violation of neutral rights on a considerable scale.

For Japan the war materials most often stressed are scrap iron, other metals, petroleum and its products, machinery, automobiles, and airplanes. Scrap iron is simply one of the raw materials of the iron and steel industry; it is no more a war material than iron ore, pig iron, coke, or limestone. Fuel oil and gasoline are needed for battleships and bombers, but they are also used by the farmer, the factory owner, and the fisherman. Farmers and fishermen have been complaining recently that they were experiencing difficulty in obtaining sufficient oil for their agricultural machinery and fishing boats. The machinery is being used to equip factories for many purposes. The major industrial chemicals may produce fertilizer for the farmer, explosives for the munitions maker, or important raw materials for the rayon, glass, paper, and dyeing industries. The iron and steel industry produces material which is used in the equipment of every other industry. Airplanes are put in a different category (implements of war), are not now being exported to Japan, and present an entirely different problem.

It is possible to define arms, ammunition, and implements of war, but any definition of "war materials" must necessarily be an arbitrary one. War materials are usually identical with raw materials. Once you deny countries access to food or raw materials on any scale, you are warring on civilian populations; you are employing the very tactics you deplore. Certain political areas are rich in raw materials and certain others are poor. The rich areas include the United States, the Soviet Union, and the British Empire with the French and the Netherlands Empires in second place. In most cases these political areas have gained control over their raw materials in the past by methods which now shock us. They wish to prevent other countries from following their example; and this may be a praiseworthy ambition depending on the means used. If the rich countries starve or threaten to starve⁵ other countries by denying them the right to buy raw materials, this strengthens the position of those who feel that it is necessary to control territory in which they will have access to strategic raw materials. This gives a kind of moral justification to what would otherwise be a campaign of pure aggression.

It will be urged by those who do not agree with this thesis that the well-endowed democracies will use this weapon only in a righteous cause. This may be their intention but the maintenance of a balance of power or of the status quo is not necessarily the ultimate good in a dynamic world. This is not to be interpreted in any way as a justification of the Japanese invasion of China. It is merely an effort to point out some of the moral and practical difficulties in connection with an attempt to place an embargo on war materials or raw materials as distinguished from arms, ammunition, and implements of war.

The group of American clergymen mentioned earlier recognize this moral problem although they do not see the ambiguity in the concept of war materials. They are quoted as follows:

We are not asking in this petition for a general boycott of trade with Japan. We do not desire to harm in any way the Japanese people who are controlled in their relation to China by the domination of a military

⁵ An industrial population is starved in the sense of being deprived of its means of livelihood even if, as in Japan's case, there are no supplies of food to cut off.

party. We do not ask for any military intervention on the part of the United States.

But we do protest against the participation of America in the aggression of Japan in China made possible through provision of the materials for war by the people of the United States.⁶

It is impossible to cut off supplies of iron, copper, oil, cotton, and machinery which would be used in the war industries without cutting off supplies which might be used in fertilizer, rayon, and agricultural implement factories. A large but unknown proportion of imported materials is being used at present to increase the nation's productive capacity and is not being blown up in China.

The Manchurian Five-Year Plan and the Japanese Four-Year Plan for increasing the nation's productive capacity are being pushed energetically along with the war in China. Many new factories are now being built and equipped in Japan and Manchukuo to increase the home supply of iron and steel, light metals, pulp, synthetic oil and gasoline, chemicals, machine tools, and vehicles, and several of the new plants are already in operation. Some effort is also being made to develop the resources of Korea and North China. It is impossible to state how much of the imported machinery and metals is being used for the purpose of industrial expansion and how much for carrying on the war. To some extent, of course, the two uses are related, but there has been a tendency to exaggerate the purely wartime needs. This can perhaps be brought out more clearly by comparing the exports and imports of certain classes of goods for the last three years.

EXPORTS FROM AND IMPORTS INTO JAPAN
(Values in millions of yen)

	<i>Exports</i>			<i>Imports</i>		
	<i>1936</i>	<i>1937</i>	<i>1938</i>	<i>1936</i>	<i>1937</i>	<i>1938</i>
Ores and Metals.....	103	125	121	375	901	662
Metal Manufactures.....	76	99	100	10	12	8
Scientific Instruments, Fire Arms, Vehicles, and Vessels.....	93	118	111	62	84	77
Machinery and Parts.....	82	110	156	92	159	236
Total.....	354	452	488	539	1156	983
Net Imports.....				185	704	495

⁶ *New York Times*, June 18, 1939.

The exports of machinery and instruments exceeded in value the imports of the same articles in 1936 and were about 90 per cent of the imports in 1937 and 1938. If we compare the imports and exports of this entire group of strategic materials and manufactures, we find that the exports were about 50 per cent of the imports in 1938. These exports went largely to Manchukuo, Kuantung Leased Territory, and China as part of the program of industrialization which is to make the Yen Bloc self-sufficient by 1942 in iron and steel, coal, light metals, zinc, soda, sulphate of ammonia, pulp, rolling stock, motorcars, and shipping. The total value of the domestic production of machinery and instruments (scientific instruments, vehicles, vessels, fire arms, machinery, parts, and accessories) was 1,716 million yen in 1936 and 2,557 million yen in 1937. Imports were less than 10 per cent of the domestic production and were almost balanced by exports.

IT is obvious, therefore, that Japan is now in a position to produce most of the machinery it uses and that recent heavy purchases have been to a large extent in connection with the equipping of new plants and factories. It is true that certain types of machine tools, automobiles, and automobile parts are still imported on a large scale, but the relative dependence is decreasing. In 1936 Japan produced 79 per cent of its machine tools and imported 21 per cent. In view of what is known of Japan's preparedness for a war against Soviet Russia, it is reasonable to believe that the army has in reserve sufficient supplies of special tools and parts to take care of emergencies. An embargo on exports of this type would undoubtedly slow up the various plans for industrial expansion because it would be necessary to curtail non-military manufacturing use. It could hardly have very much effect on military operations in China. It is sometimes urged that efforts should be made to limit Japan's industrial development with a view to curbing its future economic and military power. It might be possible to do this at considerable risk and loss of trade for a short time, but it is a difficult undertaking to keep any vigorous determined nation bottled up for a long period. The great example of conspicuous failure in such an attempt is the case of Germany in the twenty years after the Treaty of Versailles.

✓ There has been so much emphasis on the lack of raw materials in Japan that too little attention has been paid to the elements of strength in the situation, and to the potential supplies of raw materials in Korea, Manchukuo, North China, and the South Seas. Between 1926 and 1936 Japan became self-sufficient in foodstuffs with the assistance of Korea and Formosa and developed a substantial domestic chemical industry, which made it independent to an increasing extent in the heavy chemicals used in the manufacture of fertilizers, munitions, rayon, paper, glass, and soap. It has made considerable progress with synthetic nitrates, producing large quantities of calcium cyanamide and ammonium sulphate. Japan is second only to Germany in the output of ammonium sulphate and to the United States in the output of sulphuric acid. The domestic supply of soda ash and caustic soda, which increased fifteen fold in ten years, is just about adequate, and there is a small export surplus of bleaching powder. The value of home production of explosives and related products increased from about 8 million yen between 1927 and 1932 to 25 million yen in 1936, whereas imports of explosives declined in value from 5 million yen in 1932 to one million yen in 1935 and 1936.

The domestic supply of ammonium sulphate (rising from 1,300,000 tons in 1936 to 1,500,000 tons in 1938) is supplemented by annual imports of from 200,000 to 300,000 tons because of the heavy demand from the fertilizer and munitions manufacturers. The imports come largely from Kuantung and Germany. Salt for the chemical industry is imported from Formosa, Kuantung, Manchukuo, North China, and Africa. Japan now exports large quantities of cheap coal tar dyes and imports small quantities of better dyes. The use of nitrates and coal tar products in the manufacture of explosives lends a certain strategic significance to the recent rapid expansion of the chemical industry in Japan. An established chemical industry is also valuable from the standpoint of synthetic materials and substitutes.

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In 1935 and 1936 Japan was a net exporter of steel products although it was still importing certain special steels and steel products. In 1936 the exports of machinery, tools, and vehicles from Japan were greater in value than the imports to that country, but the

imports consisted largely of the more delicate and complicated types of machinery and machine tools. It is no longer possible to state, as one careful and well-informed writer did in 1930, that Japan can never become a manufacturing nation of major importance because of the lack of fuel and iron, which are essential in peace as well as war.⁷ Japan has become a major manufacturing nation. The rise of the heavy industries has been the striking development of recent years. Before the depression it was the textile industries, food preparation, pottery, and paper manufacturing which predominated. In 1935 just under half and in 1937 about 55 per cent of the total value of industrial production was accounted for by the metals, chemicals, machinery, and engineering products. This meant that Japan was no longer dependent on the outside world for a large part of its steel, fertilizer, arms, ammunition, and machinery, though it still had to import raw materials. It produced its own ships and many of its own airplanes, but imported automobiles and parts.

It is a mistake to think of a country's supply of raw materials as being fixed and unalterable. Japan's position with respect to the supply of essential materials has changed with the development of industrial and chemical technique, and with its control over Manchukuo. Changing technique has made possible and even profitable the exploitation of many supplies of low grade minerals. Gasoline and fuel oil are now being produced from coal and shale; abundant water power may be a substitute for steam power; nitrates for fertilizer and explosives are produced synthetically. The production of rayon from pulp has changed the position of both cotton and raw silk; the light metals are of increasing importance; and the possibilities of substitutes and synthetic materials appear to be almost infinite. In the iron and steel industry the use of scrap makes possible the utilization of worn out or obsolete equipment in the manufacture of new steel materials so that the demand for pig iron may be reduced by as much as 50 per cent.

The statement is made frequently that since Japan must import scrap for its war industries and can obtain it in sufficient quantities only in the United States, an embargo on American scrap would stop the war in China. This theory is based on a mistaken idea of the

⁷ John E. Orchard, *Japan's Economic Position* (New York, 1930), p. 482.

nature and importance of scrap; it also ignores a considerable domestic supply supplemented by reputedly large amounts in stock piles. Scrap and pig iron may be used in varying proportions in the production of open-hearth steel. No scrap at all can be used in production by the Bessemer process, and up to 100 per cent scrap may be used in electric furnace production. In Japan in 1936 approximately equal amounts of scrap and pig iron were used. Scrap iron may consist of discarded equipment, or it may be a by-product of steel production in the form of croppings from ingots, billets, and other rolled products, clippings from plates and sheets, borings, and defective products. As soon as a country becomes industrialized and begins to manufacture steel on any scale, scrap of both kinds is accumulated. The United States in 1937 used 12 million tons of collected scrap and 16 million tons of by-product scrap. The Japanese steel industry is now yielding fair amounts of by-product scrap and will yield more as it increases in size. In 1936 Japan produced 5,500,000 tons of raw steel and 4,500,000 tons of steel products. A little more than half of the scrap consumed was of domestic origin and about one-third imported from the United States. The figures follow:

SCRAP IRON IN JAPAN
(In thousands of tons)

Year	Consumption	Imports	Imports from the United States
1935.....	3,122	1,692	1,300
1936.....	3,337	1,497	1,036

The imports of scrap iron from the United States rose to 1,912,000 tons in 1937 and fell again to 1,380,000 tons in 1938. Imports of all kinds of raw materials were very heavy in 1937 even before the outbreak of the China Incident because supplies were being accumulated for industrial expansion. There was nothing abnormal about the 1938 imports though steel production was probably expanding. It is said that a good deal of scrap is being salvaged from the areas of conflict in China and that large stocks have been piled up in Japan. Under these circumstances, the cutting off of American exports would retard industrial expansion but would scarcely stop the war. It might result for a time in a larger proportional consumption of pig iron in open hearth production. In time,

150,000 tons

if present plans are carried out, Japan will have ample supplies of domestic scrap.

The iron ore used comes mainly from Japan, Korea, Manchukuo, China, and Malaya. In 1936 about 3 million tons of iron ore were produced within the Japanese sphere of influence⁸ (Japan and Korea each 600,000 tons and Manchukuo 1,800,000 tons) and about 3.8 million tons were imported from foreign countries, the imports from China amounting to 1.3 million tons. The Four-Year Plan calls for a great increase in Korean and Manchurian output and some increase in imports from China to take care of a much larger steel industry. Of the pig iron consumed in 1935 and 1936, less than a quarter was imported from foreign countries, and these countries were India and Russia. In 1937 and 1938 the United States took the place of Russia, exporting 409,000 tons in 1937 and 316,000 tons in 1938. No Japanese figures are available since 1936, but it is clear from the 1935 and 1936 figures that foreign imports play a minor role in pig iron.

PIG IRON IN JAPAN
(In thousands of tons)

Year	Total Supply	Domestic Production	Imports from Colonies	Imports from Manchukuo	Imports from Foreign Countries
1935.....	2,998	1,907	131	382	580
1936.....	3,102	2,008	123	271	701

There is space for only the briefest mention of petroleum and its products in the Japanese war economy. The lack of petroleum is undoubtedly Japan's greatest strategic weakness. Before the China Incident, Japan and Manchukuo consumed about 3.3 million tons of petroleum products annually, and the consumption is now higher despite strict rationing of gasoline for ordinary use, the compulsory mixing of alcohol with gasoline, and the use of charcoal gas engines in buses. Japan produced at home about 10 per cent of the petroleum consumed and another 5 per cent in its concessions in Russian Sakhalin, while Manchukuo produced about 100,000 tons of oil from shale. For several years past there has been active experimentation with many methods for obtaining oil from shale and coal

⁸ This does not include China.

including the hydrogenation process by which Germany now obtains half its supply of airplane gasoline. Though there are very large reserves of shale and coal in Manchukuo, actual manufacture began only last year except for the shale oil already mentioned. This may constitute an important supply in the future, but the quantities obtained at present are probably not large.

Japan has been importing crude and heavy oil from the United States and refined products from the Netherlands Indies. In 1936 about half the petroleum products consumed in Japan was refined at home, Japan's refining capacity having increased very rapidly from 1929. Before the outbreak of the China Incident the commercial companies were obliged to keep a six months supply of petroleum in storage. Since then, storage capacity has increased considerably, but information is not given out for strategic reasons. The Chinese Council for Economic Research believes that Japan may be accumulating a large reserve for a possible conflict with major navies in the Southern Pacific. It is certain that it has a large reserve against a possible war with Russia.

In the event of an embargo by the United States, Japan could utilize its own resources (including those of Manchukuo), draw upon storage, and turn to the Netherlands Indies and after a time to Mexico. This supposes that the Netherlands does not join the embargo because of the vulnerability of the Netherlands Indies to an attack by the Japanese navy. The production of petroleum in the Netherlands Indies has risen steadily from 4,698,000 tons in 1931 to 7,263,000 tons in 1937. It is sometimes stated that these wells are giving out, but output has risen a little in each of the last eight years. The difficulty with Mexican oil at present is that there is no cheap way to transport it from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. It is reported that the Mexicans wish to improve the railroad across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec or even to build a pipe line across the Isthmus at a cost of \$3,000,000. If Japan were cut off from cheap California crude, something of this kind might be done.

The objection that Japan can obtain gasoline with a very high octane rating (used in long distance flying) only in the United States is not serious unless Japan wishes to attack at very great distances from its bases. Moreover, Japan is now using German

is clear.

machinery in the hydrogenation process and Germany has been producing high test airplane gasoline for some time. There is also the problem of tankers. According to a statement made to the Diet in March, 1939 by Admiral Yonai, the Navy Minister, there were 35 tankers with a total capacity of 350,000 tons owned by private interests and 8 more were then under construction. Nothing was said about tankers belonging to the navy. When all these factors are taken into consideration, it is by no means certain that Japan would have to withdraw from China if American supplies were eliminated.

Within the last three or four years many new mineral resources have been discovered in Korea and Manchukuo, and some have been exploited. The production of magnesium and aluminum has made great strides, though the aluminum is as yet dependent on bauxite imported from the Netherlands Indies. The output of tungsten in Korea has increased rapidly and is now an appreciable percentage of the world's supply. Known reserves of iron ore have increased significantly. In the Netherlands Indies and in Malaya, there are supplies of petroleum, rubber, tin, bauxite, and iron ore.

It was suggested earlier that the vulnerability of Japan to sanctions cannot be decided on the basis of import figures alone, but that it is necessary to consider production in Japan and Japanese controlled territory, the amounts of essential materials in storage, alternative sources of imports, the possibilities of substitution, and the extent to which imported materials are being used to expand productive capacity rather than for purely war purposes. This has been done all too superficially with machinery, scrap iron, and petroleum—the weaknesses most emphasized by the advocates of sanctions. In the case of machinery and the raw materials of the iron and steel industry, the imports from the United States or even from the United States and Great Britain are important but not predominant. In the case of petroleum there are large reserves and alternative sources of supply.

An official boycott, by further reducing Japan's supply of foreign exchange, and an official embargo, by making it necessary to abandon part or all of its program of industrial expansion, could injure Japan very much. But it does not seem likely that these measures could stop the war in China without great danger of retaliation on

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the part of Japan. Economic retaliation would injure Great Britain, the United States, India, and Australia, but there is also the possibility of military retaliation. Cut off from markets and raw materials but with raw materials near by in the Netherlands Indies, Malaya, French Indochina, and the Philippines, who can be sure what the Japanese Army and Navy would do under such circumstances? Economic sanctions have not yet proved themselves an effective method "short of war." Partial sanctions will not stop a nation prepared to make every sacrifice for what it looks upon as its national existence. Strong sanctions applied after a nation is deeply involved will, in all probability, lead to war. Strong sanctions are simply another weapon in warfare.

Bureau of International Research
Harvard, June 1939

TO FRIENDS OF HUMANITY.

This is an age of undeclared wars, of incidents and of militaristic insolence. Knightly chivalry of the past, the courtesy of the Samurai and Shogun is now outdated. Frightfulness is exemplified by sudden bombings of the non-combatant population of cities, and the slaughter of women and children in the attempt to demoralize the inhabitants by sheer terrorism. What a costly and worthless blunder by the militarists of aggressor nations! What ignorance of human psychology!

The world's press and radio tell of nations in commotion preparing for the second World War. Foreigners who live in the treaty ports of China, now contrary to those treaties, occupied by the military forces of the Empire of Japan, receive such news with difficulty. We were accustomed to an efficient Chinese Postal Administration and non-interference with radio reception from abroad. Occasionally it now takes a week or more for a letter from the foreign concession to arrive at an address in the occupied city. Letters and journals are interminably delayed and may be censored or confiscated. Vital news unappreciated by the aggressor militarists, coming through the ether, is often now met with interference.

Although the bombing by the air forces of European countries will doubtless be infinitely more efficient and devastating than China has experienced, the methods and results will be similar. The Japanese ambassador in London admitted that the bombing of Canton was intended to demoralize the civilian population. An inspection of the damage done by the demolition and incendiary bombs by those of us who lived in the city while it was being bombed, and maps prepared by the Committee for Justice to China, clearly demonstrate this. The areas in which destruction of non-military property and deaths of civilians occurred was in most cases far removed from any legitimate military objective. Most of the real military objectives, of which there were very few, still exist, and are occupied by the Japanese army. Of Chinese military casualties there were practically none, for the Chinese armies, unlike the Japanese, are not in the cities. The slaughter of defenceless citizens was atrocious.

Incendiary bombs do not destroy concrete forts, but are intended to burn the homes and shops, the schools and factories of the people. Are these to be acknowledged to be military objectives by the peoples of the world? High altitude bombing, two or three miles high, is highly inaccurate, unless the frequent bombing of foreign universities and mission schools, hospitals and churches and mission compounds, with large flags painted on the roofs, is deliberate and intentional. The victims are for the most part the poor, those who are unable to leave the cities. These are the men, the women and the children who are machine-gunned by low-flying planes. This indicates the senselessness of such bombing, for they do not dictate the policy of the Government. The electric light station, repeatedly attacked, was not touched. Nearby hospitals, residences, stores and boats and their human occupants suffered severely. The waterworks were destroyed. The railroad terminals were bombed, although munitions from abroad passed around the city by the loop line. What entered the city passed the enemy blockade.

The recent bombings of Chungking, the present capital of China, were equally indiscriminate. The incendiary bombs prove that arson is the object. The bombings of the south shore of the Yangtse river were evidently intended for the benefit of the foreign community, including those on the gunboats. The bombing of the West China Union University campus at Chengtu, which is now host to five other universities, for the most part foreign controlled, must likewise have been intentional. China cannot provide air raid shelters for its huge population; neither can it be evacuated. If they cannot work they cannot eat. The inhuman bombing of cities must be prevented by International Law enforced by an International Police Force. This in the first instance must be provided by the democracies.

The Hong Kong Morning Post printed in its humorous column: "It is now feared that the missing typhoon has been shot down by the Japanese for failing to understand the New Order in East Asia". In occupied territory and in the treaty ports Japan is attempting to force the democracies to collaborate with

the economic policy of the puppet governments. Treaty ports like Canton and Swatow, contrary to treaty rights and interests of third Powers, have been placed on a restricted basis. This means that the legitimate trade of neutral countries is hindered. The searching of foreigners travelling by the British river steamer which is allowed by the Japanese Navy to ply between the foreign concessions and a British port once a fortnight, can have no purpose but to molest and insult. Other treaty ports like Foochow are blockaded. At Tientsin the foreign community and their military protectors are surrounded by live wire barricades erected by the Japanese militarists. The primitive Japanese soldiers are believers in nudism, but foreigners do not care to strip in public. Shanghai is being gradually blockaded from a distance. Have the treaty ports been ceded to Japan?

Either the intense anti-foreign activity is deliberately inspired by the enemy or they have no control whatever over their own agents. A Japanese traffic cop struck a foreign lady on the arm with his club for not noticing his signal during a cloudburst. A Chinese policeman bravely refused to obey the order of a Japanese soldier to strike an elderly foreign lady. Foreigners do not usually now report such events for they would be derided by the Japanese militarists and the isolationists and ultrapacifists of their own countries. Japanese commercial ships, observed sailing along the China coast as such, by the time they arrive at a treaty port have by the application of some paint to the funnel, become military transports. They bring dutiable wares without submitting to Custom's inspection or payment of fees—although in most treaty ports the Chinese Maritime Customs, for the most part ear-marked for the payment of foreign obligations, is now under the control of the Japanese. Doubtless the duty paid by foreigners is employed to prosecute the war against China and against Neutral Powers.

Some foreign properties are still occupied as military camps by the Japanese forces, who refuse to return them, notwithstanding repeated protests by representatives of the nations concerned. Occasionally the return of one may be promised if compensation is paid for the repair of damage done by Japanese aerial bombs! Chinese college buildings are apparently used by the enemy for the storage of ammunition. A foreign embassy is mobbed; a foreign consulate bombed. Said a Japanese spokesman, "This anti-British campaign must be extended throughout the world by the German-Italian-Japanese alliance". In both free and occupied China, Japanese militarists are also attacking Americans and their homes, properties and interests. Protests by the American Government are possibly worse than useless, for the Japanese realize that the isolationists will not permit American action in order to protect their compatriots abroad. In treaty ports where there is no foreign gunboat, foreigners must doff hats and bow to the Japanese sentries armed with bayonets. Sometimes they are confined to their compounds by the sentries. The Japanese offer to pay for damage done to American gunboats by aerial bombs—doubtless intentional bombing in order to test the reaction—for the American navy in cooperation with the British fleet could, if allowed, quickly prevent further nonsense in the Pacific area by a far range blockade of Japan. For this reason the Japanese navy entertained the American sailors on the fourth of July.

On their way to bomb Chinese cities and foreign establishments and the non-combatant Chinese and foreigners in them, Japanese planes loaded with bombs fly freely over treaty ports, foreign concessions, foreign consulates, foreign gunboats and foreign property. This ensures the safety of the planes in these locations. If the bombs drop, is it accidental or intentional? Were foreign bombers to attempt to fly over Japanese establishments they would be immediately shot down. In these bombings, the oil, the metals and the cotton provided by the democracies are indispensable to the Japanese military machine. For what purpose are these materials employed? To conquer China, to destroy the tremendous interests of the democracies in the Orient, both commercial and cultural, and ultimately for worldwide domination. It has all been planned. Said a Japanese militarist, "The Powers know that the Japanese Navy is capable of excluding them entirely from China". He should have added, "Provided that the Powers still stupidly continue to provide the Japanese Navy with its essential fuel oil"! A wise American said more than a year ago, "When the British Ambassador was machine-gunned and the U.S.S. Panay bombed and sunk, there should have been an Anglo-American naval demonstration which would have prevented all the nonsense that has followed".

The Chinese in occupied territory, for the most part poor and ignorant, are being forced to labor for their new masters at the point of the bayonet. Non-cooperation is highly dangerous for them and for their families. They act from fear and despondency. They are not really interested in the attempts of their military and puppet masters to force them to instigate a modern Boxer outbreak, a modern yellow peril. China is naturally an ally of the democracies. The Chinese in free China are still desperately resisting the ruthless enemy military machine. Although the democracies are still providing Japan with the essential war materials and the silver bullets, some of the friends of humanity are contributing to the relief of suffering and disease through the International Red Cross, the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China, the Lord Mayor's Fund and the Christian Service Council for wounded soldiers in transit.

The Double Seventh (July 7th) was the second anniversary of the Sino-Japanese Incident. This is the episode, the robbery on a gigantic scale, that the Japanese militarists expected would be accomplished within a short period of several months. For, being an undeclared war and therefore not subject to the American Arms Embargo, they could depend upon securing the vital military supplies from the American continent. The Japanese military machine is however, deeply bogged in the interior of China. It cannot advance nor retreat, hence the anti-foreign activities to divert attention from their failure. On this anniversary the Army's spokesman at Tokyo explained, "Germany and Italy are supporting Japan in her construction of the New Order in East Asia, while the U.S.A. is maintaining neutrality, and is watching for an opportunity to change its attitude"—to cooperate with the Japanese militarists in their unjustified attack upon the Chinese people? Prince Konoye, until recently Prime Minister of Japan declared, "Japan shows so much goodwill and friendship to its neighbor that this furnishes a basis for the creation of a New China! The Sino-Japanese conflict deserves to be called the East Asia Civil war"! Japan apparently already considers the whole of China to be a part of its Empire. On the same occasion Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the stalwart Chinese Christian leader who is fighting for the independence and freedom of the Chinese people, appealed to the sister democracies to fulfil their treaty obligations and enforce economic sanctions against the enemy of China and of the democracies.

The present international anarchy proves the fact that education without the moral restraints of Christianity but produces clever devils. Lacking the moral courage to accept full responsibility for an unprovoked war of conquest, the militarists make numerous excuses, seeking to blame their victim. All ruthless acts are in self-defence and for military and strategic necessity. A Japanese naval spokesman, referring to the landings on the long and poorly protected coast of China, emphatically said, "Indeed, heartfelt appreciation is due to Providence that whenever the Japanese forces attempted a landing, they were blessed with the best of weather conditions. Their operations were carried out under miraculously advantageous weather"!

Were this a formal declared war, with even the slightest justification and conducted in a normal manner, which is hellish at the best, Japan would be entitled to belligerent rights, according to International Law, and it would be none of our affair. But the "Incident" has been condemned by the League of Nations and by the United States. In order to be able to secure its vital war material from the U.S.A., notwithstanding the embargo on the export of arms, no war has been declared by Japan. It is therefore nothing but a ruthless invasion of a neighboring friendly country, conducted in a brutal manner. The intention is to seize and exploit the people and resources of China for the sole benefit of the Nipponese, with the help of foreign capital. Not satisfied with the devastation of China and the enslavement of its people, the Japanese militarists are determined to oust Occidental trade and culture, to take over the foreign concessions, to abolish the treaty ports, to close the Open Door of China, in complete disregard of the interests of other nations. The Japanese propose to convert China, through the Development Companies, into a huge economic monopoly for the benefit of the Japanese militarists solely. This the Japanese Kwantung Army is already doing in Manchuria.

The Japanese militarists have clearly indicated their intention of maintaining garrisons in China proper, of dominating the continent of Asia and the

Pacific Ocean. Japan intends to compel China to pay for its enslavement. "The flower of the Chinese nation recognize that the alternative to resistance and victory is a life of servitude to a race that in no circumstances can be regarded as fit to govern China. For past history, Chinese philosophy, art and culture generally, make it quite impossible for the Chinese to regard Japan in any other light than as an inferior nation. This is exemplified in the present incident by the ruthless bombing of defenceless civilians, the wanton destruction of property, the rape of Nanking and the attempt to demoralize the people in the occupied territory by means of drugs". Is this what Japan means by a Monroe doctrine for Asia? The Japanese militarists are making war first on the Chinese people and eventually on democracy everywhere. Pressure on British in China affects the United States and other neutral Powers as well.

We have above mentioned the bombing of foreign commercial and missionary establishments, the stirring up of anti-foreign agitation and intimidation strikes in occupied territory, in treaty ports and international concessions. These with the many instances of rough treatment of foreigners, demonstrate the attitude of the Japanese army towards all Third Powers. Notwithstanding all this, the democracies are still helping Japan to conquer China! This they are doing by purchasing Japanese goods, by providing the military equipment which the Japanese cannot make, and the raw materials that Japan does not possess. At the same time the Japanese are trying to force the democracies to actively support Japan in its war of aggression against China, and neutral Powers. While the American arms embargo remains in force the aggression axis rejoices and prepares for further attacks upon world peace and the security of the democracies of America and Europe. Would it not be wise to give the Chinese Republic the full benefit of a very friendly neutrality at the very least. Japan's difficulties in China are restraining the Aggression Axis from further onslaughts in Europe, and ultimately a simultaneous attack from both Europe and Asia upon the American continents, if the democracies should be defeated. The British Navy would in that event be unable to further help to protect the Atlantic coast of America, now making it possible for the whole American fleet to protect the Pacific coast. Japan is now completely under the control of its militarists, who are working hand in glove with the European dictators. Danzig, Tientsin and the Mongolian frontier warfare prove this. China is fighting the battle of Democracy. The democracies are helping Japan to defeat China and ultimately themselves!

The peoples of the world do not want war. All of its troubles can be settled without the slaughter of millions of human beings. There is international anarchy. Can effective action be taken in time to prevent another human holocaust, a second World War? Secretary of State Cordell Hull and his predecessor Henry Stimson, who have a through knowledge of world conditions, have stated that even the peace and security of the American Continent is at stake. It is probable that the Power, Resources and Moral Leadership of the Nations of America can restrain the aggressors and bring sanity to a mad world. A world Economic Conference can then be called without the mobilization of arms, and inequalities and grievances corrected. The world Court of Justice with an International Peace Force to enforce its decisions can be perfected. Let us keep in mind the greater number, act the part of the Good Samaritan, fulfil the Royal Law, to love our neighbor as ourselves and follow the Golden Rule to do to others as we would be done by. It may be necessary to restrain certain nations that have not yet learned how to behave, for they are not yet civilized.

If America should attempt isolationism, fiddle while the world burns, the American peoples should at least act neutrally. That is, they should refuse to help nations which have broken treaties to which the U.S.A. is a party, such as the Nine Power Convention which was intended to guarantee the integrity of China. They should not refuse help to peace-loving nations that are being attacked because they were not militaristic and therefore were unprepared to defend themselves. Is the spirit of chivalry dead on the American continent? Will the blood of those millions of human beings who are even now being murdered in different parts of the world be on the heads of the peoples of the American continent? The President of the United States of America has wisely urged "all means short of war to halt aggressors and treaty violators". "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God."

*Canton, China,
August 6, 1939.*

J. O. Thomson
(If printed please omit signature).

Confidential

February 12, 1940

To the Board of Trustees:

It has seemed increasingly true of late that the Japanese war against China is being fought in Tokyo and throughout Japan itself. Because of this I sent one of my capable young lieutenants there last month in order to gain dependable information which I can take with me to Chungking. He returned a day or two ago, having spent nine days in Tokyo and returned here by way of Shanghai. This is to share with you a brief summary of his impressions. He was in direct touch with the most authoritative sources though I had best avoid mentioning names.

Japanese opinion as to the adventure in China and its consequences to their own economic and other interests is becoming acutely conflicting. The usual tension between army and navy is more violent than ever, especially under the present cabinet headed by a navy man. The army is therefore in strong disagreement with the trend in policy. Within the army itself the factional divisions always active are being exacerbated by the unfavorable military and other developments. The real power has always been with the younger officers and a group of these is actively promoting a reform movement aiming at making of the army a purely military instrument of government policy rather than being itself concerned with political issues. This group vigorously oppose efforts such as that of General Itagaki and his following to organize a rival Chinese Government under Wang Ching-wei. Their ideal for the army is to be colorless politically. Hata, the War Minister, is trying to keep a balance among all these contending groups with the army itself.

There are of course the normal differences in outlook among political parties and others, all intensified by the disillusionments in their grandiose dreams of imperialist expansion. But the most significant of these tensions is that between government and populace as the latter awakes to the futility alike of military conquest of China and of the puppet devices for political domination, together with the economic hardships and the threatening disasters ahead. They turn to Prince Konoye as the only one qualified to assume leadership and yet there is widespread criticism of him, chiefly on the ground that he - and the Government generally - do not seem to be consistent or clear-cut in aims, causing confusion and perplexity to the people.

The discharged soldiers are adding to the disorder. After their orgy of slaughter, raping and plundering in China they find life at home and its restrictions irksome. They are also constantly utilized by those who wish to incite disorders for political purposes. They are largely responsible for the recent doubling of the police force.

The Government attempt at nationalization of resources, industries, agriculture and economic life in general seems to have broken down, mainly because of the human factor rather than the material difficulties. The Japanese docility or disciplined acceptance of established procedures becomes paradoxically the hindrance to a policy of increased regi-

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mentation. Discharged soldiers and others are loathe to find employment in munition works which they regard as temporary rather than in their accustomed occupations from which many of them are now debarred because of war conditions. But this process of economic mobilization is obstructed also by material causes such as the lack of coal, electricity, and other basic requirements.

Economic consequences of the war are on the whole becoming decidedly more serious. Business is bad. Usually at this season the nation has 70,000,000 piculs of rice to last until the next harvest as against 30,000,000 piculs this year. The major topic is no longer war news from China but internal problems affecting livelihood. The fear of violent outbreaks within the next few months is openly expressed. This explains the effort to persuade Ikeda, perhaps their ablest financier, to assume the post of Premier and lead the nation out of the impending economic chaos. This he cannily declined and the man who finally took it is not of outstanding capacity.

There is a sobering realization of the possible consequences of American policy in not renewing the trade treaty and in more positive economic measures. As one clear-thinking leader among them summed it up, they have only two courses, one being to satisfy the American demands and the other defiance backed up by force. There is no likelihood of the latter, despite certain intemperate pronouncements in their press. It is extremely improbable therefore that there will be officially promoted anti-American agitations, even though sporadic instances of this occur, especially in localities away from higher control.

The more intelligent and liberal leaders, including many in the army and navy, are well aware that the foisting on China of a puppet travesty of the Kuomintang Government under Wang Ching-wei is fatuous. But apparently with an understandable reluctance to be realistic they are trying to believe that peace can be achieved by inciting him to organize a government into which General Chiang Kai-shek and his associates could be induced to include themselves. Other prominent Japanese naively imagine that something of this sort can really be worked out, or that General Chiang could be persuaded to retire temporarily while the Japanese troops are being withdrawn. There seems to be a defect in Japanese mental habits which prevents them from facing or even seeing unpalatable facts or from conceiving how these are regarded by others (in this case Chinese patriots). I might add that my representative returned through Shanghai because of Japanese urging, presumably to study the Wang Ching-wei movement. He wisely decided not to risk any direct approach to Mr. Wang or his satellites. Any one calling on political agents of an opposing faction in Shanghai risks the danger of being followed and shot by gunmen who do not as a rule bother to verify their suspicions. But he learned from his Japanese contacts that Mr. Wang is feeling quite pessimistic, which is not surprising.

My young man is entirely at ease in the Japanese language and their customs. He made a similar trip for me last summer. This time he went not merely to secure authentic information but also to follow up previous conferences with Japanese in which I had tried to make clear the only peace terms that General Chiang could consider as well as my own readiness to serve as an unofficial intermediary once responsible Japanese

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were willing to begin negotiations on such terms. They are obviously both grateful and eager but I have the quite definite impression that the time is not yet ripe. They must not only abandon all hope of manipulating a figment of a Chinese government under their patronage and military coercion, but also any compromise that enables them to hold under plausible phrases their desired political and economic control of North China by garrisons of their own troops. To sacrifice these long cherished dreams of continental empire, schemes of economic exploitation, national prestige, compensating gains for their vast expenditure, will not be easy. Chinese policy must therefore be one of patiently continued and determined resistance, whatever sufferings and losses this requires, until the Japanese are convinced of the futility of any other solution than that of recognizing China's national independence with all that this involves. Concretely this means, as is equally true of the maintenance of American rights in China, the complete withdrawal of Japanese troops south of the Great Wall. When they are ready to discuss a settlement on this basis, I hope that America will be sought by both nations for helping toward a rational and equitable peace.

As to more personal matters, I am leaving in a few days to attend a conference in Chungking called by the Rockefeller Foundation to discuss its program of rural reconstruction training courses. The special share Yenching has had in this is in such subjects as local government, social organization, rural economics, and education. I must also attend the annual meeting of the Trustees of the China Foundation (American Boxer Indemnity) and a conference of the presidents of the Christian Colleges. Transportation facilities are so deranged by war conditions that returning here, unless for urgent reasons, would be costly both in time and money. All travel into free China requires going through Hongkong and ten days is considered quick time from here to that port. From there travel by air is expensive, has an element of danger, and usually requires booking long in advance. I shall therefore probably spend the six weeks between my first and final meetings in unhurried observation of general conditions in free China, visiting our graduates who are scattered all through that area, and otherwise trying to keep fresh and vital our relationships with that section of the country. This should supply material for my next report.

AT THE POINT OF THE LANCET AND OF THE BAYONET.

The city of Canton is now more populous than it has been since its loss to the enemy fifteen months ago. Then men, women and children fled to the country. The cold weather and the difficulty of earning a living have driven many of them back, to become almost slaves. On the walls of the city, posters depict enemy soldiers blowing their bugles to summon the Chinese to labor for the construction of the new order. It is apparent to all who live here that the Chinese will do the work and the enemy reap the profit and the joy. For this is indeed a city of the poor and destitute. The only trade with the outside world is by means of enemy transports. There is a shortage of everything except Japanese goods—which patriotic Chinese steadfastly refuse to buy. Canton is an occupied city. Sentries armed with bayonets still control it. Chinese must pause, bow, and be searched at frequent intervals. Houses are often searched—sometimes in the middle of the night. Chinese entering and leaving the foreign concessions must also submit to search. Enemy river steamers moor daily along the Bund; but the one foreign steamer allowed to come weekly from Hong Kong must moor inconveniently in the suburbs.

Soldiers on leave are much dreaded by the people. When a new town is attacked the usual molestation of the women occurs. For the recent unsuccessful attack up the North River, ten thousand Chinese men were conscripted on the streets to repair the railroad and roads. They were not allowed to return home to notify their folks, nor to get their warm clothes and bedding. We were told, "We could not sleep at night because of the weeping and wailing of the women whose men were seized." Some of the men returned. When asked how they escaped, they replied, "When the enemy ran, we ran too." Since the abrogation of the Japanese-American trade treaty, the enemy have shown less arrogance toward foreigners. They try to have themselves photographed with Americans, or near Western institutions.

The enemy in South China are financing their campaign in various questionable ways. They bring in commercial wares on military transports to avoid paying duty. They print and forcibly circulate military notes which will be valueless when the enemy leave. They open large numbers of gambling joints; and sell narcotics on a huge scale. They seize scrap iron from the populace and use it for military purposes. Thus the enemy is destroying China and its people, partly by using Chinese materials, by making Chinese pay for their destruction, and by directly and indirectly debauching the populace. Yet this "incident" is an "undeclared war," in order that the flow of war material from Japan's silent partners on the American continent may not cease.

The Canton Hospital, because of its strategic situation in the center of Canton city, on the river front, is in the vortex of important events. Enemy tanks and trucks, soldiers, gunboats and air planes, pass the institution. In our compound are housed the ambulances and trucks of the International Red Cross. In our buildings are kept the supplies for the feeding centers of the city. Many of the sick and suffering from the refugee camps are sent to us for care. During the first year of the occupation, fifty percent of our patients were charity cases, unable to pay even for their food. Latterly, about thirty percent are in this category. Our Chinese staff is paid only a living wage—but the currency is depreciating and the cost of living going up and up.

To date, gifts from medical concerns and from personal friends of the foreign staff, and contributions from the International Red Cross and from the British Fund for the Relief of Distress in China have all helped cover our deficit. We are now told that further help from these funds is unlikely. How are we to finance our hospital?

The curious exchange situation affects us both ways. One gold dollar, at the time of writing, will buy twelve local dollars. As food is bought mostly with local money, a gold dollar will support a workman for a month or pay the expenses of a ward patient for a week. On the other hand, patients pay their bills in local currency, while medical and surgical supplies must be paid for in gold. Two hundred and fifty gold dollars a month, or three thousand a year, would cover the hospital's probable deficit and allow us to give both employees and staff a little more rice to eat as well.

Two years ago, many of our patients were victims of bombing. Later, many had received gunshot or bayonet wounds, some were partially beheaded, and many women had suffered at the hands of the enemy soldiery. Now malaria is being spread through China by poor people fleeing from the enemy armies. Patients come in suffering from malnutrition. One lady whom we operated on several years ago and who occupied an expensive room and paid a large operation fee, recently returned for a cholera inoculation, but could not pay the small charge. Her properties have all been bombed, burned, looted, or pre-empted by the enemy. In the women's ward is a patient with a terrible gunshot wound of the thigh. She and eight other non-combatants were wounded when their boat was attacked, and all were brought to us. Many poor women are greatly distressed at having to bring into the world children of enemy soldiers. In some cases they will be unable to recognize the child's father because they have suffered at the hands of so many. The nurses almost weep when the children are ready to leave the hospital—perhaps with no home to which to return. China is a country of farmers, who have always been relatively free of venereal disease. The lust of the enemy soldiery will affect terrifically the health of the women of China, and therefore that of future generations also. Since other nations have done so little to prevent all this suffering, can we not do more for its relief?

We missionaries help in what small ways we can, but feel hopelessly inadequate to meet the need. We help to support and conduct schools for poor children, both at the Canton Hospital and at Lingnan University. Dr. and Mrs. Cadbury, who have just gone on furlough after a strenuous term at the hospital, did much for these schools. Dr. Oldt is doing Dr. Cadbury's medical work at the hospital and also directing health work at Lingnan University and in the surrounding villages. We assist as we can the Service Corps, made up of former Canton Hospital staff, now doing fine work in free China under the International Red Cross. Now and again we can entertain in our home Chinese doctors and nurses who rarely get a change from the four walls of their building; and they find real refreshment of spirit in a glimpse of a home and in the beauty of the Lingnan campus. The Christian churches also need our help. They are sadly understaffed, yet are trying to minister to hungry bodies through free soup-kitchens, to hungry minds through free schools, and to hungry souls through inspiring services and friendly counsel. We would enlist your sympathetic help too.

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto Me."

J. OSCAR THOMSON, M.D., F.A.C.S.

Canton Hospital,
Canton, China,
February 22, 1940.

The
North China
Theological Seminary

Founded in 1919

An
EVANGELICAL SCHOOL
for the
SOUND DOCTRINAL TRAINING
of
CHINESE MINISTERS
and
EVANGELISTS

FAITHFUL to the WORD OF GOD
SPONSORED by the CHINESE CHURCH
ASSISTED by FOREIGN MISSION BOARDS
SUPPORTED by AMERICANS and CHINESE
KNOWN by its GLORIOUS FRUIT

Seminary Location

TENGHSIEN,
SHANTUNG, CHINA

Business Address in U. S. A.

210 NORTH 34TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PENNA.

Past History

The Seminary was founded in 1919 and moved to its present location at Tenghsien, Shantung Province in 1922. Leaders of the Chinese Church were urging the establishment of a conservative and evangelical theological seminary to train native ministers and evangelists to meet the growing need. The various Presbyterian Missions cooperated in this movement and Rev. Watson M. Hayes was persuaded to accept the leadership of the project. The Chinese Church has recognized its responsibility for a large share of the management and support of the work, while the Foreign Boards have permitted the selection of well qualified missionaries for many of the teaching positions. Friends in the U. S. A. have given liberally to provide buildings, equipment and current expenses. The work has been a venture in faith and has had the Lord's blessing.

The doctrinal soundness of the Seminary has been consistently maintained and is based on acceptance of the entire Bible as the inspired Word of God. Each director and teacher must subscribe to the creedal statement before taking his position and annually thereafter. This position has made a great appeal to Chinese Christians and has resulted in developing the largest theological seminary in China. While operated by Presbyterians it has been serving all evangelical denominations because it has offered a loyal adherence to the Word and the highest standard of scholarship.

A department for women was opened in 1924 and this has resulted in substantially raising the type of native Bible Women. By 1927 the Seminary had an enrollment of 130 men and 51 women, indicating the rapid advance which was made in the esteem of the people. Students have come from every province of China and Korea to receive their theological training and to return as laborers in the plenteous harvest. More than 500 graduates are at work for their Lord and bearing much fruit for His glory.

Present Status

Even after the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the Seminary carried on efficiently, but with slightly reduced enrollment. However, it was closed by the invaders on December 8, 1941, although not liquidated. Some months later

the Japanese permitted its reopening under their control and with the proviso that all foreign missionaries would be prohibited from teaching. All the missionaries on the Board and Faculty have been evacuated except Dr. Hayes and his wife who were physically unable to make the trip home. Dr. Hayes wrote in June 1942, by one of the returning missionaries, that he was being courteously treated but was living as a virtual prisoner on the Seminary property. Dr. MacLeod reached Shanghai but has been unable to proceed to the U. S. A.

The Chinese faculty and students have remained loyal to the faith and have given assurance that they will not compromise their principles to satisfy Japanese demands. They are prepared to meet any emergency which may arise and carry on the work to the best of their ability without proper facilities.

The endowment which had been accumulated over many years in China has been practically wiped out by Japanese manipulation of Chinese currency. Some funds held in the U. S. A. in the name of the Seminary continue to exist but can not be touched, as Dr. Hayes and Dr. MacLeod have sole signatory powers and the account is temporarily frozen due to their absence from this country.

Formation of Home Council

On December 29, 1942, the repatriated members of the Board and the Faculty of the Seminary met with a few interested friends and organized the N. C. T. S. Home Council. This was done to insure the continuance of the work which has proved so valuable and to provide for a full resumption of activities at the earliest possible moment. The immediate objects of this Home Council will be to conserve the existing assets of the Seminary and to accumulate funds which will be needed promptly when the work can be revived. (Checks may be drawn to North China Theological Seminary Home Council or to Horace G. Hill, Jr., Treasurer, at 210 North 34th Street, Philadelphia, Penna.)

The Home Council will be a self-perpetuating body of those who have an interest in the Seminary and are willing to labor for its support. Its membership will be confined to those who reside in the U. S. A., preferably but not neces-

sarily in the general Philadelphia area. It will consist of not less than 20 and not more than 30 members. Meetings will be held at the discretion of the Executive Committee or at the request of any three members, and eight members shall constitute a quorum.

The initial membership of the Home Council comprises largely those who have been in active service with the Seminary or with the cooperating missions. Other interested ministers and laymen will be added gradually so that the work may be conducted understandingly when the present missionary members return to their field.

Future Prospects

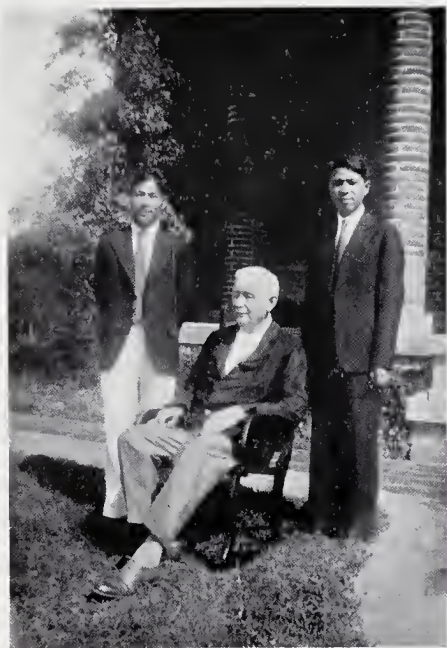
There is urgent need for perpetuating the work of this theological school which has established itself so successfully in the hearts of Chinese Christians as one of the best places to obtain training for the ministry. It is hoped that the property and buildings at Tenghsien will be spared from the ravages of war and that the Missionary members of the Seminary personnel may soon again be gathered together to resume full time activities at the old location. The work will be carried on because it is the Lord's work.

It is possible that a way will open to permit some members of the faculty to enter Free China without waiting for the end of the war. Many of the graduates and students have migrated in that direction and a temporary branch of the seminary could be started at any one of many interior locations. The servants of the Lord are ready to answer His call and guidance, He is able to do the apparently impossible, and the Home Council will strive to keep things in order and accumulate material resources for the day when the Lord opens once more the door to all China and says, "Son, go work today in my vineyard."

Prayer Requests

Please pray for:

- The safety of the Faculty remaining in China;
- The witness of the scattered Seminary graduates;
- The divine selection of new members of the Faculty;
- The guidance of the Home Council in its plans,
- The provision of funds for reopening the Seminary.



REV. WATSON M. HAYES, D.D., LL. D.
First President, and Two Graduates
of the
North China Theological Seminary

IT WAS a summers night and the moon shone brightly. We were in Kuling up among the hills where the famous Summer Bible Conferences are held — a sort of “Chinese Keswick.” Many missionaries and Chinese workers usually come together here for spiritual refreshing and for preparation for work.

I was preaching in the Union Church when we heard the first air-alarm. It was a clear, striking sound, and a sudden feeling of fear, inexpressible, came over the people. The thought came over me of the uncertainty of life and that all ought to make sure of their soul's salvation. I made the appeal and about four or five responded. After that we scattered and a few of us sat on the rocks under the trees while the Japanese bombing planes raided the province. We prayed that God would protect us and deliver us from awful destruction. Soon after “all clear” was sounded; our hearts were filled with gratitude that the planes, which had been coming toward us, had changed their direction.

Early one morning without any warning we saw three planes flying toward us, away up in the sky. At first we thought they were Chinese planes. But God knew they were not; suddenly thick clouds covered the whole residential area, and we could hear the whirr of the planes over our heads. It was reported later that a factory had been bombed about ten miles distant and several people were killed or wounded.

Four of us from Bethel were at Kuling and it was a joy to see Christian workers with a sense of the reality and nearness of Christ, going out to face difficulties and dangers. Some were soon to face this awful war in their districts. We may never see them again on this earth but we thank God that they received a blessing at Kuling.

Our way back to Shanghai being cut off, we decided, after much prayer, to go to Hunan Province for evangelistic meetings. That was last September. Fortunately we bought our tickets to go by a British boat up the Yangtze to Hankow where we could take the train to Hunan. The ship was so crowded that we were compelled to sleep on the deck, packed together like sardines. The Lord wonderfully led us. We spent four months holding evangelistic meetings in different cities and although many places in the province

One of the Chinese Christians, Mr. Ernest Yin, the Provincial Minister of Finance for Hunan, wrote a letter requesting Christians in China and all over the world to observe a day of prayer on behalf of China. He wrote:

I am writing you on a very urgent matter that the Lord has laid upon my heart, and one that I am sure to which you too have given great consideration. It is the matter of prayer.

It is nearly one year since the war started in China and at present it looks as if it will be a long drawn out conflict. The awful destruction and great loss of so many innocent lives weighs me down with grief. I am burdened to know what we Christians should do. I know of only one thing we do and that is to pray.

The Lord has laid it on my heart to suggest to a few friends that as a group we might suggest a Day of Prayer for Christians in China and in foreign lands. Can we not stand unitedly in definite prayer that God will bring about a speedy and righteous settlement to this awful conflict?

I realize that we in China, whether engaged in Government service or in any other pursuits have grievously sinned against God. But I believe that if we humble ourselves and call upon the Lord He will hear us and save us. Therefore I believe it will be pleasing to Him if we set apart a Day of Prayer. I suggest September 4th, or even an earlier date for this purpose.

In an address by Madame Chiang Kai-Shek at Hankow, she says:

The Generalissimo and I feel that no words we could speak could sufficiently express our debt of gratitude to the missionary body all over China who have been a help to the distressed and the best of friends to hundreds of thousands of refugees. You may remember a few years ago it was quite the fashion to decry missionary efforts. There was even a commission sent from America to investigate mission work because there was a general feeling that missionary efforts had been a failure. There were also people who asked where were the successors of Livingstone, Morrison and others? Is the missionary spirit dead? If we are really impartial and look around us and take an impartial view of what has happened in the last nine months I would say their successors are right here! Every one of the missionaries possesses the same valour and the same undaunted spirit that the missionaries of old had. I would go a step farther. When we picture old Dr. Morrison in a sanpan with his Chinese teacher, working under the heat of the tropical sun on the translation of the Bible into Chinese, while edicts from the Emperor had been issued against him, we think of that as being very heroic. But when we think of what the missionaries have done during the last nine months, I would say that these missionaries have not been one whit less heroic. . . .

Coming back from the war it was the missionaries who visualized the need of refugee zones and saved hundreds of thousands of people, men, women and children. Here in Hankow you have started refugee camps and your International Red Cross Committee has organized help for

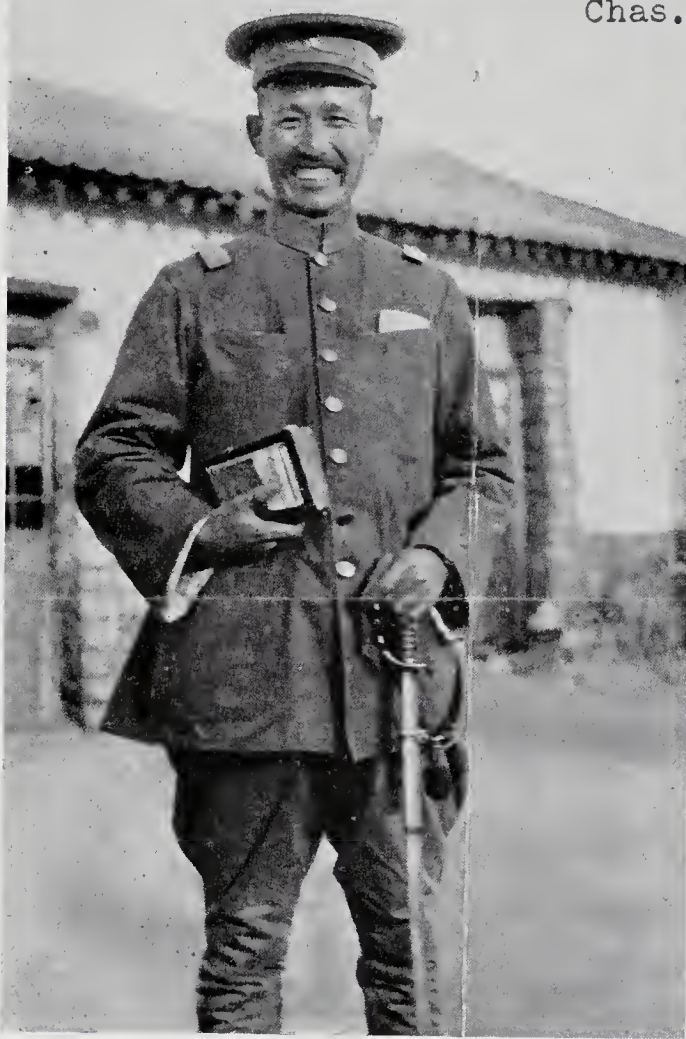
1939]

CHRISTIAN BANDS IN

our wounded soldiers. In Kaifeng they have well-organized plans for establishing a refugee zone whenever the need arises. From all over China come reports of work like this. Those of you who are here now have done so much for our people! We do appreciate it.

powerful in prayer, able in mind, eloquent expounder of the Word. Several times I have had the privilege of preaching with him before the soldiers of his friend, Feng Yu Hsiang, "Christian General". Especially an inspiration to address large groups of officers, - 500 or more at a time, - alert, reverent, appreciative audiences.

Chas. E. Scott.



GENERAL CHANG CHIH-CHANG
TELLS HIS LIFE-STORY

Chapter IV of "Adventures in Soul-Winning" recounts the stirring story of the conversion of this Chinese General, and of his great love for the Word of God.

For a limited time
a copy of this thrilling and fascinating
book will be sent free of cost to donors
to the work. See page 4.

Adventures in Soul - Winning



By GEORGE T. B. DAVIS

Second Edition

Basic need for the Chinese Church.

Grand Mrs R-E Spear;

132 Coulter Avenue,
Ardmore, Penna.

19 July 1943

Dear Friends: —

We feel sure that all who know the splendid work done by the North China Theological Seminary in the past, will rejoice that plans are already under way to assure, as far as possible, the continuation of the Seminary as soon as the war is over, and that each one of you will desire to have a share in the realization of these plans. Definite plans must be made and funds raised before the war is over. For if we wait till the war is over it will be too late.

This war has demonstrated both the necessity and the possibilities of right leadership. Wrong leadership brings disaster, while right leadership brings victory. It is as necessary for the church as for the state to have right leadership. In order to produce such leaders men and women must be properly trained. For twenty-three years the North China Theological Seminary has been training young people to become efficient workers and leaders in the church in all parts of China. The war has not lessened this need for well trained young people but increased it.

Before the war is over and it is possible for us to return to our present location in occupied China, it may be possible to establish a branch of the North China Theological Seminary somewhere in West China for training young people to meet the needs and opportunities which are so urgent there. We are the logical ones to meet this need and utilize this unique opportunity. For in West China there is no seminary now giving the same type of training that the North China Theological Seminary has been giving.

Early in 1941 a special committee of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. visited West China to investigate the opportunity for opening work there. In their report we find this significant sentence: "The greatest single need we have seen in the whole of West China is the training of Chinese Church workers."

Missionaries of other mission boards who have worked in West China have also emphasized the need for trained workers. One who is now planning to return soon to West China not only emphasizes the need, but assures us that suitable buildings can be secured for opening a branch of the North China Theological Seminary. If one or two of us can go out to West China to start the work, we feel sure that a faculty of Chinese and missionaries can be secured there.

The enclosed folder will tell you more of what needs to be done as well as the aims of the North China Theological Seminary Home Council. Please receive this as a personal letter to each one, and read it and the folder carefully and prayerfully. Let us do what we can at once. Small gifts as well as large are acceptable. If you have friends who might be interested, more folders can be obtained on application.

Chas. E. Scott.
Chair. Publicity Com.

Yours in Christ's service,
N. C. T. S. Home Council,
Martin A. Hopkins, Secretary.

*126 Argyle Road C3,
Ardmore, Pa.*

**THE BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS
OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

February 10, 1942

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

China Bulletin No. 42-3.

To the Relatives and Friends of
our China Missionaries

Dear Friends:

We have just received the following cablegram from the Rev. Paul R. Abbott, D.D., Executive Secretary of our Hunan Mission who has recently been made Board Agent until such time as the China Council can again function for all China. The cablegram was sent from Hengyang, Hunan Province, China and was dated February 9, 1942:

HAINAN GUERRILLA BROADCAST THOMAS (Rev. and Mrs. D. H. and Richard)
MORSE (Dr. Esther M.) MELROSE (The Rev. and Mrs. Paul C.) FAMILIES
UNCONFIRMED UNDENIED CHUNGKING SKEPTICAL SINGAPORE INCLUDES
(Miss) MARGARET BURKWALL (R.N.) EMBASSY INVESTIGATION
JONES (Miss Mabel S.) TAKEN PENGPU STUART (President J. Leighton)
INTERNED TIENTSIN (the Yenching University) FACULTY CAMPUSED
SHANTUNGITES COMPOUNDED HONGKONGITES HOTELED
CANTONITES TAPPAN (Rev. David S.) RELEASED PEIPINGITES NANKINGITES
HANGCHOWITES SHANGHAITES UNMOLESTED ATTEMPTING FINANCING

We interpret this to mean that though the guerrilla broadcast is unconfirmed, Chungking is skeptical of its authenticity. It would seem that the broadcast in China carried the names of the Thomas and Melrose families and Dr. Morse, while the broadcast which was heard in China from Singapore also included Miss Margaret Burkwall. The broadcasts and news reports in America included all the Presbyterian missionaries on the Island. These conflicting reports would indicate the unauthenticity of the report. The Embassy in Chungking is, however, continuing its investigation.

Jones taken Pengpu. This applies to Miss Mabel S. Jones of Showchow.

Stuart interned Tientsin - faculty campused confirms earlier news that the Yenching faculty, aside from President J. Leighton Stuart, is on the University campus. We had not known of the place of internment of Dr. Stuart before, but this indicates that he is in Tientsin.

Shantungites compounded gives us the news that all our Shantung missionaries are on their compounds; Hongkongites hoteled that our people in Hongkong are in hotels, which confirms earlier information which has reached us through the Press; Cantonites Tappan released confirms the message which we have received through the International Red Cross which was signed by the Rev. D. S. Tappan of our Hainan Mission and Mr. J. Paul Snyder of our Canton Station, South China Mission; Peipingites Nankingites Hangchowites Shanghaiites unmolested indicates to us that our people in these areas, together with others, are being allowed a measure of freedom in pursuing their normal occupations.

Very sincerely yours,
A. R. Kepler

YENCHING UNIVERSITY
PEIPING, CHINA

American Office
150 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

March 8, 1940

To the Trustees
and Other Friends:

Enclosed are two more significant
"letters from Peking". Both of them are of
special timeliness and interest.

Both letters should be guarded
with care, particularly the one of February
12. The information in these letters should
be disseminated as widely as possible, but
the source of the material must be scrupu-
lously protected.

Sincerely yours,



Secretary

BAG:MS
Enclosure

Confidential

January 18, 1940

To the Board of Trustees:

Some weeks have elapsed since my last report to you on the war situation. This is paradoxically because there have been no major changes and because things have been happening so rapidly. What I mean is that the developments have been in general along lines with which you have already been made familiar but without as yet any decisive results, while on the other hand there have been shifts or trends which might at any time take a new turn thus nullifying forecasts or creating altered possibilities. I shall try briefly to summarize the most recent tendencies, realizing that what I write may reach you long after cabled dispatches or be disproven by some at present unknown factors.

I have indicated more than once that the answer as to when and how this conflict will end seems to lie in Japan rather than in China. This is even more true now. The Abe Cabinet has fallen, as had been predicted for some time, it being unable to end the China war to the satisfaction either of the more moderate elements or of the military extremists. The former of these had become organized with the intention of putting forward a relatively liberal army officer, General Ugaki, on a general policy of ending the war through direct negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek, yielding as much as necessary in recognition of Chinese national independence, postponing the Manchuria issue, advocating the cultivation of better mutual understanding through cultural contacts and education, recovering the goodwill of the United States and Great Britain.

Meanwhile the army leaders seem to have threatened one of their tours de force by which they would seize control, enforce further totalitarian measures and negotiate at once with Russia (and Germany) in a desperate effort to neutralize American economic "interference". The dissension seemed sufficiently serious to draw the Emperor into appealing personally to intransigent militarists. Prince Konoye, who is supposed to be succeeding the aged Prince Saionji as the Emperor's adviser, apparently induced Admiral Yonai to serve as premier rather than sacrifice the moderate leadership prematurely. A navy man can also curb the army better than civilians, and it is hoped that he can placate the United States. To give point to all this it had come to light that army agents were maneuvering to win party leaders and thus get their huge appropriations passed by the Diet, then in March to throw aside these allies and establish a more thoroughgoing military despotism. This rather colorless Cabinet will probably be short-lived and will institute no radical changes in policy. What type of cabinet will succeed depends mainly on public opinion. This somewhat new element within Japanese life seems to me the most interesting and significant phenomenon that is emerging from the conflict. It may prove to be the decisive one. It will be influenced chiefly by four factors.

(1) Steadily augmenting economic and other causes of internal discontent or anxiety.

(2) Lack of military successes and weakening in man power and morale from the Chinese policy of attrition. The Chinese estimate of Japanese casualties on all fronts during December was 100,000. With due allowance for exaggeration this is at a much higher rate than previous estimates from the same source. Chinese theory is not to attempt to recapture cities for the present but to endeavor unceasingly to reduce the numbers of the enemy, waiting until they think the time has come for attempted recovery of lost territory.

(3) The outcome of the Wang Ching-wei movement. The Japanese people have been duped into thinking that with the inauguration of this supposedly Chinese government the war would be ended happily for both sides. The Abe Cabinet tried desperately to bring it into being and fell largely because of this failure. Mr. Wang, who has never been a traitor in the crass sense but rather a timid and disgruntled opportunist politician with a defeatist complex toward China's hopes for winning independence, is not at all pleased with his present predicament. He is clutching at any method of regaining public support and his lost position in the government. Many influential Japanese army men have always disapproved this palpably puppet device and the sentiment is spreading. His own supporters have insisted that he must stop the fighting by negotiating for them with the Chungking Government or in whatever way he can; otherwise they will have no further use for him. The strongest of these, General Itagaki, has always been on unfriendly terms with the new premier which makes it all the more probable that he will soon be recalled from active service. This would react very unfavorably on Wang's movement. The one hope for Mr. Wang and his group is to come out openly and courageously for the complete independence of China involving as this must the withdrawal of all Japanese armed forces from the country, including North China, but this would be a humiliating loss of face. Should he make such a decision before it is too late his friends could intercede for him with General Chiang, and in any case his place in history would be improved. Even if the present Cabinet or a more violent succeeding one coerces him into attempting to set up a figment of a government it will not have the allegiance of the North China puppet leader and could not therefore cover even the whole of the occupied areas. In fact it would be limited to the lower Yangtse Valley and be wholly dependent on Japanese protection. When, however, the scheme collapses, as somehow it will, the Japanese public will have one more disillusioning shock which ought to help them toward an awareness of the futility of political solutions for militaristic objectives.

(4) American policy. This is giving the Japanese no slight uneasiness. I have already argued so insistently in favor of economic pressure on our part that I shall refrain from further comment. The action by Congress is due in any case long before this can reach you. But the form it takes will have a very large part in shaping Japanese opinion. More than ever I believe that strong action by us now will not only aid China and avert more serious consequences for ourselves, later, but that it will also have a beneficent effect in rallying this nascent Japanese public opinion to become articulate and to assert itself. As is true no doubt of all other nations, the Japanese people want peace, and as they come into greater power they will demand it. Witness the popular determination in our own country not to be drawn into the European War.

The secret agreement that Wang Ching-wei made with his Japanese associates has no importance in so far as his own ability to "deliver" is concerned. But it does have interest as revealing the aims of the present rulers of Japan. One item was of course the treatment of North China as "special area" which meant for practical purposes a colonial status. Another was the permanent opening of the Yangtse River exclusively to Japanese shipping. Another was the establishment of naval bases on the island of Hainan, in certain designated southern posts and islands off the Chekiang coast, China to organize a navy with vessels purchased from Japan and under her tutelage, all this in order to "protect" China from further western aggression. The real intention is to utilize Chinese resources and to implicate its government in the further Japanese aggressive designs against the Philippines, and the British, French and Dutch colonies further south. It is worth remembering that whatever fair promises the new premier may make, he is

an admiral and is committed to the navy program to secure Hainan. This would encourage the army in turn to hold out for North China as its share of the spoils. But more than that, it confirms the already well-founded fears that those who have been dictating Japanese policy are all at one in an expansionist program by force of arms. They differ as to the direction this should take at any given time, as to the speed and recklessness with which it should be prosecuted, but not as to the essential objective. What will be the consequences is sufficiently apparent from the fate of those regions already subjugated and exploited.

Every instinct of altruistic sympathy for China and of international decency, as well as of far-sighted national self-interest, should lead us Americans at the very least to give no further aid to a ruthlessly determined imperialistic policy so sinister in conception and so savage in execution. Be tolerant with me if again my emotions seem to make me tediously or even uncharitably repetitious. My defense is, as always, not only that all that Yenching means to you and me is literally quivering in suspense but that Yenching is a single instance, or as it were a symbol, of the immeasurable catastrophe which would befall this country and mankind should the Japanese army and navy succeed in their ambitions. The gallant Chinese resistance despite the vast welter of destruction and misery this has brought on them, and the failure of the Japanese to win any reputable associates despite all their blandishments and mass terrorization, give conclusive evidence of how clearly they realize what is at stake.

Meanwhile livelihood problems in this region are very bad and rapidly becoming more so. Over large tracts in the southern part of this province and in Shantung the virtual famine conditions are appalling. Between guerillas, bandits and Japanese punitive methods the plight of the country people is pitiable. In the cities prices are soaring to nearly 300% above normal, but it is difficult to get staples at any price. It all reveals the breakdown of the military administration, and is aggravated by the racketeering they and their Chinese followers carry on.

TRUSTEES OF THE CANTON CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

(Incorporated in the State of New York)

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

The College and its Schools

America's interest in China is permanent and sure to increase to vast proportions, to the mutual benefit of both countries. With an increase in co-operation there will be greater appreciation of the Chinese, who are a social and friendly people, capable of a high development along modern lines. We must all wish to have a share in helping them realize their material, intellectual and spiritual possibilities. The question is "How can we do this most effectively?"

As Trustees we naturally wish to get *the whole case* of the Canton Christian College clearly before those who are in a position to assist in its development. There are certain higher schools that naturally grow out of its general work as branches out of a tree, or can be satisfactorily grafted upon the main trunk if the roots and trunk are sufficiently strong. The College is an educational mission to China under Christian auspices, managed by trained educationalists who take the educational point of view and thus are able to give the foundation training necessary to good professional schools.

Anyone beginning a financial, commercial, manufacturing, mining, agricultural or religious enterprise in China will quickly discover that he is in a large measure engaged in a work of education, is in fact conducting a school, and that a large part of what should be legitimate profit is absorbed in the finding and training of men. Much may be said of the industrious, honest Chinaman, but one may look in vain for specialists of any kind, or for dependable local managers and workmen who will find out exactly what is the matter in a given case and provide the remedy. The basal man is doubtless as good as that found in any other part of the world but he is not yet fit for the higher social organization of the modern

world. The most serious deficiency is the moral one. Men are seeking official and other positions which they are incapable of filling. Hence to secure and retain a really competent and dependable body of workers it is better to begin with the young and to train them under men of marked ability and integrity who are at the same time interested in their welfare and progress. This is exactly what the Canton Christian College is doing.

We do not wish to overstate the claims of Canton as an educational center but we wish to emphasize its strategic importance. There is much misinformation afloat about South China, which has its origin chiefly in the North. The people of Kwangtung, while speaking a different language or dialect, have contributed many leading business men and statesmen to the North, and are among the most advanced of all the Chinese in their willingness to deal with and learn from foreigners. Witness the fact that China's ministers or ambassadors to other countries, legation secretaries and consuls are still for the most part Cantonese, and that these same people are found in a multitude of places in a great variety of businesses and professions in all parts of the world.

The fact that one-quarter of all Protestant Christians in China live in the Province of Kwangtung is enough of itself to show that its people are ready and eager for modern education. It is sad to relate, however, that there are no really high grade schools for them to go to, certainly none which has an educational plant and teaching staff, such as would be deemed adequate in America for the full training of teachers and professional men. The old style private or home school, with its one man teacher in Chinese Classics, is rapidly going out with an undeveloped modern system to take its place. Government schools have suffered serious setbacks due to the lack of continuity or a settled policy, and many and sudden changes in the personnel of governors, school directors and teachers. The methods of appointment and control have tended to suppress local initiative and development. There are, however, a large number of schools supported by the gentry throughout the Province in addition to five or six hundred primary and

secondary schools and academies connected with the churches of the various denominations and nearly forty missions. These schools are being encouraged and standardized through united efforts, the College serving as a common meeting ground for the purpose.

The Canton Christian College represents an effort to found in China a system of Christian schools from the kindergarten to the university with a sufficient number of trained Christian teachers to insure individual attention in and out of the classroom. It stands for the highest standards of educational efficiency and the development of Christian manhood. It aims to provide such academic and technical courses as will best serve the interests of the people of China, fitting the higher training to the individual aptitudes and capabilities of the students in order that their education may be directed to skilled service in the department of work which each may be called upon to enter. In the attainment of these aims, the policy of the College is to use qualified teachers, preachers, lecturers, et al, and to conduct such conferences and summer schools as will make it an intellectual and spiritual center.

When the College reorganized its work and reopened in 1899-1900, it was obliged to get along as best it could in rented buildings. It was not until September, 1904, that it moved to its present site into two long rambling lungalows. Now it has a plant costing \$300,000, or will have one costing that amount as soon as the money and subscriptions on hand designated for buildings has been fully expended. The history of the College during these fifteen years has shown that it is necessary to maintain lower schools as part of the social structure of the College in order to prepare the boys morally, intellectually and physically for higher work. Hence the College has been slower of development than otherwise would have been the case. With this more consistent foundation it is prepared to advance the grades by the natural demand of its own students. Its greatest need is a reliable income to give continuity to its work and not unduly overburden the Trustees and Faculty with the struggle to secure support.

The broad aspects of the undertaking and its higher educational aims can be seen in the outline given below. This can be realized in a comparatively brief period if adequate support is forthcoming.

(1) A regular Arts and Science Course, including the major sciences—mathematics, physics, chemistry and physiology.

(2) A Teachers' College or Normal School, organized upon the model of the Teachers' College at Columbia University and the University of Chicago, with a graded school attached for observation and practice, running from the kindergarten through the primary and grammar grades. Teacher training, though not organized formally, has for some years been part of the work of the College.

(3) A School of Industries. This term may cover several training courses, some of which are incidental to the curriculum of the lower schools, such as Manual Training, and some of which lead to an industrial or technical career, such as printing, wood-work, mechanical and electrical engineering, plumbing, etc.

(4) A Medical School. In accordance with the design of the founders, the Trustees took steps toward the establishment of a Medical Department in 1899 by sending out a competent physician. Up to that time medical education had been of a very simple order, conducted in a mission hospital, the students having had no previous scientific training, such as is now given at the Canton Christian College. The foundation for thorough courses in medicine and surgery is now well laid, and three additional physicians have joined the faculty who can be retained if proper support is forthcoming.

(5) A School of Agriculture. Nature Study and Gardening are already part of the regular course in the lower and middle schools. This department promises ultimately to be in peculiar favor and demand in the southern provinces, which are largely agricultural in their physical resources.

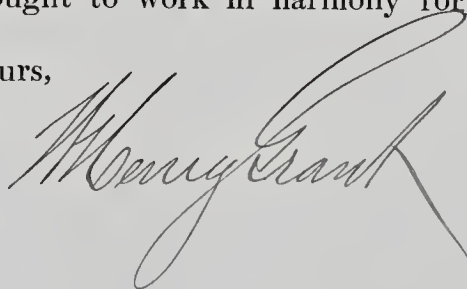
(6) A School of Economics, Commerce and Civics, with a peace bureau comprising a special library, museum and reception hall, should be established under the direction of competent university professors, with a correspondence school and extension work.

(7) A Woman's Department will be opened as soon as the present work for boys is on a safe financial footing. The model Kindergarten and Primary School will serve for both boys and girls. The Girls' Grammar and Middle Schools will have separate buildings, though in some cases, especially in the Chinese Classics, the same teachers may be used. In the College of Arts, Teachers' College and College of Medicine the same laboratories and teachers in Science will serve for both men and women until the numbers taking the higher courses justify separate plants. About twenty girls are now attending the primary school or receiving separate instruction in the higher grades.

In considering the amount of money actually required to make the Canton Christian College a strong educational center uniting Chinese and Foreigners in the steady development of a Christian university with its lower and upper schools, one may say that \$50,000 is the least that is needed as an annual contribution from America. With this amount practically assured in the form of interest on endowment and annual gifts, the constituency of the College will rapidly increase and larger and larger gifts may be expected from both Chinese and Americans. \$100,000 per annum is actually needed for the College to take the place its Chinese friends seem to desire it to occupy; any less means a slower pace.

When once an educational system is set going in competent hands, without loss of continuity as is now the case in the Government's educational efforts, it will grow with great rapidity and require a large staff of educators to meet the demand for teachers. The Trustees and Faculty have set themselves squarely to the task of teacher training and by conducting separate schools for boys and girls, beginning in the grammar grades, within five years should be putting a large proportion of their middle school students into teaching work. Ten years hence, with proper support, the College should be graduating trained teachers by scores who will be establishing like model schools in all the chief towns and cities in the Province. Government, local gentry and the people generally can be counted upon to co-operate, if the College, through its alumni, furnishes the educators, and thus the benevolent forces brought to work in harmony for the good of China.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Mary Grant". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name.